

2026. 13 (4)

Asian Journal

"STEPPE PANORAMA"



ISSN 3135-8055

ISSN 3135-8055 (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, этнология.

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://ajspiie.com>

© Ш. Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты 2026

© Авторлар ұжымы, 2026

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)

БАС РЕДАКТОРДЫҢ ОРЫНБАСАРЫ

Женгиз Алимаз — филология ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, түрколог-ғалым, Бурса Улудаг Университетінің профессоры (Бурса қ., Түркия Республикасы)

РЕДАКЦИЯЛЫҚ АЛҚА

Аяған Бүркітбай Ғелманұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Мемлекет тарихы институты директорының орынбасары (Қазақстан)

Әбіл Еркін Аманжолұлы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор. (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).

Голден Кэти Стромайл (Kathie Stromile Golden) – PhD, Миссисипи өңірлік мемлекеттік университеті (Mississippi Valley State University) (АҚШ)

Жаркен Айгүл Мәлікқызы - тарих ғылымдарының докторы, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия Ұлттық университетінің профессоры (Қазақстан)

Кәрібаев Берекет Бақытжанұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті, «Қазақстан тарихы» кафедрасының меңгерушісі (Қазақстан)

Қожамжарова Дария Пернешқызы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі. (Қазақстан)

Көкебаева Гүлжауһар Какенқызы — тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті. (Қазақстан)

Көмеков Болат Ешмұхамедұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі, Әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ ұлттық университеті Халықаралық қыпшақтану институтының директоры, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің профессоры (Қазақстан)

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)

Сәбитов Жақсылық Мұратұлы — PhD, Жошы Ұлысын зерделеу ғылыми институтының директоры (Қазақстан)

Самашев Зайнолла Самашұлы – археолог, тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Герман археология институтының корр.-мүшесі. ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ә. Марғұлан атындағы Археология институты. (Қазақстан)

Смағұлов Оразақ Смағұлұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, ҚР ҰҒА академигі, Болон 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)

Сыдықов Ерлан Бәтташұлы – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Еуразия ұлттық университетінің ректоры (Қазақстан)

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

Томохико Уяма — PhD, Хоккайдо университетінің Славян және Еуразиялық зерттеулер орталығының профессоры (Жапония)

Ян У. Кэмпбелл (Ian W. Campbell) — PhD, Калифорния университетінің профессоры (АҚШ)

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)

Черниенко Ирина Борисовна – тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, доцент, аға ғылыми қызметкер Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының (Қазақстан)

РЕДАКТОР

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

ТЕХНИКАЛЫҚ ХАТШЫ

Ағзам Райымбек Рзабекұлы – Ш. Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының қызметкері, магистр (Қазақстан)

Бурханов Бимурад Бадритдинұлы — магистр, Ш. Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институтының ғылыми қызметкері. (Қазақстан).

ISSN 3135-8055 (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, этнология.

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://ajspiie.com>

© Институт истории и этнологии имени Ч. Ч. Валиханова, 2026

© Коллектив авторов, 2026

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)

ЗАМЕСТИТЕЛЬ ГЛАВНОГО РЕДАКТОРА

Женгиз Алилмаз — доктор филологических наук, профессор, тюрколог-учёный, профессор Бурса Улудаг Университет (г. Бурса, Турецкая Республика)

РЕДАКЦИОННАЯ КОЛЛЕГИЯ

Абиль Еркин Аманжолович — доктор исторических наук, профессор (Казахстан)

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

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)

Голден Кэтти Стромайл (Kathie Stromile Golden) – PhD, Государственный университет долины Миссисипи (Mississippi Valley State University) (США)

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

Жаркен Айгуль Маликовна – доктор исторических наук, профессор Евразийского национального университета им. Л. Н. Гумилёва. (Казахстан)

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)

Карибаев Берекет Бахытжанович – доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК, заведующий кафедрой истории Казахстана, Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби (Казахстан)

Кожамжарова Дарья Пернешовна – доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК (Казахстан)

Кожирова Светлана Басиевна – доктор политических наук, профессор, содиректор Центра исследования Китая и Центральной Азии Фуданьского Университета и МНК «Астана», руководитель Центра китайских и азиатских исследований (Казахстан)

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

Кумекоев Болат Ешмухамбетович – доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК, директор Международного института кипчаковедения Казахского национального университета имени аль-Фараби, профессор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева (Казахстан)

Матыжанов Кенжехан Слямжанович – доктор филологических наук, профессор, чл.-корр. НАН РК, директор Института литературы и искусства имени М. Ауэзова (Казахстан)

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)

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

Сабитов Жаксылык Муратович - PhD, директор научного института изучения Улуса Джучи (Казахстан)

Сыдыков Ерлан Батташевич – доктор исторических наук, профессор, академик НАН РК, ректор Евразийского национального университета имени Л.Н. Гумилева (Казахстан)

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

Томохико Уяма — PhD, профессор Центра славяно-евразийских исследований Хоккайдского университета (Япония)

Ян Кэмпбелл (Ian W. Campbell) — PhD, профессор Калифорнийского университета (США)

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 и этнологии им. Ч. Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан).

Черниенко Ирина Борисовна – кандидат исторических наук, доцент, старший научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова (Казахстан)

РЕДАКТОР

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

ТЕХНИЧЕСКИЙ СЕКРЕТАРЬ

Агзам Райымбек Рзабекулы – магистр, сотрудник Института истории и этнологии имени Ч.Ч. Валиханова (Казахстан)

Бурханов Бимурад Бадритдинович — магистр, научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч. Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан).

ISSN 3135-8055 (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, ethnology.

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://ajspiie.com>

© Ch. Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, 2026

© Group of authors, 2026

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)

DEPUTY EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Cengiz Alyılmaz — Doctor of Philological Sciences, Professor, Turkologist scholar, Professor at Bursa Uludağ University (Bursa, Republic of Türkiye).

EDITORIAL BOARD

Abil Yerkin Amanzholovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Member of the Mazhilis of the Parliament of the RK. (Kazakhstan)

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

Ayagan Burkitbai Gelmanovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Deputy Director of the Institute of History of the State SC MSHE RK (Kazakhstan)

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

Ian W. Campbell — PhD, Professor at the University of California (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)

Karibayev Bereket Bakhytzhonovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Head of the Department of History of Kazakhstan, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Kazakhstan)

Kozhamzharova Daria Perneshovna — doctor of historical sciences, professor, academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan. (Kazakhstan)

Kozhirova Svetlana Bassieva — Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Co-Director of the Center for the Study of China and Central Asia of Fudan University and the International Scientific Complex of the National Company "Astana", Head of the Center for Chinese and Asian Studies (Kazakhstan)

Kokebayeva Gulzhaukhar Kakenovna — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University. (Kazakhstan)

Kumekov Bolat Eshmukhambetovich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Director of the International Institute of Kipchak Studies of the Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Professor at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University (Kazakhstan)

Matyzhanov Kenzhekhan Slyamzhanovich — Doctor of Philology, Professor, Corresponding Member of the NAS RK, Director of M. Auezov Institute of Literature and Art (Kazakhstan)

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)

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

Sabitov Zhaxylyk Muratovich — PhD, Director of Research Institute for Jochi Ulus Studies (Kazakhstan)

Samashev Zainolla Samashevich — archaeologist, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of German Archaeological Institute. A. Marghulan Institute of Archeology SC MSHE RK (Kazakhstan)

Sydykov Erlan Battashevich — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Rector of L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University (Kazakhstan)

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)

Tomohiko Uyama — PhD, Professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University. (Sapporo, Japan)

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

Zharken Aigul — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at L. N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University. (Kazakhstan)

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)

Chernienko Irina Borisovna — Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Senior Researcher at the Ch. Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology (Kazakhstan)

EDITOR

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

TECHNICAL SECRETARY

Agzam Raiymbek Rzabekuly – Master's degree, researcher at Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology (Kazakhstan).

Burkhanov Bimurad Badritdinovich — Master's, researcher at Ch. Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology. (Kazakhstan)

Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan
Asian Journal "Steppe Panorama"
Has been issued as a journal since 2014
ISSN 3135-8055.
Vol. 13. Is. 4, pp. 1128-1142, 2026
Journal homepage: <https://ajspiie.com>

FTAXP / MPHTH / IRSTI 03.20
https://doi.org/10.51943/3135-8055_2026_13_4_1128-1142

"BEYOND TERMS AND BEYOND RULES": IMPERIAL AUTHORITIES AND THE MUSLIM CLERGY OF THE STEPPE KRAI DURING THE 1910 CHOLERA EPIDEMIC

Teleuova Elmira¹, Sabol Steven²

¹Al-Farabi Kazakh National University
(71 Al-Farabi Avenue, Almaty, 050040, Republic of Kazakhstan)
Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8014-6787> E-mail: elmiradesebai@gmail.com

²University of North Carolina at Charlotte
(9201 University City Blvd, Charlotte, NC 28223, USA)
Professor of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte.
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4381-3725>. E-mail: sosabol@uncc.edu

© Ch.Ch. Valikhanov IHE, 2026
© Teleuova E, Sabol S., 2026

Abstract. *Introduction.* This article, based on unpublished documents from the Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA), examines the dynamics of state-confessional interactions during the global health crisis of 1910. The study focuses on how the model of a pragmatic partnership between the imperial authorities and the Muslim clergy of the Steppe Krai took shape. The study addresses a critical historical and infrastructural problem regarding the severe shortage of medical resources and qualified physicians in the national borderlands of the empire. This situation was further exacerbated by ethnocultural wariness and a deep-seated distrust among the nomadic population toward state medical specialists. *The Goals and objectives* of this study are to reconstruct how this biological catastrophe forced the local administration to abandon the standard, empire-wide "top-down" governance models. Specifically, using documents from the State Council of 1887 as an example, the study examines the refusal to allocate emergency budgetary funds, and, using precedents from 1847, the refusal to urgently dispatch student medical teams from central universities. This allowed the authorities to reorient their approach and turn to the internal resources of the nomadic society itself. *Results.* Using the micro-historical case study of Hazrat Dosmukhamed Bismukhamedov in the Ural Oblast during the 1910 cholera outbreak, the authors trace the actual mechanisms of this newly emerging partnership. Engaging with the theoretical framework of cultural brokerage, the text analyzes how the Hazrat acted as an effective cultural mediator, changing the traditional image of the Muslim leader in crisis governance. He personally operated disinfection equipment, successfully adapted dangerous traditional burial rites to meet biosafety protocols, and utilized the mosque's pulpit to prevent the concealment of infected individuals. Despite the prolonged, delayed, and highly bureaucratic nature of the award procedures, the regional administration ultimately validated this crucial social cooperation by granting Bismukhamedov a silver medal under the explicit formulation "beyond terms and rules." *Conclusion.* The authors conclude that the 1910 epidemic served as an administrative catalyst, proving that the cultivation of loyal and enlightened religious intermediaries

was a vital mechanism for the physical survival of the nomadic community and a reliable pillar for healthcare modernization in a traditional society.

Keywords: Steppe Krai, Ural Oblast, Muslim clergy, cholera epidemic (1910), social service, award system

Acknowledgments. The article was prepared within the framework of the implementation of the research project funded by the Science Committee of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan, grant AP23489947 – «Encounter with Empire: the history of Stepnoi Krai, 1822-1917».

For citation: Elmira T. Teleuova, Steven Sabol. "Beyond Terms and Beyond Rules": Imperial Authorities and the Muslim Clergy of the Steppe Krai during the 1910 Cholera Epidemic// Asian Journal "Steppe Panorama". 2026. Vol. 13. No. 4. Pp. 1128–1142. (In Eng.). DOI: 10.51943/3135-8055_2026_13_4_1128-1142

«МЕРЗІМНЕН БҰРЫН ЖӘНЕ ЕРЕЖЕДЕН ТЫС»: 1910 ЖЫЛҒЫ ТЫРЫСҚАҚ ІНДЕТІ КЕЗІНДЕГІ ДАЛА ӨЛКЕСІНІҢ ИМПЕРИЯ БИЛІГІ МЕН МҰСЫЛМАН ДІНБАСЫЛАРЫ

Телеуова Эльмира¹, Сабол Стивен²

¹Әль-Фараби атындағы ҚазҰУ

(71, әль-Фараби даңғылы, 050040. Алматы, Қазақстан Республикасы)

Тарих ғылымыдарының кандидаты, доцент

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8014-6787> E-mail: elmiradesebai@gmail.com

² Шарлотттағы Солтүстік Каролина университеті

(9201 University City Blvd, Charlotte, NC 28223, АҚШ)

Профессор, Шарлотттағы Солтүстік Каролина университеті.

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4381-3725>. E-mail: sosabol@uncc.edu

© Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы ТЭИ, 2026

© Телеуова Э., Сабол С., 2026

Аңдатпа. *Kipicne.* Мақалада Ресей мемлекеттік тарихи архивінің (РМТА) қорларынан алынған жарияланбаған құжаттар негізінде 1910 жылғы жаһандық денсаулық сақтау дағдарысы кезеңіндегі мемлекеттік-конфессиялық өзара іс-қимылдың динамикасы қарастырылады. Зерттеу империялық билік пен Дала өлкесінің мұсылман дінбасылары арасындағы прагматикалық серіктестік моделінің қалай қалыптасқандығына назар аударады. Сондай-ақ, зерттеу жұмысы империяның ұлттық шеткері аймақтарындағы медициналық ресурстар мен білікті дәрігерлердің өте тапшы болуына байланысты туындаған өткір тарихи-инфрақұрылымдық мәселені шешуге бағытталған. Бұл жағдай көшпелі халықтың этномәдени сақтығымен және мемлекеттік медицина мамандарына деген терең сенімсіздігімен ушыға түскен еді. Жұмыстың мақсаты мен міндеттерінде биологиялық дағдарыс жергілікті әкімшілікті «жоғарыдан төмен қарай» басқарудың жалпыимпериялық үлгілерінен бас тартуға қалай мәжбүр еткенін жағдайды қайта қарайды. Атап айтқанда, Мемлекеттік кеңестің 1887 жылғы құжаттары мысалында төтенше бюджеттік несиелер бөлуден бас тарту, ал 1847 жылғы прецеденттер мысалында, орталық университеттерден студенттік медициналық жасақтарды шұғыл іссапарға жіберуден бас тарту мәселесі қарастырылады. Бұл билік органдарына бағытты өзгертіп, көшпелі қоғамның өз ішкі ресурстарына жүгінуге мүмкіндік берді. *Нәтижелер.* 1910 жылғы тырысқақ (холера) індеті өршіген тұстағы Орал облысындағы Досмұхаммед Бекмұхаммедов хазіреттің микротарихи кейсі мысалында авторлар осы жаңадан қалыптасып келе жатқан серіктестіктің шынайы тетіктерін бақылайды. Мәдени қатынас және делдалдық тұжырымдамасына сүйене отырып, мақалада хазіреттің дағдарысқа қарсы басқарудағы мұсылман көшбасшысының дәстүрлі бейнесін өзгертіп, тиімді мәдени делдал

рөлін қалай атқарғаны талданады. Ол дезинфекциялық жабдықтарды жеке өзі басқарды, қауіпті дәстүрлі жерлеу рәсімдерін санитарлық хаттама талаптарына сәтті бейімдеді және науқастарды жасырудың алдын алу үшін мешіттің беделін пайдаланды. Іс жүргізудің ұзаққа созылған және бюрократиялық тұрғыдан кешіктірілген сипатына қарамастан, аймақтық әкімшілік соңында бұл әлеуметтік өзара іс-қимылдың құндылығын мойындап, Бекмұхаммедовты «мерзімінен тыс және нормадан тыс» деген тұжырымдамамен күміс медальмен марапаттады. *Қорытынды.* Авторлар 1910 жылғы індет басқару ісінің катализаторы болды деген қорытындыға келеді. Бұл жағдай лояльді, әрі ағартушы діни делдалдарды тарту көшпелі қауымның физикалық аман қалуының маңызды тетігі және дәстүрлі қоғамда денсаулық сақтауды жаңғыртудың сенімді тірегі болғанын дәлелдеді.

Түйін сөздер: Дала өлкесі, Орал облысы, мұсылман дінбасылары, тырысқақ індеті (1910 ж.), әлеуметтік қызмет, марапаттау жүйесі

Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғарғы білім министрлігі Ғылым комитетінің AP23489947 – «Империя құрылымындағы Дала өлкесінің тарихы, 1822–1917 жж.» гранттық қаржыландыру ғылыми жобасын іске асыру шеңберінде дайындалған.

Дәйексөз үшін: Эльмира Телеуова, Стивен Сабол «Мерзімнен бұрын және ережеден тыс»: 1910 жылғы тырысқақ індеті кезеңіндегі Дала өлкесінің империя билігі мен мұсылман дінбасылары // Asian Journal "Steppe Panorama". 2026. Т. 13. № 4. 1128–1142 бб. (Ағыл.). DOI: 10.51943/3135-8055_2026_13_4_1128-1142

«ВНЕ СРОКА И ВНЕ НОРМЫ»: ИМПЕРСКАЯ ВЛАСТЬ И МУСУЛЬМАНСКОЕ ДУХОВЕНСТВО СТЕПНОГО КРАЯ В ПЕРИОД ЭПИДЕМИИ ХОЛЕРЫ 1910 ГОДА

Телеуова Эльмира¹, Сабол Стивен²

¹ Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби
(д. 71, пр. аль-Фараби, Алматы, 050040, Республика Казахстан)
кандидат исторических наук, доцент

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8014-6787> . E-mail: elmiradesebai@gmail.com

² Университет Северной Каролины в Шарлотте
(9201 Юниверсити Сити бульвар, Шарлотт, NC 28223, США)
Профессор, Университет Северной Каролины в Шарлотте.

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4381-3725>. E-mail: sosabol@uncc.edu

© ИИЭ имени Ч.Ч. Валиханова, 2026

© Телеуова Э., Сабол С., 2026

Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье на основе неопубликованных документов из фондов Российского государственного исторического архива (РГИА) рассматривается динамика государственно-конфессионального взаимодействия в период глобального кризиса здравоохранения 1910 года. Исследование фокусируется на том, как формировалась модель прагматичного партнерства между имперской властью и мусульманским духовенством Степного края. Исследование направлено на решение острой историко-инфраструктурной проблемы, связанной с критическим дефицитом медицинских ресурсов и квалифицированных врачей на национальных окраинах империи. Эта ситуация усугублялась этнокультурной настороженностью и глубоким недоверием кочевого населения к государственным медицинским специалистам. *Цель и задачи исследования* заключаются в реконструкции того, как эта биологическая катастрофа вынудила местную администрацию отказаться от стандартных общеимперских шаблонов управления «сверху вниз». В частности, на примере документов Государственного совета 1887 года рассматривается отказ от выделения чрезвычайных бюджетных кредитов, а на примере прецедентов 1847 года – от экстренного командирования студенческих медицинских отрядов из центральных университетов. Это

позволило властям переориентироваться и обратиться к внутренним ресурсам самого кочевого общества. *Результаты.* На примере микроисторического кейса хазрета Досмухамеда Бекмухамедова в Уральской области во время вспышки холеры 1910 года авторы прослеживают реальные механизмы этого зарождающегося партнерства. Опираясь на концепцию культурного посредничества и брокериджа, в статье анализируется, как хазрет выступил в роли эффективного культурного посредника, изменив традиционный образ мусульманского лидера в антикризисном управлении. Он лично управлял дезинфекционным оборудованием, успешно адаптировал опасные традиционные погребальные обряды к требованиям санитарного протокола и использовал авторитет мечети для предотвращения сокрытия больных. Несмотря на затянувшийся и бюрократически отсроченный характер делопроизводства, региональная администрация в итоге признала ценность этого социального взаимодействия, наградив Бекмухамедова серебряной медалью с формулировкой «вне срока и вне нормы». *Заключение.* Авторы приходят к выводу, что эпидемия 1910 года послужила катализатором управления, доказав, что привлечение лояльных и просвещенных религиозных посредников являлось важнейшим механизмом физического выживания кочевой общины и надежной опорой для модернизации здравоохранения в традиционном обществе.

Ключевые слова: Степной край, Уральская область, мусульманское духовенство, эпидемия холеры (1910 г.), социальное служение, наградная система

Благодарность. Статья подготовлена в рамках реализации научного проекта грантового финансирования Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан АР23489947 – «После контакта с имперскими структурами: История Степного края, 1822-1917 гг».

Для цитирования: Эльмира Телеуова, Стивен Сабол. «Вне срока и вне нормы»: имперская власть и мусульманское духовенство Степного края в период эпидемии холеры 1910 года// Asian Journal "Steppe Panorama". 2026. Т. 13. № 4. С. 1128–1142. (На англ.). DOI: 10.51943/3135-8055_2026_13_4_1128-1142

Introduction

The issue of integrating the Muslim population of the Steppe Region into the legal and social framework of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries has traditionally been examined in historiography through the lens of administrative oversight and ideological confrontation. The establishment of a "special administration" system in the region following the adoption of the "Provisional Regulations" of 1868 set the course for a strict limitation of the influence of traditional religious institutions. The introduction of new administrative rules was accompanied by the systematic removal of judicial and socio-religious functions from local Muslim leaders and the gradual displacement of Sharia norms from the region's official legal framework, as documented in the records of the regional chancellery (CSARK. F. 15. Op. 1. D. 246. P. 19). In the official discourse of the 1880s, the Muslim clergy was often characterized as an "unreliable element" whose activities were aimed at "paralyzing the beneficial influence of the imperial administration" and preserving communal isolation (RSHA. F. 821. Op. 8. D. 602. L. 206).

However, the rigid administrative and legal framework and the policy of ideological control regularly clashed with the harsh reality of governing an empire, especially during periods of large-scale biological crises. At the empire-wide macro level, the central government initially attempted to employ standard technocratic, financial, and public health and police measures in a "top-down" manner. First, there were colossal material costs, as evidenced by the 1887 archival file of the State Economy Department titled "On the Reimbursement of a Loan in the Amount of 116,669 rubles 65 kopecks for Measures Against the Cholera Epidemic" (RSHA. F. 1162. Op. 1. D. 4. L. 11). Second, the emergency mobilization and recruitment of external academic personnel from the capital to the provinces, as evidenced by the "File on the Seconding of Professors and Students from Kazan, Kharkiv, and Moscow Universities in 1847" (RSHA. F. 733. Op. 99. D. 479. L. 20).

Finally, the third method involved the creation of rigid and costly stationary sanitary barriers along the border regions to prevent the spread of infections from outside. A striking example of this

strategy is the 1907 Council of Ministers' resolution on establishing the staffing levels for the maritime medical observation station in Krasnovodsk, Transcaspian Region, which was opened in response to the outbreak of cholera in Persia (RSHA. F. 1276. Op. 3. D. 904. L. 24). All these activities required a colossal amount of bureaucratic administration: as shown by the minutes of the State Duma's Administrative Commission for 1907–1908, the highest legislative body had to approve budgets on a monthly basis, review "medical requests," and regulate in detail the medical and sanitary aspects (RSHA. F. 1278. Op. 2. D. 1144. L. I).

Nevertheless, these historical precedents clearly demonstrate that, by the early 20th century, the state apparatus's previous technocratic policies had encountered challenges that exposed a severe shortage of administrative and medical resources at the local level. All standard empire-wide approaches—massive budget injections, the dispatch of university teams, or the construction of border outposts—ran into an insurmountable barrier in the Steppe Region due to the colossal distances of the steppe and the passive cultural resistance of the nomadic population. The imported medical care, confined to the cities, proved powerless.

Public health and epidemiological crises—and in particular the large-scale cholera outbreak of 1910—served as a catalyst for a profound transformation in state-religious relations. Faced with a biological threat and a complete infrastructure impasse, the imperial authorities were forced to rethink their strategy of "suspicious isolation" of Islam. Abandoning external administrative templates, the administration turned to seeking internal resources within nomadic society—"progressive" allies within the clergy itself—effectively recognizing local Muslim leaders as key public health intermediaries ("cultural brokers").

The subject of this study is the process of establishing a model of pragmatic social partnership between the imperial authorities and Muslim leaders in the Ural Oblast. This article reconstructs the activities of Hazrat Dosmukhamed Bekmukhamedov, which took place against the backdrop of a profound institutional crisis in the regional healthcare system. His personal experience in "public health service" and the subsequent recognition of his merits by the state under the unique formula of "beyond the term and beyond the norm" offer a new perspective on the role of the Muslim clergy as an active agent of sociocultural adaptation, capable of conveying state objectives into the traditional environment during critical periods of history. Thus, the epidemiological crisis of the early 20th century not only laid bare the contradictions between the two worlds but also created the conditions for the formation of a new type of social contract based on pragmatic cooperation for the sake of preserving the region's biological security.

An analysis of the interaction between imperial authorities and the nomadic population of the steppe region in the late nineteenth century reveals a significant administrative weakness: the imperial bureaucracy lacked effective mechanisms for direct communication with nomadic communities. Within this framework, the Muslim clergy was initially perceived as an obstacle to state integration. However, archival materials demonstrate that this policy of distrust created difficulties for the administration in addressing social and public health challenges.

The epidemiological crisis of 1910 acted as a litmus test, exposing the inefficiency of exclusively coercive measures. An analysis of the situation in the Ural Oblast suggests that the authorities were faced with the necessity of finding an "internal resource" within the Kazakh community itself.

In this context, the work of Hazrat D. Bekmukhamedov acquires special significance—not merely as an isolated instance of loyalty, but as a systemic shift in imperial governance. The transition from perceiving a Muslim leader as a "Sharia threat" to recognizing him as an "agent of modernization" (capable of personally operating medical equipment in infection hotspots) testifies to the empire's forced pragmatism.

In contrast with the established historiographical tradition, which views the Muslim clergy of the Steppe Region primarily within the context of opposition to colonial rule, this article offers a new perspective on the mechanisms of interaction between the empire and religious institutions. The study aims to address three key objectives. First, this work provides the first detailed reconstruction of the mechanisms of "sanitation cooperation" between the imperial administration and the *aul* (village)

clergy during the 1910 cholera pandemic. Second, using the case of Hazrat D. Bekmukhamedov, it establishes Muslim leaders' role as "cultural mediators" who not only legitimized European medical practices through religious authority but also participated directly in disinfection measures. Finally, the study reveals the hidden flexibility of the imperial award system, which, under the pressure of a public health threat, bypassed strict bureaucratic requirements ("beyond the term and beyond the norm"), using state awards as a tool to cultivate a loyal intellectual elite in the Steppe Regions.

Materials and Methods

The source base for this study consists of unpublished regulatory, administrative, and clerical documents held at the Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA). Of paramount importance are the materials from the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Denominations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (RSHA. F. 821. Op. 8. D. 602), which contain correspondence from the Military Governor of the Ural Oblast, reports from district physicians, and award documents for Hazrat D. Bekmukhamedov. To reconstruct the macro-imperial context of crisis management and its institutional boundaries, the study includes materials from the State Council's Department of Public Economy dating from 1887 regarding the allocation of emergency budgetary appropriations for cholera control (RSHA. F. 1162. Op. 1. D. 4), as well as documents from the Department of Public Education dated 1847 concerning the interdepartmental deployment of university medical teams to regional outbreak sites (RSHA. F. 733. Op. 99. D. 479).

In this article, microhistory is used as a key analytical tool for reconstructing historical reality "from the bottom up." Rather than taking large-scale social shifts for granted, this approach challenges structural macro-narratives that often obscure real human experience (Magnússon, Szijártó, 2013). By adopting the distinctive perspective of "seeing the world through the eyes of a microhistorian," the text shifts the focus to an intensive study of small spaces and specific local actors operating in unstable imperial borderlands (Ghobrial, 2019; Chatterji, 2023). This methodological approach allows for the "singularization of history," bringing to the forefront the lived subjectivity and agency of individual persons.

As a result, the boundary between rigorous structural history and intimate biography becomes blurred, revealing how monumental transformations are reconciled and overcome through everyday face-to-face personal encounters. Such deep immersion in the local environment allows us to capture the extreme behavioral flexibility of historical actors facing crises and demonstrates how they maneuvered within complex local traditions and actively reshaped them. Ultimately, this detailed study confirms that comprehensive frameworks of imperial governance are not merely directives handed down from above; they are fundamentally forged, contested, and sustained within the tangled and ambiguous realities of everyday life (Brewer, 2010; Robisheaux, 2017).

Discussion

The problem of integrating the Muslim clergy into the imperial structure of the Steppe Region occupies a central place in the works of both classical and contemporary researchers. A fundamental legal assessment of the Provisional Regulation of 1868 was provided by S. Z. Zimanov (Zimanov, 1960) and T. M. Kulteleev (Kulteleev, 1955), who established that the nationalization of clerical offices served as a tool for eliminating the political autonomy of the Kazakhs. In turn, A. V. Remnev (Remnev, 2013) and D. Arapov (Arapov, 2001) analyzed the bureaucratic mechanisms of this process in detail, showing how the Ministry of Internal Affairs attempted to transform the mullah into a disciplined official.

An analysis of archival documents concerning the procedure for electing and appointing mullahs (CSARK. F. 15. Inv. 1. C. 246. P. 19, §253, 254) allows us to supplement the conclusions of Virginia Martin (Martin, 2001), presented in her study of law and power in the Kazakh Steppe. Martin points to the complex process of transformation of the region's legal space under the influence of imperial legislation. The materials we identified in Fond 821 of the RSHA confirm her thesis that the Russian Empire sought to formalize the institutions of spiritual authority by embedding them within

a rigid bureaucratic structure. However, this led to the emergence of hybrid forms of law enforcement at the intersection of customary law, Sharia, and imperial law.

In this period, the transition toward pragmatic sanitary cooperation is viewed not as an isolated medical episode, but as a fundamental marker of the evolution of the Muslim clergy's image in the eyes of the imperial administration. As the Russian researcher D. V. Mikhel emphasizes (Mikhel, 2021), in the early twentieth century, major epidemics transformed into "political events" that inevitably exposed the crisis of trust between the authorities and the population, compelling the state to seek new levers of influence over society. This thesis finds its full validation at the regional level when analyzing the profound infrastructural deficits of the Steppe Krai. According to the findings of A. I. Vlasova (Vlasova, 2023), rural and settlement medicine in this national borderland long remained outside the primary interests of researchers, while the region's medico-sanitary service itself was characterized by critical fragmentation, a weak material base, and a complete absence of zemstvo institutions. Under these complex institutional conditions, the large-scale biological catastrophe of 1910 acted as a powerful catalyst, which exposed the inefficiency of former administrative templates and forced the imperial bureaucracy to urgently seek support within the internal social resources of the traditional nomadic society through the institution of the loyal Muslim clergy.

In regional historiography, this process of the institutional helplessness of colonial medicine in the borderlands finds detailed validation in the works of contemporary Kazakhstani researchers. For instance, analyzing the specifics of anti-epidemic protection, G. K. Kokebayeva and S. K. Shildebai emphasize that epidemic control in pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan was purely episodic (Kokebayeva, Shildebai, 2021). This systemic failure was deeply rooted in a critical shortage of qualified personnel and stationary infrastructure: across the vast territory of the region, there were only 98 hospitals, with a mere 196 physicians attempting to provide medical care. The situation was further exacerbated by the colossal scale of medical districts-where a single sector could encompass up to 85.5 thousand km²-effectively leaving the nomadic population entirely cut off from specialized health services and prompting unchecked surges in malaria, plague, smallpox, and typhus outbreaks.

However, while the work of Kokebayeva and Shildebai focuses heavily on the macro-institutional weaknesses and infrastructural deficits of the medical system, the grassroots social mechanisms for overcoming these crises through the transformation of confessional policy remain unexamined. Our case study demonstrates that it was precisely this consecutive chain of biological catastrophes-from the 1910 cholera to the 1913 plague-that shattered the 1880s imperial stereotype of the mullah as a "conservative and unreliable element." Confronted with the passive ethnocultural aversion of the Kazakhs, the authorities were forced to de facto recognize the enlightened Islamic clergy as legitimate "cultural brokers" capable of translating the state's modernization demands to a traditional society.

In contrast to scenarios of open confrontation, this process confirms the theory put forward by J. Burbank and F. Cooper that an empire can only survive if there are effective local intermediaries. The role of Hazrat Bekmukhamedov as such a mediator finds a deep theoretical foundation in the works of G. S. Sultangalieva (Sultangalieva, 2023) on intellectual mediation in the Steppe. Amid the extreme biological threats of the early 20th century, this mediation evolved from a purely administrative function to a public health one, radically altering the balance of power and the image of the Muslim leader within the structure of imperial governance.

The works of Zh. B. Kundakbayeva are of significant importance for understanding the mechanisms of interaction between the authorities and the Steppe. In particular, in her work devoted to methods of steppe diplomacy (Kundakbayeva, 2015), the author examines in detail the intermediary tools that allowed the imperial administration to embed traditional institutions within its system of influence. Kundakbayeva substantiates the thesis that the imperial authorities were forced to compromise their desire for unification with the necessity to "accommodate" local communities to achieve stability. Drawing on her findings regarding these administrative technologies, we can interpret the case of Hazrat Bekmukhamedov as an evolution of such practices: during the 1910 epidemic, following the logic of pragmatism, the authorities delegated some sanitation powers to the Hazrat. Thus, the work of Zh. B. Kundakbayeva allows us to view Bekmukhamedov's activities not as an incidental episode, but as a time-tested tool of imperial administration in Kazakhstan.

Particular attention in the literature is paid to the period of the 1880s, marked by a rise in "ideological suspicion." Robert Crews (Crews, 2006, p. 195), in his fundamental work, proposed the concept of "state-building through faith," explaining that the empire sought to utilize Islam to maintain order. However, as Paolo Sartori points out (Sartori, Shabley, 2019), in practice, this process encountered informal networks of influence. In this context, the governor's fear in 1888 of Tatar influence resonates with the works of D. M. Iskhakov (Iskhakov, 2011) and P. S. Shabley (Shabley, 2012), who explore the role of Tatar mullahs and merchants as intellectual intermediaries who created alternative communication channels in the Steppe. Elena Campbell (Campbell, 2015) classifies this period as an intensification of the "Muslim Question," when Islam began to be perceived by the imperial administration exclusively as a barrier to integration. However, such a one-sided bureaucratic view of religion as an obstacle contradicts the internal developmental dynamics of the region itself. In this regard, a significant contribution to the discourse on the history of the Steppe Region is made by the research of N. D. Nurtazina (Nurtazina, 2016), which focuses on the spread of Islam and the formation of a distinctive Kazakh Muslim tradition. Her works allow us to see that behind the superficial facade of the "problem" constructed by officials lay a complex process of forming a flexible religious identity capable of engaging in a dialogue with modernity. In her writings, the author demonstrates that Islam in the Steppe Region was not a superficial layer, but served as the fundamental core of national identity and culture. Nurtazina substantiates the thesis that it was the "enlightened clergy"-to which Hazrat Bekmukhamedov belonged-that played a decisive role in adapting religion to changing historical conditions.

According to the researcher's findings, the Kazakh Muslim tradition possessed a high degree of flexibility, which allowed the clergy to become agents of modernization rather than its victims. N. D. Nurtazina emphasizes that the most authoritative community leaders viewed scientific and technological achievements (including medicine) not as a threat to faith, but as a tool for national preservation. From this perspective, Bekmukhamedov's activities in implementing sanitation norms in 1910 serve as a practical confirmation of Nurtazina's concept regarding the "creative potential of Islam." The Hazrat acted not merely as a translator of imperial will, but as a guardian of tradition, utilizing modern means (disinfection, hygiene) to ensure the physical survival of a Muslim society during an existential crisis. In this light, N. D. Nurtazina's research allows for interpreting the Bekmukhamedov case as part of a global process of the internal evolution of Kazakh Islam, which sought an organic synthesis of faith and progress. This large-scale process finds its concrete manifestation in the daily actions of the Hazrat, the anthropological dimension of which resonates with the approaches of S. N. Abashin (Abashin, 2021). The researcher calls for examining the history of Muslim societies through the prism of everyday practices and the personal choices of individual actors; in our case, this allows us to perceive the living subjectivity of a spiritual leader behind administrative reports. The Hazrat's experience in desacralizing the space of disease and the conscious transformation of burial rites confirms Abashin's thesis regarding the high plasticity of the Islamic tradition. Consequently, Bekmukhamedov's actions should be interpreted not as a rejection of religious dogmas, but as their creative adaptation to the challenge of modernization under extreme conditions.

In contemporary historical science, the works of I. Gerasimov, S. Glebov, and M. Mogilner hold a prominent position within the theoretical framework of "New Imperial History." These scholars have proposed a crucial revision to the classical "colonizer vs. oppressed" dichotomy, conceptualizing the empire instead as a complex, heterogeneous space where power was constantly negotiated (Gerasimov et al., 2017: 9). This shift away from simplified binary models toward pragmatic, situational flexibility and mutual adaptation between the imperial center and the steppe periphery has already been fruitfully demonstrated in recent scholarship on the region's agrarian and educational integration (Teleuova, Kundakbayeva, 2026). In their research, they demonstrate that imperial policy in the borderlands was not a process of unilateral pressure, but rather a space of complex negotiations and mutual concessions. Applied to our study, these authors' findings allow us to understand Hazrat D. Bekmukhamedov as an active historical agent rather than a passive object of imperial policy. While traditional approaches often viewed Muslim leaders as either victims of Russification or participants

in resistance, the research by Gerasimov, Glebov, and Mogilner opens the possibility of analyzing such figures as independent actors. This enables us to interpret Bektukhamedov's activities as the conscious choice of a leader who utilized imperial resources (medicine, the award system) to strengthen his community's position during a crisis. Consequently, these studies establish a foundation for understanding how hybrid forms of loyalty emerged in the Steppe Region, where the interests of spiritual authority and state objectives found points of convergence.

Drawing on the works of Steve Sabol (Sabol, 2017) and Virginia Martin (Martin, 2001), we interpret the awarding practice "beyond the term and norm" as a manifestation of the exceptional situational flexibility of imperial law. This corroborates the findings of S. L. Fuchs (Fuchs, 1981) regarding the hybridity of the Steppe's legal space, where the interests of communal survival and state objectives found common ground through pragmatic dialogue. Traditionally, the relationship between the Russian Empire and its Muslim subjects in the Steppe Region has been described in terms of supervision and rigid administrative regulation. For a long time, historiography viewed the interaction between the Russian administration and the Muslim clergy exclusively through the lens of control, suppression, and forced Russification. However, an analysis of archival materials from 1910–1911 suggests that crisis periods, such as epidemics, exposed the limitations of administrative resources and compelled the authorities to seek allies among traditional leaders, shifting toward more flexible forms of governance.

The dynamics of state-clerical relations revealed during this study allow for a reassessment of established perceptions regarding total administrative control on the imperial peripheries. While the phenomenon of forced unification and bureaucratic regulation of the spiritual sphere dominated the region at the end of the 19th century, the systemic crisis of 1910 exposed the limits of this policy. Archival materials testify to the authorities' forced transition to a strategy of "situational flexibility," where recognizing the agency of traditional leaders became the prerequisite for maintaining stability. In this sense, the "sanitation partnership" emerged not merely as a temporary measure, but as a tool for establishing a new social contract, within which state objectives were legitimized through the authority of clerical elites.

The process of implementing Western scientific and medical protocols within a traditional nomadic environment is typically viewed as a point of profound socio-cultural conflict. However, the case under consideration demonstrates the success of a cultural brokerage model. Disinfection and vaccination procedures, which were previously perceived by society as alien imperial intervention, were transformed-through the work of the Hazrat-into an act of social service justified through religion. This suggests that the state's modernization initiatives stood a chance of implementation only when they underwent semantic adaptation and were integrated into the framework of everyday religious life. An analysis of the Muslim leader's work during the epidemic reveals him as an active participant in modernization rather than a passive object of imperial policy. The practices of desacralizing the space of disease and the conscious transformation of burial rites demonstrate the high plasticity of the local Muslim tradition, which proved capable of organically synthesizing faith and progress. Unlike the typical scenarios of open confrontation with authority and the "cholera riots" of that time, this experience reveals a space for genuine legal negotiations and compromises. The ultimate result of this evolution was the recognition of Islam not as a barrier to integration, but as a vital strategic resource for social stabilization in the face of global crises.

Results

To gain a deep understanding of the scale of the 1910 crisis, it is necessary to reconstruct the actual state of medical institutions in the Steppe Region at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. As evidenced by archival statistical data summarized in the seminal works of S. Shildebay and his co-authors, on the eve of World War I (in 1913), the healthcare infrastructure in Kazakhstan was in its infancy: across the region's vast territory, there were only 244 licensed physicians and 393 paramedics practicing, and the total capacity of the few inpatient hospitals-located primarily in cities and Cossack line settlements-did not exceed 1,800 beds (Shildebay et al., 2024).

For the vast nomadic population of the Kazakh auls, scattered across thousands of square

kilometers of the steppe, European medical care was physically inaccessible. Against this backdrop, the outbreak of the sixth global cholera pandemic in the summer of 1910, which instantly swept through the Chilik region of the Ural Governorate, immediately led to the paralysis of local government. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that the nomadic way of life (in particular, the use of stagnant water from open irrigation ditches and the tradition of holding large-scale funeral rites involving close physical contact with the body of the deceased) objectively contributed to the rapid spread of the infection. Attempts by the military authorities to contain the outbreak using their usual administrative and punitive measures—setting up police roadblocks and imposing strict “top-down” quarantines—failed completely, triggering mass panic and passive cultural resistance among the Kazakhs, which manifested itself in the concealment of the sick and the secret burial of the deceased.

The imperial authorities broke out of this impasse not through the allocation of resources, but thanks to a necessary administrative maneuver—the recognition of the local Muslim clergy as a full-fledged participant in public health policy. The example of Hazrat D. Bektukhamedov's work shows how this lack of trust and personnel was overcome: an enlightened religious leader acted as a “cultural broker,” successfully translating alien colonial public health regulations into the language of religious duty toward one's neighbor—a concept the community could understand.

The transition of imperial policy in the Steppe Region from a strategy of total administrative control to a model of pragmatic social partnership was not instantaneous. Rather, it was the result of a profound governance crisis in which the ambitions of the bureaucratic machine collided with the daily reality of nomadic society. To understand the significance of Hazrat Bektukhamedov's case in 1910, it is necessary to reconstruct the ideological and legal environment in which the relationship between authorities and Muslim leaders had been established during the preceding decades.

The legal foundation of the clergy's status in the region was defined by the Provisional Regulation of 1868, which de jure included the mullah in the imperial nomenclature, placing him in strict dependence on the governor's will. As S. Z. Zimanov (Zimanov, 1960: 282) notes, the legal reform of 1868 aimed at the final elimination of the Steppe's political autonomy, transforming traditional institutions into an appendage of the bureaucratic machine. However, according to Steve Sabol (Sabol, 2017: 175), the process of “colonization through legislation” in the Steppe Region encountered nomadic societies' cultural resilience: imperial attempts to impose rigid governance structures often led to the emergence of parallel, informal centers of influence that the authorities were unable to control.

While the Provisional Regulation of 1868 established a formal framework of control by setting a strict limit of “one *aul* – one mullah” exclusively for the population of local natives (persons of indigenous origin) (CSA RK. F. 15. Inv. 1. C. 246. P. 32), the actual political practice of the 1880s was permeated with a deep existential fear of the Islamic element. A pivotal document revealing this anxiety is the Governor's report dated November 23, 1888, addressed to Count D. A. Tolstoy (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 206). An analysis of this letter highlights the central problem of imperial governance at that time: the perception of Islam as “fanaticism” that hindered the civic integration of the Kazakhs. The Governor expressed extreme concern regarding the activities of wandering *ishans* from Khiva and Bukhara who, despite not being integrated into the official hierarchy, possessed immense informal authority. From the administration's perspective, this influence was deemed destructive, as it fostered an alternative system of loyalty based on Sharia and directly “paralyzed” the government's attempts to implement pan-imperial standards of living. In this ideological paradigm, Russian literacy was viewed not merely as an educational tool, but as a political counterweight to religious traditionalism. The authorities believed that the forced dissemination of the Russian language among the clergy and the steppe elite would serve as a “filter,” allowing for the integration of loyal imams and limiting the influence of external Islamic centers. As Steve Sabol (Sabol, 2017: 157) notes, such a policy reflected the empire's desire to make the Steppe culturally “legible” to the bureaucratic apparatus.

The 1888 memorandum addressed to Count D. A. Tolstoy clearly illustrates this gap. The concern expressed therein regarding the “harmful influence” of *ishans* and Tatar imams reflects the fear of the “Islamic element” characteristic of that era. According to N. D. Nurtazina's analysis

(Nurtazina, 2016: 187), the imperial authorities during this period viewed Islam not merely as a religion but as a powerful mobilization resource capable of consolidating the Steppe against the colonial advance. This correlates with Michael Kemper's findings on the functioning of Sufi networks as "shadow" power structures capable of maintaining autonomy under imperial pressure. The researcher describes in detail the situation in Uralsk, where the position of Muslim elites was traditionally strong. In particular, Kemper draws attention to the activities of figures such as Gabidulla Ishan, whose influence network spanned significant territories and created alternative channels of social governance. According to the author, the imperial administration perceived such consolidation around Sufi *ishans* as a serious threat and sought to form a "manageable" clergy. In the Ural Oblast, this manifested in authorities' attempts to impose educational qualifications and the requirement of Russian literacy as a mandatory condition for obtaining the status of *akhund* or imam—measures that Kemper characterizes as a drive to ensure political reliability through administrative filtration (Kemper, 2008: 88).

As a result, by the end of the 19th century, a fundamental conflict had emerged: the bureaucracy sought total legibility of steppe society, while the societies themselves, according to the administration's observations, strove to "paralyze" this interference. As will be shown below, this "administrative deadlock" was only resolved at the beginning of the 20th century, when the existential threat of an epidemic forced the authorities to recognize spiritual leaders not as enemies, but as indispensable partners. The cholera outbreak in the Chilik Volost in 1910 demonstrated the inefficiency of purely administrative-command measures without the support of local authorities. According to reports from the Military Governor of the Ural Oblast, N. N. Dubasov, the situation in the region was exacerbated by a high mortality rate and a lack of public trust in government physicians (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 113). Under these conditions, the activities of Hazrat Dosmukhamed Bekmukhamedov of the 4th and 11th *auls* became a unique example of "sanitation partnership."

An analysis of reports by Medical Doctor Krestovsky and official correspondence from the Department of Spiritual Affairs allows for the identification of the key areas of the Hazrat's mediating practices: the assimilation of medical technologies. Bekmukhamedov acted not as a passive intermediary, but as an active agent of modernization. The documents emphasize that the Hazrat personally participated in sanitation measures: he "personally pumped water from the hydraulic pumps" and carried out disinfections with "slaked lime" inside infected *kibitkas* (nomadic tents) (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 182). His personal example shifted disinfection from the category of an alienating imperial demand to that of a pious action aimed at saving the community. Sanitation supervision and the transformation of rites. The Hazrat assumed responsibility for monitoring biosafety compliance. He personally visited the *auls* to search for the belongings of the deceased which had been hidden and which were potential sources of infection, and strictly prohibited traditional forms of burial rites that required physical contact with bodies (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 182 rev.). Cultural translation through the mosque's authority. Utilizing the mosque's pulpit, Bekmukhamedov persuaded the faithful to "seek a doctor's help in a timely manner and not to hide the sick" (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 183). This support with information became a decisive factor in localizing infection hotspots which, without the Hazrat's assistance, might have remained unknown to the administration (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 113). In this regard, amid the epidemiological crisis, Bekmukhamedov acted as a "cultural mediator" who legitimized imperial medical protocols through the prism of religious authority.

By the second half of the 19th century, the Russian Empire had acquired significant experience in combating epidemics, which was reflected in the severity of its quarantine legislation. Regulatory acts of that period provided for extraordinary measures: while a person guilty of murder could be sentenced to hard labor (*katorga*), a violation of the quarantine line or the "concealment of the belongings of plague victims" was punishable by death. However, on the imperial peripheries, the implementation of these norms encountered deep-seated resistance. Traditional customs, such as burials within residential areas or the use of contaminated canal (*aryk*) water, came into direct conflict with European sanitation and hygienic standards. Despite the fact that in contemporary historiography, the anti-epidemic measures of that period are sometimes interpreted solely as an

instrument of colonial pressure, archival data suggest a different approach. Guided by the principle of the “absolute value of human life,” the imperial authorities aimed not at the suppression of traditions, but at the preservation of the population’s health security, organizing the free distribution of medicine and opening paramedic stations (*feldsher* points) in *makhallas* and *auls*. It is precisely in this context—at the intersection of a rigid law and a humanitarian mission—that the work of Hazrat Dosmukhamed Bekmukhamedov unfolded during the cholera outbreak of 1910.

The situation in the Chilik Volost of the Ural Oblast in 1910 became a test of this model’s effectiveness. According to the report by Medical Doctor Krestovsky and the dispatch from Governor N. N. Dubasov (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 113, 182), Bekmukhamedov’s activities made it possible to overcome the administrative deadlock through the following practices: The assimilation of medical technologies. Bekmukhamedov took a radical step for a spiritual leader: he did not merely approve of the physicians’ actions but personally operated hydraulic pumps and conducted disinfection with “slaked lime” inside residential *kibitkas*. By personally treating the infection hotspots, the Hazrat shifted sanitation procedures from the category of “alienating imperial demands” into the category of a “pious act of saving one’s neighbor.”

This constituted a practical desacralization of the disease: the fear of “profanation” through disinfection was replaced by trust in the Hazrat’s authority. Drawing on an understanding of infection mechanisms, Bekmukhamedov assumed functions that were impossible for the police apparatus to perform. He personally visited the *auls* to search for the hidden belongings of the deceased (potential sources of infection), which families attempted to conceal at the risk of their lives (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 182 rev.). Furthermore, he strictly prohibited dangerous forms of burial rites that required physical contact with the body, adapting the ritual to biosafety requirements without violating its religious essence. Utilizing the authority of the mosque, Bekmukhamedov delivered sermons in which he urged the people “not to hide the sick.” In conditions where “concealment” formally carried the threat of severe punishment, it was the Hazrat’s word, rather than the fear of execution, that became the decisive factor. This allowed physicians to localize infection hotspots in a timely manner in areas that would otherwise have remained “invisible” to imperial medical oversight. The logical conclusion of D. Bekmukhamedov’s work was his nomination for a silver medal “For Diligence” on the Ribbon of the Order of St. Stanislaus. An analysis of the awarding procedure reveals a significant shift in imperial policy. According to archival data, the award was granted “beyond the term and beyond the norm” based on the “Sovereign’s Permission” of October 13, 1910 (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 176). The use of the “beyond the norm” formulation in relation to a Muslim clergyman is an exceptional bureaucratic precedent. This testifies to the fact that, in the face of a threat to public health, the imperial authorities were prepared to ignore restrictions and strict service terms, creating a “legal channel” for the prompt rewarding of loyal leaders. In this context, the medal served not merely as a mark of personal distinction, but as a tool for forming a new intellectual elite in the Steppe, whose authority was based on a synthesis of religious tradition and civil service.

The characterization of the Hazrat in official correspondence is of particular interest. The Governor emphasized that Bekmukhamedov, “by the nature of his convictions, is completely unlike other mullahs” (RSHA. F. 821. Inv. 8. C. 602. P. 182). This phrase marks the birth of the imperial ideal of the “progressive mullah”—a leader who does not insist on the opposition of Sharia and state law but integrates imperial tasks (such as healthcare and sanitation) into the value system of his community.

Thus, the awarding practice of 1910–1911 confirms that the Russian Empire in the Steppe Region shifted toward a strategy of pragmatic recognition of Islam. Islam ceased to be perceived solely as a “barrier” to integration and was recognized by the authorities as an effective tool for modernization and the preservation of social order during crisis periods. Bekmukhamedov became the ideal “cultural mediator,” whose example legitimized European science through the authority of the mosque, creating a solid foundation for a new type of social contract.

Conclusion

A microhistorical reconstruction of the activities of Hazrat Dosmukhamed Bekmukhamedov during the 1910 cholera pandemic allows for a fundamental reevaluation of the dynamics of state-

religious relations in the Steppe Region. The critical shortage of medical infrastructure and personnel on the imperial periphery, laid bare by the epidemiological crisis, clearly demonstrated that exclusively coercive or punitive control measures in the traditional nomadic environment were ineffective and led to an administrative impasse.

Viewed through the lens of the concepts of “cultural mediator” and “managing differences,” this case study demonstrates that, in moments of existential threat to regional biological security, the Russian Empire was compelled to exhibit a high degree of situational flexibility. The state made a forced transition from its long-standing policy of “ideological suspicion” to a model of pragmatic public health cooperation with the enlightened Muslim clergy, effectively delegating authority to local religious leaders.

The unique bureaucratic precedent of awarding Bekmukhamedov a silver medal with the notation “beyond the term and beyond the norm” indicates that the imperial legal framework possessed sufficient flexibility to legitimize loyal religious elites who contributed to modernization. Ultimately, the synthesis achieved by Hazrat between Islamic religious duty and European medical protocols not only failed to undermine his authority but also served as a decisive mechanism for the physical survival of his community, becoming a reliable pillar of regional social stability amid a global crisis.

Sources

CSARK — Central State Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 RSHA — Russian State Historical Archive

Источники

ЦГА РК — Центральный государственный архив Республики Казахстан.
 РГИА — Российский государственный исторический архив.

References

- Abashin, 2021 — *Abashin S. N.* «Musul'manskii vopros» v Rossiiskoi imperii: ot religioznogo k etnicheskomu i sotsial'nomu (The “Muslim Question” in the Russian Empire: From Religious to Ethnic and Social). *Quaestio Rossica*. 2021. Vol. 9. No. 2. P. 605–621. (In Russ.).
- Arapov, 2001 — *Arapov D. Yu.* Islam v Rossiiskoi imperii (zakonodatel'nye akty, opisaniya, statistika) (Islam in the Russian Empire (Legislative Acts, Descriptions, Statistics)). Moscow, 2001. 340 p. (In Russ.).
- Brewer, 2010 — *Brewer J.* Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life. *Cultural and Social History*. 2010. Vol. 7. No. 1. P. 87–109.
- Burbank, Cooper 2011 — *Burbank J., Cooper F.* Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. 512 p.
- Campbell, 2015 — *Campbell E. I.* The 'Muslim question' and Russian imperial governance in late imperial Russia. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. 296 p.
- Chatterji, 2023 — *Chatterji J.* Between Global History and Microhistory: Rethinking Histories of 'Small Spaces' and Cities. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 2023. Vol. 65. No. 4. P. 836–864.
- Crews, 2006 — *Crews R. D.* For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. 480 p.
- Fuks, 1981 — *Fuks S. L.* Obychnoe pravo kazakhov v XVIII – pervoi polovine XIX veka (Customary Law of the Kazakhs in the 18th — first half of the 19th Century). Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1981. 245 p. (In Russ.).
- Gerasimov et al. 2017 — *Gerasimov I., Mogilner M., Glebov S.* Novaya imperskaya istoriya Severnoi Evrazii (A New Imperial History of Northern Eurasia). Kazan: Ab Imperio, 2017. 420 p. (In Russ.).
- Ghobrial, 2019 — *Ghobrial J.-P. A.* Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian. *Past & Present*. 2019. Vol. 242. No. S14. P. 1–22.
- Henze, 2010 — *Henze C. E.* Disease, health care and government in late imperial Russia: Life and death on the Volga, 1823-1914. London: Routledge, 2010. 240 p.
- Iskhakov, 2011 — *Iskhakov R. L.* Orenburgskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie i pechat' musul'manskoi Rossii (Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and the Press of Muslim Russia). In: *Orenburgskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie i dukhovnoe razvitiye tatarskogo naroda*. Kazan, 2011. P. 68–75. (In Russ.).
- Kokebaeva, Shildebai 2021 — *Kokebaeva G., Shildebai S.* Borba s epidemiyami v Kazahstane v pervoi treti XX. *Oriental Studies*. 2021. Vol. 14. No. 4. P. 673–684. (In Russ.).
- Kundakbayeva, 2015 — *Kundakbayeva Zh. B.* 'For sound reconciliation between the Kaisak and Kalmyk peoples...' *Central Asian Survey*. 2015. Vol. 34. No. 3. P. 324–337.

- Kulteleev, 1955 — *Kulteleev T. M.* Ugolovnoe obychnoe pravo kazakhov (Criminal Customary Law of the Kazakhs). Alma-Ata: AS KazSSR, 1955. 312 p. (In Russ.).
- Magnússon, Szijártó 2013 — *Magnússon S. G., Szijártó I. M.* What Is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice. London: Routledge, 2013. 192 p.
- Martin, 2001 — *Martin V.* Law and Custom in the Steppe. The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century. London: Routledge, 2001. 232 p.
- Mikhel, 2021 — *Mikhel D. V.* Epidemii i global'naya istoriya (Epidemics and Global History). M.: Ves' Mir, 2021. 288 p. (In Russ.).
- Nurtazina, 2016 — *Nurtazina N. D.* Rasprostranenie islama i formirovanie kazakhskoi musul'manskoi traditsii (The Spread of Islam and the Formation of the Kazakh Muslim Tradition). Almaty: Kazakh University, 2016. 354 p. (In Russ.).
- Remnev, Suvorova 2013 — *Remnev A. V., Suvorova N. G.* Kolonizatsiya Aziatskoi Rossii: imperskie i natsional'nye stsennariy vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka (Colonization of Asian Russia: Imperial and National Scenarios of the second half of the 19th — early 20th Century). Omsk: Nauka, 2013. 270 p. (In Russ.).
- Robisheaux, 2017 — *Robisheaux T.* Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. 2017. Vol. 47. No. 1. P. 1–6.
- Sabol, 2017 — *Sabol S.* "The Touch of Civilization": Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017. 324 p.
- Sartori, Shabley 2019 — *Sartori P., Shabley P.* Eksperimenty imperii: adat, shariat i proizvodstvo znaniy v Kazakhskoi stepi (Experiments of Empire: Adat, Sharia, and Knowledge Production in the Kazakh Steppe). M., 2019. 280 p. (In Russ.).
- Shabley, 2012 — *Shabley P. S.* Orenburgskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie i proekty preobrazovaniya musul'manskikh institutov v Kazakhskoi stepi... (Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly and Projects for the Transformation of Muslim Institutions in the Kazakh Steppe...). *Tartaria Magna*. 2012. No. 2. Pp. 48–86. Available at: <http://www.tartaria-magna.ru/last-issue> (access date: 10.05.2024). (In Russ.).
- Shildebai, S. K., Tolenova, Z. M., Dzhunisbaev, A. A. et al. (eds.) (2024). Sovetskii Kazakhstan: stanovlenie i razvitiye sistemy zdoravookhraneniya (1917–1937 gg.). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov (Soviet Kazakhstan: Formation and Development of the Healthcare System (1917–1937). Collection of Documents and Materials). Almaty: Central State Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan. 456 p. (In Russ.).
- Sultangalieva, 2023 — *Sultangalieva G. S.* Tatarskie mully i pis'movoditel' v Kazakhskoi stepi (XVIII – pervaya polovina XIX v.): monografiya v dokumentakh (Tatar Mullahs and Clerks in the Kazakh Steppe (18th – First Half of the 19th Century): A Monograph in Documents). Ed. by I. G. Gumerov, A. M. Akhunov. Kazan: IYALI, 2023. 300 p. (In Russ.).
- Teleuova, Kundakbayeva, 2026 — *Teleuova E. T., Kundakbayeva Zh. B.* Towards Commercial Butter Production: Bureaucratic Flexibility and Kazakh Trainees at the Edimonovo Dairy School in the 1890s. *Bylye Gody*. 2026. Vol. 21. No. 2. P. 974–987. (In Russ.).
- Vlasova, 2023 — *Vlasova A. I.* Mediko-sanitarnaya sluzhba Stepnogo kraya (XIX — nachalo XX v.) (Medico-Sanitary Service of the Steppe Krai (19th — Early 20th Century)). Candidate of Historical Sciences Diss. (Specialty 5.6.1 — Domestic History). Barnaul: Altai State University. 2023. 270 p. (In Russ.).
- Wolf, 1956 — *Wolf E. R.* Aspects of group relations in a complex society: Mexico. *American Anthropologist*. 1956. Vol. 58. No. 6. P. 1065–1078.
- Zimanov, 1960 — *Zimanov S. Z.* Politicheskii stroi Kazakhstana (konets XVIII i pervaya polovina XIX vv.) (Political System of Kazakhstan (late 18th and first half of the 19th Centuries)). Alma-Ata: AS KazSSR, 1960. 396 p. (In Russ.).

Литература

- Абашин, 2021 — *Абашин С. Н.* «Мусульманский вопрос» в Российской империи: от религиозного к этническому и социальному // *Quaestio Rossica*. 2021. Т. 9. № 2. С. 605–621.
- Арапов, 2001 — *Арапов Д. Ю.* Ислам в Российской империи (законодательные акты, описания, статистика). Москва, 2001. 340 с.
- Власова, 2023 — *Власова А. И.* Медико-санитарная служба Степного края (XIX — начало XX в.): дис. ... канд. ист. наук: 5.6.1. Барнаул: Алтайский государственный университет, 2023. 270 с.
- Герасимов и др., 2017 — *Герасимов И., Могильнер М., Глебов С.* Новая имперская история Северной Евразии. Казань: Ab Imperio, 2017. 420 с.
- Зиманов, 1960 — *Зиманов С. З.* Политический строй Казахстана (конец XVIII и первая половина XIX вв.). Алма-Ата: АН КазССР, 1960. 396 с.
- Исхаков, 2011 — *Исхаков Р. Л.* Оренбургское магометанское духовное собрание и печать мусульманской России // Оренбургское магометанское духовное собрание и духовное развитие татарского народа. Казань, 2011. С. 68–75.
- Кокебаева, Шилдебай, 2021 — *Кокебаева Г., Шилдебай С.* Борьба с эпидемиями в Казахстане в первой трети XX в. // *Oriental Studies*. 2021. Т. 14. № 4. С. 673–684.
- Култелеев, 1955 — *Култелеев Т. М.* Уголовное обычное право казахов. Алма-Ата: АН КазССР, 1955. 312 с.

- Михель, 2021 — *Михель Д. В.* Эпидемии и global“ная история. Москва: Весь Мир, 2021. 288 с.
- Нуртазина, 2016 — *Нуртазина Н. Д.* Распространение ислама и формирование казахской мусульманской традиции. Алматы: Қазақ университеті, 2016. 354 с.
- Ремнев, Суворова, 2013 — *Ремнев А. В., Суворова Н. Г.* Колонизация Азиатской России: имперские и национальные сценарии второй половины XIX – начала XX века. Омск: Наука, 2013. 270 с.
- Сартори, Шаблей, 2019 — *Сартори П., Шаблей П.* Эксперименты империи: адат, шариат и производство знаний в Казахской степи. Москва, 2019. 280 с.
- Советский Казахстан, 2024 — Советский Казахстан: становление и развитие системы здравоохранения (1917–1937 гг.). Сборник документов и материалов / ред. С. К. Шилдебай, З. М. Толенова, А. А. Джунисбаев и др. Алматы: Центральный государственный архив Республики Казахстан, 2024. 456 с.
- Султангалиева, 2023 — *Султангалиева Г. С.* Татарские муллы и письмоводители в Казахской степи (XVIII – первая половина XIX в.): монография в документах / Ред. И. Г. Гумеров, А. М. Ахунов. Казань: ИЯЛИ, 2023. 300 с.
- Телеуова, Кундакбаева 2026 — *Телеуова Е. Т., Кундакбаева Ж.Б. В.* На пути к товарному маслоделению: ситуативная гибкость бюрократии и казахи в Едимоновской школе, 1890-е годы // *Bylye Gody*. 2026. Vol. 21. No. 2. P. 974–987.
- Фукс, 1981 — *Фукс С. Л.* Обычное право казахов в XVIII – первой половине XIX века. Алма-Ата: Наука, 1981. 245 с.
- Шаблей, 2012 — *Шаблей П. С.* Оренбургское магометанское духовное собрание и проекты преобразования мусульманских институтов в Казахской степи // *Tartaria Magna*. 2012. № 2. С. 48–86.
- Brewer, 2010 — *Brewer J.* Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life // *Cultural and Social History*. 2010. Vol. 7. No. 1. P. 87–109.
- Burbank, Cooper, 2011 — *Burbank J., Cooper F.* Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. 512 p.
- Campbell, 2015 — *Campbell E. I.* The 'Muslim question' and Russian imperial governance in late imperial Russia. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. 296 p.
- Chatterji, 2023 — *Chatterji J.* Between Global History and Microhistory: Rethinking Histories of 'Small Spaces' and Cities // *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 2023. Vol. 65. No. 4. P. 836–864.
- Crews, 2006 — *Crews R. D.* For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. 480 p.
- Ghobrial, 2019 — *Ghobrial J.-P. A.* Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian. Past & Present. 2019. Vol. 242. No. S14. P. 1–22.
- Henze, 2010 — *Henze C. E.* Disease, health care and government in late imperial Russia: Life and death on the Volga, 1823-1914. London: Routledge, 2010. 240 p.
- Kundakbayeva, 2015 — *Kundakbayeva Zh. B.* 'For sound reconciliation between the Kaisak and Kalmyk peoples...' Central Asian Survey. 2015. Vol. 34. No. 3. P. 324–337.
- Magnússon, Szijártó, 2013 — *Magnússon S. G., Szijártó I. M.* What Is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice. London: Routledge, 2013. 192 p.
- Martin, 2001 — *Martin V.* Law and Custom in the Steppe. The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century. London: Routledge, 2001. 232 p.
- Robisheaux, 2017 — *Robisheaux T.* Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. 2017. Vol. 47. No. 1. P. 1–6.
- Sabol, 2017 — *Sabol S.* "The Touch of Civilization": Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017. 324 p.
- Wolf, 1956 — *Wolf E. R.* Aspects of group relations in a complex society: Mexico. *American Anthropologist*. 1956. Vol. 58. No. 6. P. 1065–1078.

CONTENTS

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCE STUDIES

Karimov M., Nasyrov M., Rakhmetullin E. THE LIFE OF SHAKARIM HAJI DURING THE SOVIET PERIOD: IN MEMORIES AND SOURCES	950
Sabitov Zh., Karatayev A. A. ABU SAID JANIBEK KHAN IN THE 1430S–1450S: NEW EVIDENCE FROM CHINESE SOURCES	966
Tylakhmetova A. S., Beisembayeva A. R., Tepkeev V. T. THE SOURCE BASE FOR THE STUDY OF THE LIFE AND STATE ACTIVITIES OF ABILMAMBET KHAN.....	980
Shabambayeva A. G., Abdrakhmanov B. N., Sadykova A. M. HISTORICAL DISCOURSE IN THE WORKS OF A. ZH. MASHANOV	995

HISTORY

Akhmetova G. M. THE MERCHANT CLASS AND TRADE RELATIONS OF NORTHEASTERN KAZAKHSTAN	1009
Dyusenova N. K. KAZAKH SOVIET MANAGERIAL ELITE DURING COLLECTIVIZATION IN KAZAKHSTAN	1027
Kuanbay O. B., Apendiyev T. A. JAPAN'S XIX CENTURY FAMILY REGISTRATION AND POPULATION CENSUS SYSTEM FEATURES (BASED ON ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS FROM THE MEIJI PERIOD)	1042
Mussagaliyeva A. S., Kozybayeva M. M. DISCUSSIONS ON THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF KAZAKHSTAN DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE ACADEMIC PUBLICATION "HISTORY OF THE KAZAKH SSR" IN THE 1950S	1060
Nurtazina N. D. THE REVIVAL OF SUFISM IN KAZAKHSTAN: SAID KURBANALI HAZRAT ISHAN (AKHMEDOV) AND HIS LEGACY	1078
Primkulova G., Sandybaeva A., Tastanbekov M. CULT AND RITUAL STRUCTURES OF TURKESTAN: HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS OF UNDERGROUND COMPLEXES (12th–19th CENTURIES).....	1100
Suleimenova D. K., Zhumabayeva A. A. THE ULUS OF JOCHI IN THE ERA OF THE BLACK DEATH.....	1117
Teleuova E. T., Sabol S. "BEYOND TERMS AND BEYOND RULES": IMPERIAL AUTHORITIES AND THE MUSLIM CLERGY OF THE STEPPE KRAI DURING THE 1910 CHOLERA EPIDEMIC.....	1128
Tretyakova M. S. THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF ASHKENAZI JEWISH WOMEN IN THE STEPPE REGION AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	1143
Wang Y., Tuleshova U. Zh. RUSSIAN COLONIZATION OF THE KAZAKH STEPPE: RUSSIAN, KAZAKH, WESTERN, AND CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON IMPERIAL EXPANSION AND COLONIAL TRANSFORMATION	1155

ANTHROPOLOGY

Ganiyeva A. S., Shulga V. A., Sakenov S. K. ARCHAEOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL KAZAKH WINTER SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN SARYARKA: EVIDENCE FROM THE ZHABAY WINTERING SITE.....	1175
Yergali G., Kalysh A. B. WEDDING RITUALS OF THE KAZAKHS OF CENTRAL KAZAKHSTAN: PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONS AND REGIONAL FEATURES.....	1193
Krasnobayeva N. L., Sarsembayeva G. A., Kassenova A. Zh. FEATURES OF THE POPULATION SETTLEMENT SYSTEM IN EAST KAZAKHSTAN REGION IN THE LATE XIX–XX CENTURIES: AN ETHNODEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE	1205
Khabibullin E. I., Asylguzhin R. R. ETHNOGENESIS OF THE BASHKIRS OF THE AY-YURYUZAN INTERFLUVE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOLDEN HORDE HERITAGE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS.....	1227

МАЗМҰНЫ

ТАРИХНАМА ЖӘНЕ ДЕРЕКТАНУ

Каримов М., Насыров М., Рахметуллин Е. КЕҢЕСТІК ҚҰДАЛАУ КЕЗЕҢІНДЕГІ ШӘКӘРІМ ҚАЖЫ ӨМІРІ: ЕСТЕЛІКТЕР МЕН ДЕРЕКТЕРДЕ	950
Сабитов Ж., Қаратаев Ә. ӘБУСАИД ЖӘНІБЕК ХАН 1430–1450 ЖЫЛДАРЫ: ҚЫТАЙ ДЕРЕК КӨЗДЕРІНДЕГІ ЖАҢА МӘЛІМЕТТЕР	966
Тылахметова А. С., Бейсембаева А. Р., Тепкеев В. Т. ӨБІЛМӘМБЕТ ХАННЫҢ ӨМІРІ МЕН МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ҚЫЗМЕТІН ЗЕРТТЕУ ДІН ДЕРЕКТІК НЕГІЗІ	980
Шабамбаева А. Г., Абдрахманов Б. Н., Садыкова А. М. А. Ж. МАШАНОВ ШЫҒАРМАЛАРЫНДАҒЫ ТАРИХИ ДИСКУРС	995

ТАРИХ

Ахметова Г. М. СОЛТҮСТІК-ШЫҒЫС ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ КӨПЕСТЕР МЕН САУДА БАЙЛАНЫСТАРЫ	1009
Дюсенова Н. К. ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ ҰЖЫМДАСТЫРУ КЕЗІНДЕГІ ҚАЗАҚТЫҢ КЕҢЕСТІК БАСҚАРУШЫ ЭЛИТАСЫ	1027
Қуанбай О. Б., Әпендиев Т. Ә. ЖАПОНИЯНЫҢ ХІХ ҒАСЫРДАҒЫ ОТБАСЫН ТІРКЕУ МЕН ХАЛЫҚТЫ ЕСЕПКЕ АЛУ ЖҮЙЕСІ ЕРЕКШЕЛІКТЕРІ (МЭЙДЖИ ДӘУІРІ АРХИВТІК ҚҰЖАТТАРЫ НЕГІЗІНДЕ)	1042
Мұсағалиева А. С., Қозыбаева М. М. 1950-ЖЫЛДАРЫ «ҚАЗАҚ КСР ТАРИХЫ» АКАДЕМИЯЛЫҚ БАСЫЛЫМЫН ДАЙЫНДАУ ЖӘНЕ ТАЛҚЫЛАУ БАРЫСЫНДА ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ ЕЖЕЛГІ ЖӘНЕ ОРТАҒАСЫРЛЫҚ ТАРИХЫНА ҚАТЫСТЫ ПІКІРТАЛАСТАР	1060
Нұртазина Н. Д. ҚАЗАҚСТАНДАҒЫ СОПЫЛЫҚТЫҢ ҚАЙТА ӨРЛЕУІ: САИД ҚҰРБАНӘЛІ ХАЗІРЕТ ИШАН (АХМЕДОВ) ЖӘНЕ ОНЫҢ МҰРАСЫ	1078
Примкулова Г., Сандыбаева А., Тастанбеков М. ТҮРКІСТАННЫҢ ДІНИ-ҒҰРЫПТЫҚ СӘУЛЕТ ЕСКЕРТКІШТЕРІ: ХІІ–ХІХ ҒҒ. ЖЕРАСТЫ КЕШЕНДЕРІНІҢ ТАРИХИ-СӘУЛЕТТІК ТАЛДАУ	1100
Сүлейменова Д. Қ., Жумабаева Ә. Ә.	1117
Телеуова Э. Т., Сабоп С. «МЕРЗІМНЕН БҰРЫН ЖӘНЕ ЕРЕЖЕДЕН ТЫС»: 1910 ЖЫЛҒЫ ТЫРЫСҚАҚ ІНДЕТІ КЕЗІНДЕГІ ДАЛА ӨЛКЕСІНІҢ ИМПЕРИЯ БИЛГІ МЕН МҰСЫЛМАН ДІНБАСЫЛАРЫ	1128
Третьякова М. С. ХІХ–ХХ ҒАСЫРЛАР ТОҒЫСЫНДАҒЫ ДАЛАЛЫҚ АЙМАҚТАҒЫ АШКЕНАЗИ ЕВРЕЙ ӨЙЕЛДЕРІНІҢ ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ БЕЛСЕНДІЛІГІ	1143
Ятин Ван, Тулешова Ұ. Ж. РЕСЕЙДІҢ ҚАЗАҚ ДАЛАСЫН ОТАРЛАУЫ: ИМПЕРИЯЛЫҚ ЭКСПАНСИЯ МЕН ОТАРЛЫҚ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯНЫҢ ТАРИХНАМАСЫ	1155

АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

Ганиева А. С., Шульга В. А., Сакенов С. Қ. СОЛТҮСТІК САРЫАРҚАДАҒЫ ДӘСТҮРЛІ ҚАЗАҚ ҚЫСТАУЛАРЫНЫҢ АРХЕОЛОГИЯСЫ: ЖАБАЙ ҚЫСТАУЫ МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫ НЕГІЗІНДЕГІ ЗЕРТТЕУ	1175
Ерғали Г., Қалыш А. Б. ОРТАЛЫҚ ҚАЗАҚСТАН ҚАЗАҚТАРЫНЫҢ ҮЙЛЕНУ ҒҰРЫПТАРЫ: ДӘСТҮРДІҢ САҚТАЛУЫ ЖӘНЕ АЙМАҚТЫҚ ЕРЕКШЕЛІКТЕРІ	1193
Краснобаева Н. Л., Сарсембаева Г. А., Касенова А. Ж. ШЫҒЫС ҚАЗАҚСТАН ХАЛҚЫНЫҢ ХІХ ҒАСЫРДЫҢ СОҢЫ – ХХ Ғ. ҚОНЫСТАНДЫРУ ЖҮЙЕСІНІҢ ЕРЕКШЕЛІКТЕРІ: ЭТНОДЕМОГРАФИЯЛЫҚ АСПЕКТІ	1205
Хабибуллин Э. И., Асылгузин Р. Р. АЛТЫН ОРДА МҰРАСЫ КОНТЕКСТІНДЕГІ АЙ-ЮРЮЗАН ӨЗЕНАРАЛЫҚ БАШҚҰРТТАРЫНЫҢ ЭТНОГЕНЕЗІ: ПӘНАРАЛЫҚ ТАЛДАУ	1227

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ

Каримов М., Насыров М., Рахметуллин Е. ЖИЗНЬ ШАКАРИМА КАЖЫ В ПЕРИОД СОВЕТСКИХ РЕПРЕССИЙ: В ВОСПОМИНАНИЯХ И ИСТОЧНИКАХ	950
Сабитов Ж., Каратаев А. А. АБУ САИД ЖАНИБЕК-ХАН В 1430–1450-Х ГГ.: НОВЫЕ ДАННЫЕ КИТАЙСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКОВ	966
Тылахметова А. С., Бейсембаева А. Р., Тепкеев В. Т. ИСТОЧНИКОВАЯ БАЗА ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ЖИЗНИ И ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ АБИЛМАМБЕТ-ХАНА	980
Шабамбаева А. Г., Абдрахманов Б. Н., Садыкова А. М. ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ ДИСКУРС В ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯХ А.Ж. МАШАНОВА	995

ИСТОРИЯ

Ахметова Г. М. КУПЕЧЕСТВО И ТОРГОВЫЕ СВЯЗИ СЕВЕРО-ВОСТОЧНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА	1009
Дюсенова Н. К. КАЗАХСКАЯ СОВЕТСКАЯ УПРАВЛЕНЧЕСКАЯ ЭЛИТА В ПЕРИОД КОЛЛЕКТИВИЗАЦИИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ	1027
Куанбай О. Б., Апендиев Т. А. ОСОБЕННОСТИ СИСТЕМЫ СЕМЕЙНОГО УЧЕТА И ПЕРЕПИСИ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ В ЯПОНИИ XIX ВЕКА (НА ОСНОВЕ АРХИВНЫХ ДОКУМЕНТОВ ЭПОХИ МЭЙДЗИ)....	1042
Мусагалиева А. С., Козыбаева М. М. ДИСКУССИИ ПО ДРЕВНЕЙ И СРЕДНЕВЕКОВОЙ ИСТОРИИ КАЗАХСТАНА В ХОДЕ ОБСУЖДЕНИЯ АКАДЕМИЧЕСКОГО ИЗДАНИЯ «ИСТОРИЯ КАЗАХСКОЙ ССР» В 1950-Х ГГ.	1060
Нургазина Н. Д. ВОЗРОЖДЕНИЕ СУФИЗМА В КАЗАХСТАНЕ: САИД КУРБАНАЛИ ХАЗРАТ ИШАН (АХМЕДОВ) И ЕГО НАСЛЕДИЕ.....	1078
Примкулова Г., Сандыбаева А., Тастанбеков М. КУЛЬТОВО-РИТУАЛЬНЫЕ СООРУЖЕНИЯ ТУРКЕСТАНА: ИСТОРИКО-АРХИТЕКТУРНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ ПОДЗЕМНЫХ КОМПЛЕКСОВ XII–XIX ВВ. .	1100
Сулейменова Д. К., Жумабаева А. А. УЛУС ДЖУЧИ В ЭПОХУ «ЧЁРНОЙ СМЕРТИ».....	1117
Телеуова Э. Т., Сабоп С. ««ВНЕ СРОКА И ВНЕ НОРМЫ»: ИМПЕРСКАЯ ВЛАСТЬ И МУСУЛЬМАНСКОЕ ДУХОВЕНСТВО СТЕПНОГО КРАЯ В ПЕРИОД ЭПИДЕМИИ ХОЛЕРЫ 1910 ГОДА	1128
Третьякова М. С. ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ АКТИВНОСТЬ АШКЕНАЗСКИХ ЕВРЕЕК В СТЕПНОМ КРАЕ НА РУБЕЖЕ XIX–XX ВВ.	1143
Ван Я., Тулешова У. Ж. РОССИЙСКАЯ КОЛОНИЗАЦИЯ КАЗАХСКОЙ СТЕПИ: РОССИЙСКИЕ, КАЗАХСКИЕ, ЗАПАДНЫЕ И КИТАЙСКИЕ ИСТОРИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ИМПЕРСКОЙ ЭКСПАНСИИ И КОЛОНИАЛЬНОЙ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ.....	1155

АНТРОПОЛОГИЯ

Ганиева А. С., Шульга В. А., Сакенов С. К. АРХЕОЛОГИЯ ТРАДИЦИОННЫХ КАЗАХСКИХ ЗИМОВОК СЕВЕРНОЙ САРЫАРКИ: МАТЕРИАЛЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ КЫСТАУ ЖАБАЙ.....	1175
Ергали Г., Калыш А. Б. СВАДЕБНОЙ ОБРЯДЫ КАЗАХОВ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА: СОХРАНЕНИЕ ТРАДИЦИЙ И РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ	1193
Краснобаева Н. Л., Сарсембаева Г. А., Касенова А. Ж. ОСОБЕННОСТИ СИСТЕМЫ РАССЕЛЕНИЯ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ ВОСТОЧНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА В КОНЦЕ XIX–XX ВВ.: ЭТНОДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ	1205
Хабибуллин Э. И., Асылгузин Р. Р. ЭТНОГЕНЕЗ БАШКИР АЙСКО-ЮРЮЗАНСКОГО МЕЖДУРЕЧЬЯ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ЗОЛОТООРДЫНСКОГО НАСЛЕДИЯ: МЕЖДИСЦИПЛИНАРНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ	1227

ASIAN JOURNAL "STEPPE PANORAMA"

2026. 13(4)

Бас редактор:

Қабылдинов З. Е.

Компьютерде беттеген:

Ағзам Р. Р.

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://ajspiie.com>

Ш. Ш. Уәлиханов ат. ТжЭИ басылған:

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