Islam as Practiced by the Kazaks:  
A Bibliography for Scholars  

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I. Introduction:¹

Topic

Kazaks are an ethnic Turkic group with a population of roughly 10 million. Nomads until the beginning of the 20th century, most Kazaks live in the Republic of Kazakhstan which was formerly part of the USSR. Significant communities also exist in other parts of the former Soviet Union as well as China, Mongolia, Iran and Afghanistan. The role of religion among the Kazaks has been a hotly debated issue in scholarly discourse.² With the advent of this debate it seems prudent to develop an up to date bibliography for scholars on Islam as practiced by Kazaks. Today it would appear that many Kazaks, like the vast majority of other Turkic peoples, identify themselves as Sunni Muslims belonging to the Hanafi school of jurisprudence. Unfortunately no precise estimates are available, since there is a wide discrepancy in the polls as to what it means to be Muslim.

Russian and western discourse has traditionally held that the spread of Islam among the Kazaks was a slow one that only became firmly rooted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many have argued that conversion was brought about largely by Tsarist policies first started by Catherine the Great in the early 19th century. Conventional wisdom

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¹ This paper was initially written for Professor Lokman Meho’s course Information in the Social Sciences at Indiana University’s School of Library and Information Science. I would like to thank Dr. Meho for his helpful insights and for encouraging me to submit this bibliography for publication.
² For a summary of the debate and new appraisal of Kazak religion see Bruce G. Privatsky, Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001, especially the first chapter. For more classical portrayals of Kazak religion, see Martha Brill Olcott, The Kazakhs, especially pp. 100–109, and Elizabeth E. Bacon, Central Asians Under Russian Rule, pp. 41–47.
has also held that the Kazaks were only nominally Muslim, their actual religion being a syncretism of shamanism and some Islamic beliefs. Soviet scholarship, with its anti-religious bent, stressed this dichotomy as a means of convincing the Kazaks that Islam was something alien to them and that it therefore should be rejected.

Recent discourse has contested these arguments; it has been noted that the Kazaks emerged from the Jochid Ulus—a state that was incorporated into Islamdom in the 14th century. The role of shamanism and the apparent ‘superficiality’ of Kazak Islam have also been questioned. Many scholars now argue that shamanism should not be viewed as a doctrinal religion, like Islam, nor should Islam be placed into ‘orthodox’ and heterodox paradigms.3

No annotated bibliographies devoted to the current topic exist. Therefore this will be the first annotated bibliography that covers specifically Islam as practiced by the Kazaks. Recent access to a library that contains a strong collection of books on Central Asia adds to the bibliography’s strength and uniqueness.

**Audience and Scope**

Due to the esoteric nature of the topic, this bibliography targets advanced undergraduates, graduates, and professors. It is assumed that users will possess at least intermediate familiarity with the region and the religion. Therefore regional surveys of Central Asia that include little focus on Kazaks will be excluded. This limitation holds for all formats of information offered. Similarly introductory books on Islam will not be listed. Generally one needs to know at least Russian or Kazak to do research on the topic. However since scholars studying other regions of the world may want to do comparative research, every effort will be made to list items available in English. Due to time constraints and the author’s own deficiencies, literature written in other Western research languages is excluded. Kazak and Russian titles will be translated into English in brackets following the item’s original title. Items written in Kazak and Russian will be noted in brackets following the annotation.

Only secondary sources will be listed. Those wishing to and capable of carrying out further research should be able locate primary sources by consulting citations made in secondary literature. Focus will be on the most recent literature, but important classic’ works are also

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3 Privatsky, especially chapters 3 through 6.
included. Since the available corpus is so small, relevant items covering any time period are included. With the exception of the section on items listed by availability, all entries are arranged in alphabetical order by the author’s last name or, when no author is available, by title.

**Research Strategy**

Locating relevant items was difficult and at times frustrating. This is no doubt because the topic is both very specific and has received relatively little attention in the academic world. While some items were located through electronic databases, the author found it necessary to employ other methods as well. The need for extra resourcefulness compensates for often inadequate cataloging and lack of good pathfinders. Items written in Kazak or Russian relevant to the topic often did not contain appropriate pathfinders. Databases were searched using Boolean AND/OR strategies.

In order to compensate for this deficiency, the author employed other strategies. The author relied heavily on the strength of Indiana University’s collection of Central Asian materials. IU is the only school to offer a Ph. D. in Central Eurasian Studies, and therefore its library is adequate for meeting the needs of advanced graduate students in the field. A significant amount of time was spent browsing shelves for relevant items. Extensive use was also made of citations available in existing literature. Finally the author relied on his own advanced degree in the field when it came to judging which items were appropriate to include.

**Best Keywords and Search Phrase:**

The following keywords yielded the best results:


The following search phrase yielded the best results:

- Kazak* AND (Islam* OR sufi* OR relig*)

**Call Numbers:**

The following call numbers were most useful for browsing:

- BP 63.K’s, DK 511’s, DK906’s.
Concluding Remarks

What mildly surprised me when doing this assignment was IU-CAT’s inadequate coverage of the material. I was not expecting most databases to provide extensive coverage. However, mainly because of IU’s strong collection of materials about Central Asia, I assumed that IU-CAT coverage would be complete. This was not the case, particularly for items written in languages other than English. I therefore had to rely more on browsing shelves than I anticipated before beginning this project.

Locating journal articles was another very frustrating and difficult aspect of this assignment. Once again databases offered very limited help. However what was most frustrating was that several articles were unavailable despite IU’s possession or subscription to the relevant journal. This was in part the result of gaps in the collection. More often, however, it was because IU had switched entirely to electronic subscriptions. Unfortunately most of these electronic subscriptions contained issues only from the past few years. Obtaining articles prior to the mid-1990’s was often not possible. This experience has caused me to be much less enthusiastic about relying exclusively on electronic subscriptions.

Although I possessed a fairly strong background in the topic, I expected to find more literature available. I was particularly surprised about the low number of dissertations on the topic. I also found it interesting that, despite recent research many scholars, both in Kazakstan and the U.S., continue to advocate the superficiality of Islam among the Kazaks.

In addition to sharpening my research skills and strategies, I think the requirement for writing annotations was very helpful. There were no annotations for most of the literature, and I found writing brief but concise annotations to be quite challenging.

II. Books:

Most literature on the subject is produced in monographs. Usually entire books are devoted to the subject. Less often relevant individual chapters exist. It is clear that the 1990’s saw a significant increase in publications about Islam as practiced by Kazaks. This is true of publications in the west, as well as in the former Soviet Union. This is undoubtedly due to the collapse of the U.S.S.R., which had maintained a strong anti-religious stance through out its existence. It is probable
that publication of material will continue to increase in the first decade of the 21st century.


Argues that interest in Islam is resurging among Kazaks in the post-Soviet period. This is manifested in Kazakhstan’s increasing ties with the Muslim world. Draws on outdated claims of the late arrival of Islam and religious superficiality among the Kazaks. Based on these precepts it makes contradictory and unconvincing claim that despite growing interest in Islam religion will not become an important element in Kazak identity. Footnotes include author’s comments and citations.


Written by an American anthropologist who had a rare opportunity to visit Soviet Muslim communities in Central Asia. Contains a thorough, though not exhaustive, coverage of Kazaks and their practice of Islam. Material now very outdated. Repeats now disputed claims regarding Islamic superficiality, Muslim-Shamanist syncretism and Catherine the Great’s command to convert Kazaks to Islam. Fails to incorporate anthropological theory into the study. Contains photographs, a bibliography and an index.


Provides information about the historical role the Hajj played in Kazak religious life based on archival material. Focus is from the mid 18th to early 20th centuries. Authors express the purpose of the book is to educate Kazaks about this important tenet of Islam, since making Hajj was severely restricted in Soviet times. Provides useful information for scholars despite its ‘popular’ target audience. Contains numerous charts that provide data on Kazaks who made Hajj. Charts provide information such as the pilgrim’s name, age, tribal origin and place of birth. Appendix includes list of Kazaks who made Hajj between 1993 and 1995. [Kazak]

Provides short biographies of numerous historical religious scholars who lived in what is now Kazakhstan. Not all of the figures were Kazaks, and Farabi is among those included. Other important people include Muhammad Kasghari and Muhammad Haidar. Also provides descriptions of a few important historical texts. Footnotes include citations as well as additional editorial notes. No bibliography is provided. Somewhat disorganized in its layout.


Written by arguably the most important contemporary historian of Central Asian religion. The first to challenge claims of religious superficiality and Muslim-Shamanist syncretism, this book offered a new and revolutionary framework. Influenced scholars including Frank and Privatsky. Covers many different ethnic groups with numerous references to the Kazaks. Examines how these groups came to accept and practice major world faiths, with particular emphasis on Islam, in the pre-modern period. Provides detailed footnotes, a large bibliography and a comprehensive index. Appendixes include transcription, transliteration and translation of an important manuscript discovered by the author.


Written by a leading U.S. historian of Islam in Russia and Central Asia. Uses primary sources hitherto unexamined to provide a detailed picture of the religious life of Muslims in western Siberia, many of who were Kazaks. Introduction classifies and critiques other attempts to study Kazak religion. Challenges popular notions of religious superficiality, Muslim-Shamanist syncretism and late adoption of Islam among the Kazaks. Contends that examined sources demonstrate that Islam was well integrated into Kazak daily life. Includes detailed footnotes, a comprehensive bibliography and index.

Written by a prominent Russian scholar of philosophy and comparative literature. Attempts to prove there is a common national psychology of Kazaks, and Kirgis, which views the world in a religious context. Cites examples from literature, the arts and theater to justify this view. Focuses on works from the famous 19th century Kazak poet Abai Kunanbayev. Depends heavily on literary theory and terminology which may make it difficult for the non-specialist, including this bibliographer. Lack of an index in this large book also makes it difficult to navigate through. [Russian]


A combined effort by one American and two Chinese scholars. Describes the ‘folk’ religion of the Kazaks in China. Covers topics difficult to find outside of scholarship written in Chinese. Examines important religious/life rituals such as circumcision, marriage and burial. Argues for the existence of Muslim-Shamanist syncretism and at times implies superficiality of Islam among the Kazaks. Despite these now outdated views remains important for detailed coverage of religious rituals. Footnotes include citations and detailed commentary. Provides a glossary of key terms, a bibliography and an index.


Divided into three sections. The first section provides a historical survey of the Kazak steppe from antiquity to the arrival of Russia in the 19th century. The second section provides brief descriptions of pre-modern architectural sites, mostly built for religious purposes, in southern Kazakhstan. The final section provides brief descriptions of important works of Kazak literature. Includes photographs of architectural monuments. [Kazak]

Divided into three sections. Incorporates the orthodox/unorthodox paradigm and ‘pre-Islamic’ shamanism in Kazak religious life. The first section discusses the role of ‘orthodox’ Islamic institutions and figures (madrasas, mosques, mullahs, etc.) The second section discusses the role of Sufism and ‘unorthodox’ Islam. The third section examines the persistence of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices among the Kazaks such as shamanism. Arguments are outdated and coverage is largely superficial. [Russian]


Repeats outdated claims made in his book (see above) about Islamic superficiality and continuation of pre-Islamic practices by the Kazaks. Attempts to summarize four hundred years of religious history in less than ten pages. Despite these shortcomings, this article is useful for scholars restricted to English because it provides a rare translation of scholarship by a Kazak academician.


Discuss the spread of Islam in Kazakstan’s Middle Ages (8th–18th centuries). The book thus stresses the role Islam played in the region prior to the arrival of the Kazaks. Places Kazak Islam within the context of the ‘Turkish-Islamic’ synthesis in Central Asia that began with Karakhanid conversion to Islam. Adopts the orthodox/unorthodox paradigm by arguing that Kazaks practiced a ‘Sufi Islam’ free of ‘formalism’ and ‘dogmatism’.

Provides a useful, detailed narrative despite use of outdated approaches to religion. [Russian]


Written by a prominent American political scientist. The only thorough English survey of Kazakh history from the 16th century to the late 20th
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... century; thus important for scholars lacking knowledge of Russian or Kazak. Advances, now disputed, claims of the late conversion of the Kazaks to Islam and their lack of Islamic orthodoxy. Provides several appendixes related to Kazak demography and a detailed glossary of terms. Includes a bibliography and index.


A new anthropological approach to Kazak religion in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. Provides new insights into religious life by challenging claims of religious superficiality and Muslim-Shamanist syncretism. Surveys and critiques previous Western and Soviet literature on the subject. Argues convincingly practices formerly labeled as 'shamanist,' such as traditional methods of healing, should in fact be an expression of Kazak Islam. Notes parallels of practices with other Muslim societies. Written in a comprehensive and easy to read manner, this work will be readily accessible to those not well grounded in anthropological theory. Includes photographs, a glossary, detailed footnotes, a large bibliography and index.


Offers a historical survey of the religious history of Kazakstan and other areas of Central Asia. Although the survey begins in ancient times most coverage is of Islam from medieval times until the late 20th century. Includes brief descriptions of prominent regional Sufi Tarikhas. Other sections include 'Tolerance and Intolerance in Islam,' 'Islam and Women,' and 'Muslim Culture in Turkestan.' A glossary of key subject, geographic and ethnic terms is provided. Also has a comprehensive bibliography. A useful account of key events and concepts. [Russian]


Provides information about the history, beliefs and demography of religions practiced in contemporary Kazakhstan. A significant portion of the monograph is devoted to Islam but there is also coverage of Christianity, Ju-
daism, Buddhism and other faiths. Classifies Sufism as something separate from Sunni or Shiite Islam. Addresses the concern over the spread of ‘Fundamentalist’ Islam. Glossary contains definitions of key terms. Somewhat superficial in its approach.


Written by a 19th century Kazak ethnologist trained in Russia this is the first scientific approach to Kazak religion. Established many of the oft repeated claims of shamanism, superficiality of Islam and Muslim-Shamanist syncretism. Despite the fact that many claims have recently been challenged this remains an important book because of the information it contains about Kazak religious life in the 19th century and because it set the framework for all later scholarship. Includes charts, pictures, maps and facsimiles of excerpts from author’s original notes. Contains indexes for names, ethnic groups and geographic locations. [Russian]

III. Journal Articles:

As mentioned in the introduction locating relevant journal articles proved to be quite challenging. While part of this was due to small number of articles published on the subject, other factors complicated locating journal articles. Most notably, inadequate coverage by electronic subscriptions and gaps in the IU library’s collections made it impossible to locate more items.


Attempts to reconstruct the social history of *khojas*, descendents of the sufi saint Yasavi, in the vicinity Turkistan using *nasab-*names [genealogical tables]. Argues convincingly that the existence and consultation of these sources to legitimate social and political status by Yasavi’s descendents demonstrates that Islam played a significant role in the lives of 19th century Kazaks. Religious terminology and historical references may make cause minor problems for non-specialists. Endnotes include citations and additional commentary.

Examines hagiographies about Yasavi in an attempt to reconstruct 16th and 17th century sufi life at his shrine. Argues that authors of hagiographies incorporated contemporary rituals and traditions, such as recitation of *dhikr*, practiced at the shrine since little was actually known about Yasavi’s life. Includes endnotes with citations and additional commentary.


Written by a prominent U.S. scholar of Central Asian history. Argues that Islam is playing an important role in the formation of identity of Kazaks in the post-Soviet period. Notes many Kazak intellectuals are arguing that Islam was an important part of life for Kazaks prior to the Soviet period. The growth of mosques and the demand for imams and others trained in Islamic law demonstrates the importance of Islam for Kazaks on the popular level. Written in a clear and concise manner. Endnotes include citations and additional commentary by the author.

IV. Reference Sources:

Reference sources have been listed largely to serve as ready reference materials for researchers. Again, general regional entries on Islam in Central Asia as well as articles about Kazaks that contained little mention of religion were excluded.  


Provides a brief description of Kazakh history and anthropology. Contends Kazaks converted to Islam by the 16th century. Describes the Hanafi School,

to which the Kazakhs belonged, as comparatively liberal. Stresses unorthodoxy of Islam practiced by Kazaks. Argues that sedentarization and literacy have led to more ‘orthodox’ practice in recent times. Provides a short bibliography. Contains verbatim portions of Magnarella’s earlier article and the same weaknesses in that article’s approach. [see previous entry].


Written by an anthropologist, this article provides a historical and ethnographical description of the Kazaks. Argues that conversion to Islam took place by the 16th century but repeats the now contested claims of unorthodox’ practice in earlier times. Maintains that Muslim identity and Islamic orthodoxy’ have increased among Kazaks in the latter half of the 20th century. Followed by a brief bibliography of related books and articles.


A brief synopsis of Islam in Kazakstan written by a leading political scientist who studies the country. Argues that Islam was not ‘solidly established’ among the Kazaks until the late 19th century. Maintains the now disputed claim that conversions to Islam began in the late 18th century by Tatar merchants upon the order of Catherine the Great. Also discusses the status of Islam during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Includes a ‘See also’ section for related entries and a short bibliography.


This entry offers a brief history of the town of Turkistan stressing its regional religious and political significance. Focus is on pre-20th century. Provides a brief physical description of Yesevi’s shrine. Article makes constant references to primary sources as well as to related encyclopedia articles. It is followed by a short bibliography of sources not cited in the article. Written
by a prominent French scholar of Kazakh history. Article is also available in electronic format in the Encyclopedia of Islam on CD-Rom and Online.


An encyclopedia of important architectural monuments in southern Kazakhstan. States to be the first of many volumes. Includes numerous descriptions of mosques, medressas and other buildings of religious significance. Entries range between a short paragraph to an entire page. Monuments are organized by political zone. Detailed color photographs, maps, building floor plans and pictures are provided for many entries. Includes a glossary of key terminology. Numerous detailed indexes are provided, including: a names index, a geography index and an index based on chronology thus making it easy to navigate. Printed in small fonts. Includes short introductions in Kazak and English. [Russian]

V. Dissertations:

All dissertations located through *Dissertation Abstracts*. Although interest in Central Asia has risen significantly in recent years, the number of dissertations specifically pertaining to the topic of Islam and Kazaks remains small. Of the three dissertations two were in the field of anthropology and one in history.


This work results from a dialogue which occurred in 1994 between the author and a native Kazak scholar in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China. The consultant addressed the author’s questions regarding the existence of “shamanism” among the Xinjiang Kazaks, while providing a detailed ethnographic narrative on his people . . . This presentation is accompanied by the author’s ethnographic and linguistic commentary, and completed by an analysis of Kazak historical identity. The conclusion of the work consists of a related analysis, centered upon the consultant’s native

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5 Available online through *Dissertation Abstracts (Digital Dissertations)* (http://proquest.umi.com)
taxonomy of healing practices, concerning shamanism, healing and its role in Xinjiang Kazak culture.

Balgamis, Ayse Deniz, Ph.D. *The Origins and Development of Kazakh Intellectual Elites in the Pre-Revolutionary Period*. The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2000, 259 pages; AAT 9981905

This dissertation deals with the origins and development of Kazakh intellectual elite that played a seminal role in the creation of a Kazakh literary language, a modern literature and, ultimately a national identity, culture and new, modernist political aspiration. The historical force behind this was the Russian penetration of the Kazakh steppe and interaction with the Kazakh traditional tribal-nomadic way of life . . . The modern Kazakh culture and identity, despite its secular orientation, was, in fact, an amalgam of the traditional and modern, with tribal lore and elements of the old Islamic folk religion reinterpreted and organized to meet the requirements of modern nationhood.

Privatsky, Bruce G. Ph.D. *Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory*. The University of Tennessee, 1998, 470 pages; AAT 9923318

This study in the anthropology of religion examines the relationship between Kazak ethnicity and religion, exploring how the collective memory is mediating Muslim values in Kazak culture in the 1990s. Ethnographic field research was conducted in the Kazak language from 1992 to 1998 in the city of Turkistan (Turkestan) in southern Kazakhstan (Kazakhstan) . . . In five descriptive chapters these elements are substantiated with verbatim interview data in Kazak, with English translations. The problem of normative and popular Islam (folk Islam), the Islamization of Inner Asia, the syncretic interpretation of Turko-Mongolian shamanism, and the semantic fields of Kazak religious discourse are explored.

VI. Databases:

Electronic databases provided limited help in locating material. As research progressed it became clear that many important items were not listed in databases and that other approaches, including browsing and use of published citations, were necessary.

Index Islamicus. Bethesda, MD. : Cambridge Scientific Abstracts Internet Database Service, 2003-. Available online via CSA.


VI Web Resources:

Authoritative information on the World Wide Web about Islam practiced by Kazaks is sparse. Nonetheless a few essays and web pages have been found. The fact that these pages are being published by official and unofficial institutions suggests the importance religion plays in contemporary Kazak identity.

Turkistan—1500.

http://www.natcom.unesco.kz/turkestan/e02_geo_policy.htm

Published by UNESCO. Focuses on the history of the religiously significant city of Turkistan located in southern Kazakhstan. Includes sections on the sufı saint Yasavi’s life, teachings and shrine. Scholars will find the scanned images and documents from religious texts to be the most useful feature of this website.

Islam in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. (The Nurcu Movement and the Hizb ut Tahrir)


Article provides information on two foreign Islamic movements active in Kazakhstan. The first is the Turkish Sufı Nurcu sect. Notes that ‘missionaries’ from Turkey are very active, and at least somewhat successful, in spreading their beliefs among the Kazaks. The second group is the terrorist organization Hizb ut Tahrir. While the author acknowledges that the organization is dangerous he stresses it is not widely popular in Kazakhstan.


Located on the National Library of Kazakhstan’s website. Provides brief information about Yasavi’s life and a few excerpts from his Divan-I Hikmet.
The fact that the national library hosts a website about Yasavi suggests his importance in contemporary Kazak identity. Image does not load. [Russian]
Provides a description of an important shrine in southern Kazakstan dedicated to an 11th century Sufi saint. Offers numerous color photographs and floor plans that are of use to scholars. Website loads slowly.

*Sufism in Kazakhstan.* [http://www.navi.kz/articles/?artid=5013](http://www.navi.kz/articles/?artid=5013)
Brief article about the history of Sufism in Kazakhstan. Provides a superficial overview of the topic using ‘orthodox’ vs. ‘unorthodox’ Islam framework. Authority of article’s author is unclear. No citations. Viewers may leave comments about the article. [Russian]

*Turkestan the Cultural Renaissance of Central Asia.*
Possibly significant for scholars studying contemporary Kazak identity because Kazakstan’s embassy chose to host this website. Provides brief information on the city of Turkistan and Yasavi’s shrine. Includes color photographs.

**Most Widely Available Sources:**
Few libraries own material that covers the topic of Islam as practiced by Kazaks. With few exceptions, most books published are only available at a handful libraries around the world. Indiana University owns several, but not all, of these books. Information on holding libraries was obtained via WorldCat. The list is ranked by the number of libraries that own the book. Due to the paucity of libraries owning these books, only books held by fifteen or more libraries are listed.

Owned by 106 libraries.

Owned by 93 Libraries.


Owned by 24 libraries.


**Appendix I: A Note on Transliteration**

I have decided to use ‘Kazak’ as opposed to the more common ‘Kazakh.’ In an attempt to distinguish the Kazak ethnic group from the Cossack ethnic group the Soviets altered the spelling of the former. Rather than spelling Kazak with a final ‘k’ the Soviets decided to use the Russian letter ‘kh;’ the word ‘Kazakh’ in Kazak is unintelligible however and Kazaks, when writing in Kazak, have now decided to use the letter ‘k’ once more.²

² Although listed in IUCAT, I was unfortunately unable to obtain and review this item. Basilov was a noted Soviet historian of Islam. His work tends to emphasize shamanism and superficial religious beliefs among the Turkic nomads.
