

продукция, журналы, телевидение, радиореклама, видеоролики, почтовые рассылки. Она должна заинтересовать клиента, привлечь его, уверить в надежности и безопасности маршрута, гарантировать ему хорошее путешествие [2].

Поэтому форма и каналы распространения такой рекламы оказываются, гораздо шире и многограннее, чем в случаях рекламы потребностей. И тут с помощью телевидения и СМИ, кинематографа можно добиться хороших результатов.

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ISLAM AND MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE IN MEDIEVAL KAZAKHSTAN

Abstract. History of the Middle Ages rejects the pseudoscientific thesis of the incompatibility of Islam and Nomadic society. This pseudoscientific thesis became widespread in Soviet historiography, and dominated historians throughout the XX century. Domination of atheistic ideology during the Soviet period, as well as the secularization of public consciousness with its anti-Islamic orientation, has influenced many contemporary researchers who were engaged in the history of Kazakhstan. In an attempt to interpret the traditional Kazakh culture many of them were influenced by the wrong “pseudo nomadic” concept. This concept has been the result of an atheistic materialist understanding of the phenomenon of nomadic culture.

Key words: Islam, Hajj, Kazakhstan, medieval times, Turks, Kazakhs, religion, nomadic, tradition, culture.

Аңдатпа. Автор бұл мақаланы Орта Азия халықтарының ислам дінін қабылдауы мәселесі төңірегінде бастап, ортағасырлық көшпенді қазақ қоғамының мұсылманшылыққа барар жолының бірнеше ғасырларда қалай дамып, мұсылманшылықтың қалай орныққандығын, қаншалықты

дәстүрлі үдеріс болып табылатындығын айқындап, қарастырады. Мұндағы автордың негізгі мақсаты – Қазақстанда ислам мен қажылық дәстүрінің таралу үрдісін зерттеу болып табылады. Бұл мақсатта, X-XI ғасырлардағы Қарахан мемлекетінен бастап Қазақстан аумағында салтанат құрған барлық мемлекеттік құрылымдардың мемлекеттік діні ислам болғандығы ғылыми түрде айқындалған.

Автор аталмыш мақалада ортағасырлық Қазақстандағы ислам және қажылық дәстүрінің таралу тақырыбын ортағасырлық араб, парсы, түркі, батыс және орыс жазба деректеріне сүйене отырып зерттеген.

Кілт сөздер: ислам, қажылық, Қазақстан, ортағасырлар, түріктер, қазақтар, дін, көшпенді, дәстүр, мәдениет.

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию процесса распространения и закрепления ислама и мусульманского паломничества в средневековой период истории Казахстана. Автор полагает, что мусульманская идентичность у народов Центральной Азии развивалась схожим образом на протяжении нескольких столетий, поэтому в этом вопросе нет необходимости выделять казахов от других мусульманских народов Центральной Азии. Со времен Караханидского государства, т.е. начиная с X-XI вв., ислам становится государственной религией всех последующих государственных образований, существовавших в Казахстане.

Ключевые слова: ислам, хадж, Казахстан, средние века, кочевники, тюрки, казахи, религия, традиция, культура.

Introduced in the early 1990s, the fashion for non-traditional teachings, including shamanism and mystical teachings has significantly strengthened the «pseudo nomadic» concept. As a result, some modern researchers of Kazakh culture even today are often limited by the thesis of Tengriism and its so-called impact on Islam in traditional Kazakh environment. The modern understanding of Tengriism was created from shamelessly invented fantasies and subjective «revelations» of some authors. For the most part, Tengriism is a modern term characterized by features of shamanism, animism, totemism, both polytheism and monotheism and ancestor worship. Historically, it was the prevailing religion of the Turks, Mongols, and Hungarians, as well as the Huns.

However, there is a need to mention that Islam and the pilgrimage to Mecca are historical and traditional phenomena for Kazakhstan, well known from the time of the Turkic Kaganat. The spread of Islam and establishment of the Hajj tradition, as the process of composition of a Muslim identity in the region, have developed large in similar ways in nomadic Turkic state formations and in settled agricultural formations of Central Asia.

Materials on the history of the Islamic development in Kazakhstan and on the pilgrimage to Hijaz can be found in various medieval texts. Generally,

they are extractions consisting of narrative works of historic, biographic, memoir and cultural-geographic character.

Arab, Persian and Turkic texts occupy a special place among the sources of the history of Kazakhstan of the XII-XVII centuries. On the one hand, this is the view from the side of the events that took place on the territory of Kazakhstan. On the other hand, they reflect the processes taking place in the spiritual life of the country. This circumstance can be explained by the fact that the Arab, Persian and Turkic texts are mainly composed by the spiritual leaders (ulama), academics, government officials, court secretaries, advisers and personal chroniclers of the rulers. Composed in various genres of Muslim literature, they, along with the proper religious issues, illuminate many aspects of political, economic and cultural life.

The first records about the penetration of Islam into the territory of Kazakhstan appear in historical writings of Muslim authors devoted to Kutaiba ibn Muslim (704-715). A few decades later, in 751, after the famous Battle of Talas, in the Zhetisu region (a historical name of a part of Central Asia, corresponding to the South-Eastern part of modern Kazakhstan, meaning "seven rivers" in Kazakh), medieval Arab commentators give more detailed coverage on the process of the penetration of Islam into the region [1, 28].

During the Karakhanid Kaganat, notably from the end of the X century, we can state the mass conversion to Islam of the Turks at the level of tribal confederations. It was the Karluks among whom there first appeared the Turkic ruling elites, who converted to Islam and declared it the official religion of their state. "Massive transition of the Turks-Karluks to Islam is associated with the name Satuk Boghra Khan (915-955, his Muslim name is Abd-ul-Karim), the founder of the Karakhanid Empire [2, 123-126]. This ruler of Karakhanids considered to be the first Turkic ruler, who not only adopted a new religion for the Turks, but also challenged their environment and actively inculcated Islam among the Turks. His son, Musa Satuk Arslan, who ascended to the throne in 955, declared Islam as the state religion of the khaganate and bore the title «Shihab al-dawla ya-zahir ad-daa» («The light of state and support for the call to faith»). Under his rule the population of Zhetisu region began a wholesale transition to Islam [2, 127].

At the beginning of the XIII century, with the expansion of the Genghis Khan empire, the spread of Islam in Kazakhstan had slowed. Genghis Khan, like his people, consisting of a number of Turkic tribal associations, traditionally believed in Tengriism. But during the reign of his grandsons and great grandsons, notably during the rule of the Golden Horde khans, Islam again obtained a powerful impetus to the development. According to Arab sources, some descendants of Genghis Khan become zealous defenders of Sharia. Therefore, Islam became the state religion under the Golden Horde Khans Berke in 1255-1266 and Ozbek Khan in 1312-1340, and after them continued to spread more intensively in all subsequent centuries [2, 179]. One

of the medieval Arab authors - Shihab al-Din Abu al-Abbas Ahmad, left a colorful exhaustive description of Khan Berke, whose name is associated with the proclamation of Islam as the state religion in the Golden Horde. He wrote: «Berke became a Muslim, and his Islam was beautiful. He erected a lighthouse of faith and established Muslim rites, gave an honor to the faithful believers, brought them nearer to himself, kept them close to himself, made friends with them and built within their state mosques and schools. He was the first of the descendants of Genghis Khan who adopted the religion of Islam. When he became a Muslim, even the majority of his people converted to Islam» [3, 122-123]. We also know that one of the ambassadors of Berke Khan in Egypt, made on behalf of him the so-called «Hajj Badal» to Mecca and Medina [4, 62]. According to the commonsense meaning of the Hajj Badal, it does mean to hire someone to perform Hajj on behalf of someone who died or someone who is chronically ill or disabled and cannot go on the trip.

It should be noted that the Golden Horde period was provided by the safety of trade routes and the routes of the Silk Road through Kazakhstan. Strict adherence to the rules and orders of the routes of the Silk Road gave an impetus to the development of trade, economic and cultural exchanges and relations between different countries, and had allowed to trading and ambassadorial caravans to get the right to freely travel along the Silk Road. This in turn led to an increase in the steppe of trade relations, cultural exchange, and religious missionary work. Muslim preachers began to move freely in the steppe, openly preach Islam among the local population and engaging in missionary activity, encouraging a growing number of faithful Muslims to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The number of local pilgrims also started to increase.

Over X-XVIII centuries, Islam played a very significant role in the history of Kazakhstan, having the status of a state religion in many states of the period. As such it was in the Qarakhanid Khaganate, the Golden Horde, Nogai Horde, Astrakhan Khanate, Kazan Khanate, Mogulistan, White Horde, the Abulchajr Šajbanikhan Khanate, Kazakh Khanate and even in the Khanate of Siberia. The attitude toward Islam by the ruling elites of various government entities, replacing each other on the territory of Kazakhstan, allows us to consider Islam as the state religion. The definite participation of the ruling elites in the institutionalization of Islam as the ideological and cultural foundation of society, and as the legal system, secured for Islam a dominant position in the aforementioned state formations.

More broadly, the topic of Islam and pilgrimage is present in the writings and works of authors who wrote in the Persian and Turkic languages. They give a fairly complete picture of the political situation in the Kazakh Khanate (XVI-XVIII), information about the diplomatic, economic and trade relations of the Kazakh khans with neighboring states. These sources and

materials on the history of the Kazakh Khanate contain in themselves much about the institutionalization of Islam in the Kazakh nomadic society.

Considerable attention to characterize Islam in the Kazakh Khanate can be found in the work of Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan “Mihman-namah-i Bukhara”. The content of this text proves that ideology, ethics, economic life and customs of the society in the Kazakh Khanate conform to Islam and Muslim religion. Author of «Mihman-namah-i Bukhara» concludes that it is impossible to consider the Kazakhs as "unfaithful". He explains that «Kazakhs recite the Qur'an, pray, send their children to school, make the fast, do not get married without a marriage contract These people (meaning the Kazakhs - author's note) recite the Shahada, rank themselves among the Muslims; slaughter sacrificial animals, make the call to prayer (azan), and read the Koran». The Bukhara theologian also stresses that from immemorial times and till the present different ulemas come to the Kazakhs country, the religious preachers of Merv (located near today's Mary in Turkmenistan), Khwarezm (Today Khwarezm belongs partly to Uzbekistan, partly to Kazakhstan and partly to Turkmenistan), Astrabad (i.e. Persia), from Haji-Tarkhan and Derbent Shirvan (Volga and the Caucasus). «Their (Kazakhs) merchants constantly visited and visit Islamic countries as well as the merchants of these countries go to them, too» [5, 57-69].

According to historical sources of XV-XVIII centuries, the Kazakhs successfully practiced Islam not only in legal, but also in ideological and in ritually dogmatic aspects. «Teaching of children in Muslim schools, performing Namaz (Namaz means alāt, or the practice of formal worship in Islam. Its importance for Muslims is indicated by its status as one of the Five Pillars of Islam), compliance with oraza (Oraza from Kazakh means observing Islamic fasting. This annual observance is regarded as one of the Five Pillars of Islam. The month lasts 29–30 days based on the visual sightings of the crescent moon, according to numerous biographical accounts compiled in the hadiths), the pilgrimage to Mecca and other regulations were the usual attributes of life of the Kazakhs in late Middle Ages» [6, 4]. This is known from various documented archival and historical materials. So, Christopher Bardanes, visiting Kazakhstan in the XVIII century, writes in his travel notes: «Kirghiz (Kazakhs) all have Mohammedan law. Letters are Arabic, that usually Turks and Tatars use» [7, 179-180].

I. Andreev, who visited the Kazakhs of Central Zhuz, or Hordes (Kazakh for Central Zhuz is «Orta Zhuz») is one of three main traditional divisions of the ethnic Kazakhs. The other two are Senior Zhuz and Younger Zhuz in the XVIII century, shares similar experiences. Saying that «the law of Kirgiz-kaïsaks (The Russians often used non-correct names of neighboring peoples. The name “Kirgiz-kaïsak” was also coined by Russians. However Kazakhs never called themselves so) is Mohammedan» he elaborates on the performance of religious rites that he himself was able to observe. Namaz,

according to him, is performed, as follows. Senior elder in the village «standing on the street sings or better shouts prayer that is made five times a day and was called namuzgu» (azan - author). «Hearing this proclamation, all must by custom of Mohammedan, standing on the knee, say prayer, leaving all whatever they did» [8, 37].

From the reports of Shoqan Valihanov, officer of Russian Imperial Army, it is known that Islam dominated in all spheres of society among the nomadic Kazakhs of XIXth century. According to Sh. Valihanov «Islam has brought ‘enormous progress’ to the steppe.... Each village has a mullah and travelling madrasah - school.... Who does not keep oraza and five-time prayer, he has no voice nor respect of relatives» [9,303].

Many Russian and Western researchers have failed to take into consideration various circumstances of how religion can exist in a particular natural-geographic and socio-cultural environment. They missed the functional significance of the “yurt”, which has been always known as a portable, bent dwelling structure traditionally used by nomads in the steppes of Central Asia as their home. Yurts have been a distinctive feature of life in Central Asia for at least three thousand years. The first written description of a yurt used as a dwelling was recorded by Herodotus, who described yurt-like tents as the dwelling place of the Scythians, a horse riding-nomadic nation who lived in the northern Black Sea and Central Asian region from around 600 BC to AD 300. The yurt had universal application character to the conditions of the nature of nomadic society [6, 17]. This led to the deepening of misconceptions for many years, concerning the processes of education, spreading and integration of the religion in the Steppe. Therefore, in particular, there appeared misrepresented thesis that the nomads did not observe religious rites, mainly because of the nomadic lifestyle.

In fact, there was no need for the nomad-Kazakh to leave the steppe, go somewhere, or give up an accustomed lifestyle in order to join Islam. For example, his usual house – the yurt, was adapted to the special conditions of the household and way of life. In their yurts Muslim-Kazakhs could make all those rites that were performed by sedentary Muslims - salat, the ritual of marriage, circumcision, funeral services, etc. The yurt was used as a movable school-maktab, library and meetinghouse. Many set up special yurts for prayer [10,119]. At the same time it should be understood that prayer can be performed in any clean place, both indoors (in the yurt), and in the open territory, about what Christopher Bardanes noted: «pray, sitting on their knees on the spreadoutfelt ...» [7, 180].

A. Levshin writes that in the headquarters of each of the Kazakh khans, sultans or elders of a tribe there was assigned the post of clerk, i.e. secretary. Secretaries were usually hired for administration of correspondence and interpretation of the Koran. The most distinguished of them often became judges and advisors of a khan, sultan, or tribal elders, since knowledge of

Sharia, the ability to interpret the Quran and Sunnah allowed them to conduct civil legal proceedings. In addition, prominent sultans often invited to their nomadic camps literate Tatars, Bashkirs, scholars from Tashkent and Bukhara [11,314].

Spiritual advisors among ishans (The term «Ishan» was coined as a title or nickname given to the heads of Sufi tarikats or fraternities) visited Kazakh villages and taught children literacy in movable schools, preaching and explaining the Sharia, spreading Quran, books, religious books, etc.» [6,14]. The activities of spiritual advisors often disturbed Russian colonial authorities. For example, in one of the reports of Russian colonial officials there was mentioned a widely known name among the Kazakhs - Maral-ishan - whom «with his miracles of healing the sick, predictions and agitation against Russia were spread across the steppe» [12,197].

In some archival data were recorded very interesting details. For example, that people who performed circumcision, were always in demand in a nomadic society: «Several surgeons of circumcision travel by Kyrgyz («Kazakh»- author's note) steppes. For fulfillment of this essential for the faithful operation was taken a good pay - a sheep. These people are very rich» [13, 246].

It is remarkable how some historians marked out religiousness of nomads. Some historical materials talked about the fact that «no Sunni could be a slave in Kazakh hordes, but Shi'a, Christian and Kalmyk taken to prison, could be sold» [14, 28]. A similar statement was made by A. Levshin, saying that the Kazakhs were not fanatical in matters of religion, but considered as kafir («unbeliever», «disbeliever», or «infidel»). The term refers to a person who rejects God in Islam or who hides, denies, or covers the «Islamic version of truth». The practice of declaring another Muslim as a kafir is takfir) all who did not revered Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, this issue took a very tough position, so kafirs were subject to all kinds of persecution. It was believed that weapons could and should be used against them. Kazakhs considered as kafirs not only Christians (Russian), Buddhists (Kalmyks), but also Shias, because Kazakhs reckoned themselves to be Sunnis. Kazakhs had a modest understanding of the niceties of Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) and the moral code and religious law of prophetic religion (Shariah), but were well versed in the issue of identifying their nearest Muslim neighbors. For example, every Kazakh was clearly aware that the Tatars, Bukharians, Khivans, Turks and other neighbors are of the same religion with them. But the Persians and other followers of Ali were considered as schismatic. For this reason, no Sunni could become a slave in the Kazakh hordes. However, captive Shiites, Christians or Kalmyks were sold and kept equally [11,314].

According to A. Levshin, one of the Kazakh rulers of the XVI century, Khan Kuchum, once established on the throne of the Siberian Khanate started to convert new nationals to Islam, which he himself practiced, and for the

spread of which his father Murtaza sent to him akhoond and many mullahs: «Murtaza, the father of the Kazakh Khan Kuchum sent to his son during the conquest of Siberia, not only his army, but a group of mullahs to conduct in the Siberian Khanate Mohammedan religion» [11,156] .

The main information about Islam in the chronicles of the XV-XVIIIth centuries falls in the period of the reign of the first Kazakh khans, when a religious motive repeatedly became relevant in matters of negotiations and declarations of war. For example, participating in a campaign of Muhammad Shayban-khan against Kazakh khans (1508-1509) a court chronicler Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan Isfahani had the unique opportunity to highlight the religious side of Kazakhs' life.

Sharia gradually starts to play an important role in the traditional Kazakh law, affecting the interpretation and adoption of steppe laws, judicial decisions, and the institutionalization of religious norms in the Kazakh Khanate. For the improvement of cultural, social, economic and political aspects of the development of Kazakh society Khan Tauke (1680-1718) passed the «Code of the Seven Basic Laws» (Kazakh: «Zheti Zhargy»). It had provisions that prevented proselytism, conversion from Islam to other religions, claimed special status of Chodžas as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In fact, the adoption of the «Zheti Zhargy» was tantamount to recognition of Islam as the official religion of the Kazakh Khanate. For all Kazakh hordes, tribes and clans this body of law was becoming an important source of law, until the accession of Kazakhstan to Tsarist Russia.

In general, the subject of pilgrimage from Central Asia to the holy for Muslims land Hijaz is fragmentarily mentioned in a number of medieval Arabic, Persian and Turkic extracts. The theme of pilgrimage is touched there not independently, but as a rule, within the ethnographic materials to help to reconstruct and present household, family life, customs and traditions of the population of Kazakhstan. We can get fragmentary information from them about the pilgrimage and its role in a nomadic and semi-nomadic society. Sections of these ethnographic data describe fragmentary materials concerning Hajj in late medieval nomadic Kazakh society. Special mention can be made on the works devoted to biography of Central Asian «Chodžas».

Important facts for the study of history are contained in the comments of medieval European travelers and commentators, in the later works of Russian researchers. Their genre is also diverse.

At the same time, the fundamental archive records and materials related to the pilgrimage to the Hijaz from Kazakhstan, refer to modern times. They are related mainly to reports of Russian tsarist officials, who systematically published guidelines for pilgrims and for people who devoted themselves to spiritual advising and preaching Islam in the Steppes. Great scientific interest in this regard presents lists of pilgrims to Mecca and Medina, the various directives on measures to be taken against them, distributed by Russian

colonial officials. New Era also include autobiographical and memoir notes compiled by the pilgrims. In these memoirs and reminiscences can be found a great deal of interesting information related to the Hajj in the holy Muslim land of Hijaz.

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