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# **W****estern, Russian and Islamic Culture in World Civilizational Perspective**

Civilization al culture

 The cultures and civilizations of the present age did not simply appear in the world in their present form. Neither are they the casual gift of nature, society, or some special powerful force. Human culture is the product of humankind’s tireless quest, its ongoing spiritual development, and its advances and breakdowns in the world.

Who are we and from where did we come? In the beginning of that earliest period of history what did we hope for, and what did we strive for? What kinds of events and causes raised us to a human level? These and other kinds of questions for which there is still no final answer—and to which an answer may even be impossible—continue to make human- kind ponder deeply. Therefore, our deductions about human culture in the earliest period are hypotheses and tentative interpretations at best.

 Nonetheless, modern science has gathered a great many facts about the formation of humans and culture. According to anthropological genetics (that is, knowledge about the origins of humans and society), humankind’s formation is comprised of roughly three periods:

1. Human biological evolution. This began some 20–25 million years ago and ended 3–4 million years ago.
2. About 3–4 million years ago the earth experienced major geo- physical changes (radiation, Ice Age and so on). Initial genetic mechanisms went through mutation processes and humankind’s anthropoid species started to develop by biological adaptation. Since the time of *Paranthropus boisei*, which was discovered by the Leakeys in Eastern Africa, humanity’s social evolution began to dis- place biological factors. As evidence for this, tribal organization of *Australopithecus*, their hand-made tools, artificial objects crafted by creative thinking, language, primitive consciousness, and early forms of religion and art have been noted.

Basic humanistic principles are of high importance among the fac- tors that form a human culture. As such, we may suggest that pro hibition of incest regulated marital relations and as a result, led to the creation of matriarchal clans. Prohibitions on killing relatives, and assisting the weak can also be considered as pre-conditions for the formation of a human culture. Certainly, the biological evolu- tion of humanity did not stop then, but it was the time of early cultural and social development.

1. About 40,000 years ago *Homo sapiens* (that is, genetic human beings) evolved into modern humans. Adaptation to environmen- tal conditions was replaced by culture. More precisely, pre-civiliza- tional culture covers a period from those times up to the times of the formation of the first civilizations (4th–3rd millennia BCE).

 Every nation and ethnic group has gone through a stage of pre-civiliza- tional culture. Even in the twentieth century it was possible to find some groups functioning at the level of the Stone-Age period. It would not be fair, however, to judge the pre-civilizational age as ‘primitive’. World concepts of pre-civilizational culture rely on myth. Ancient myths and legends act as significant guides to early human lifestyles. Human beings mastered and understood the environment through the semiotic mean- ing of myths.[1](#_bookmark295) The first religions (animism, totemism, fetishism) and myths strongly promoted unity between humans and nature. Agriculture and pastoralism, and even handiwork, required pre-civilizational culture to be in close contact with nature. Scythian ‘animal’ style art and mythol- ogy, Chinese Yin–Yang dualities, Egyptian and Sumerian myths about resurrected gods—all are the symbols which sound out a unity with nature.

One of the features typical of pre-civilizational culture is that people’s relations were regulated by customs and traditions, systems of taboos (prohibitions), and superstitions rather than by law.

The First civilizations

 The first civilizations have been investigated more elaborately and thor- oughly than pre-civilizational cultures. However, these researches were mainly conducted from a ‘Western’ point of view. Toynbee, Spengler, Danilevsky, and Herder drew wrong conclusions about ancient Eastern civilizations. We will discuss some great cultures which made prominent contributions to human history and examine them axiologically.

One of the earliest world civilizations is that of ancient Egypt. It was founded in the lower Nile valley in 4th–3rd millennia BCE and con- tinued until the invasion of Alexander in 322 BCE. There are differing opinions on the origins of Egyptian civilization. According to Toynbee, some of the barbarian tribes who were settled in the Afro-Asian deserts became nomads due to harsh climatic conditions; some were able to cul- tivate the areas between the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates and mas- tered agriculture. However, recently many scholars highlight its African origins. As evidence for this can be given the fact that Africa was not only the place of Egyptian civilization, but other similar cultural groups such as those of Kush, Nubia, Ghana, Sangha, and more.

Another source of world civilization was ancient Sumer. The harsh climate of the Afro-Asian zone caused the ancestors of the Sumerians to migrate to the region of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Scholars of cultural evolution cannot agree on the origin and language of the Sumerians. The latest research traces their origins to a proto-Altaic eth- nic group. Indeed, Sumerian myths can be compared with the Turkic Blue-Tengri, Zher-Su, and Umay myths of Central Asia. They reflect the fact that the Sumerians cultivated deserts and created in them their flourishing lands.

 Contemporary culture retains traces of Sumerian-Babylonian math- ematics and astronomy. Up to the present we still use Sumerian algo- rithms which divide a circle into 360°, an hour into 60 minutes, and a minute into 60 seconds. Likewise, after the invasion of the Semitic- speaking Akkadians at the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, and even after the establishment of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires in the Sumerian territory, the Sumerian language did not lose its significance as a source of religious and cultural influence.

One of the ancient cultures that has influenced both West and East is the Persian civilization. It acted as a bridge between Afro-Asia and Eurasia. The emergence of Persian civilization occurred within a complex historical-cultural process in the 3rd millennium BCE. It is worth high- lighting that the migration of ethnic groups and tribes played the deci- sive role in the formation of Persian civilization. In approximately 2000 BCE, Aryan tribes invaded the current territories of Iran and India from Eurasia. Persian and Median tribes settled mainly in western Iranian ter- ritory. However, it would be biased to claim that Persian civilization has only Indo-European origins. Persian culture was founded under influ- ence of Sumerian civilization. According to Toynbee: “Iran is the second home of Sumerian civilization.”

The main basis of Persian civilization was the Zoroastrian reli- gion. It is much closer to a deep philosophical worldview taking shape as a cultural phenomenon than a system of mere religious beliefs. Zoroastrianism had great influence on the formation of ancient philo- sophical systems, as well as on sacred traditions in Christianity and Islam. Different opinions exist about the life and teachings of Zarathustra, who was the founder of Zoroastrianism. ‘Zarathustra’ (derived from Greek *zoroast*) means ‘with camels’ or ‘one who drives camels’. Hence, the Kazakh scholar Agyn Qasymzhanov’s suggestion that Zarathustra originated among nomadic tribes, but was then persecuted by his peo- ple and had to seek the patronage of King Vishtaspa is reasonable. Zoroastrianism propagates complex teachings about the eschatological future. It claims that the world’s history will last for 12,000 years, dur- ing which 3000 years were considered a ‘Golden Age’. This age was the most peaceful of times; there was no illness, no death, and no famine. But at the end of the Golden Age Angra Mainyu appeared and brought to humanity famine, illness and death. Then a member of Zarathustra’s community (Saoshyant) will win out against evil and found the eternal, just kingdom of Ahura Mazda.

From Persian inscriptions we know that king Darius ordered the dig- ging of a channel from the Nile to the Red Sea. Also, Persian culture used a lunar calendar. It had 11 fewer days than the solar calendar and the name of each month was related to seasonal agricultural work. The names of the months in Kazakh were derived from the Persian calendar.

Another treasured resource of humanity is the ancient Indian civili- zation. This is an Asian civilization with unique features, and it would be impossible to understand the whole planet’s contemporary culture without understanding its Indian heritage. Indian culture had a direct impact on the ancient Persian and Arabian cultures. It is particularly close to Persian civilization in terms of its origin, mentality and approach to the world. After Harappan civilization (2500–1800 BCE), beginning from c. ninth–tenth centuries BCE, Indo-Aryan tribes from Central Asia started to cultivate valleys near the Ganges River. Later this area became the object of expansionist ambitions for Greek, Macedonian, Scythian and Arabian tribes. Despite this fact, Indians, with their deep rootedness in their own cultural ways, overcame the invaders spiritually and pre- served their uniqueness.

One of the great heritages of world culture, Buddhism, emerging as it did out of Hinduism, is one of the fruits of India. Later it moved across the borders of India and became the first of the three world religions. After some 2500 years, the Buddha’s teachings remain intact and con- tinue to be a spiritual source for more than half a billion people.

Ancient Indian civilization is interrelated with the eastern Dong Son, Cambodian, Sri Lankan, Javanese, and ancient Japanese and Korean civilizations. However it is well-known that one of the most advanced and influential civilizations of Asia was that of the Chinese. Unlike the Sumerian, Egyptian and Indian civilizations, Chinese civilization was mainly influenced by distinct cultural-social regulations. The above- mentioned civilizations appeared on the basis of irrigational systems, whereas in China this system appeared later. Chinese civilization origi- nally developed in isolation from the other states for a thousand years, though it later developed in interrelation with the powerful northern Eurasian nomadic tribes. Scythians and Huns, Wusuns and Mongolian Manchurian tribes, as well as Turkic peoples had a direct impact on Chinese history. China was heavily dependent on them. In order to sur- vive, the Chinese had to negotiate a delicate policy, namely to “instigate barbarians against barbarians.”[2](#_bookmark295) Like the Sumerian and ancient Turkic peoples, the Chinese worshipped ‘Heaven’ and considered their empire to be divinely established. The Chinese mastered growing rice and mil- let, as well as producing the silkworm and porcelain. They created the compass and invented gunpowder. They became skilled in diverse archi- tectural and monumental art and introduced them to the entire world.

While discussing ancient Chinese civilization special attention must be given to Confucius (also Kongzhi or Zhongni, 551–479 BCE), the Chinese philosopher who laid the foundations of not only China’s, but much of east Asia’s spiritual culture. His political and ethical teachings later became Chinese official teaching. Confucius is one of the contrib- utors to human spiritual innovation during the Axial Age. Following Confucian teachings, human social structure is stable, with each person having their own place in the life of Heaven. Confucius says: “Let the ruler be a ruler; the subject, a subject; the father, a father; the son, a son.” The Heavenly god created only kind aristocracy and common people who can work physically. This statement was opposed by the followers of Daoism, or ‘the natural way’, who treated heaven and the earth equally and suggested that common people are not lower than aristocracy.

Classical culture

After typological analysis of the legacy and influence of several Eastern civilizations within world history, let us review the West. It is undeni- able that the word ‘West’ is associated with ancient Greece. Hegel notes: “Among the Greeks we feel ourselves immediately at home.” Jacob Burkhardt remarks: “We see with the eyes of the Greeks and use their phrases when we speak.” However, it would show bias to agree with the European point of view which claims that the cradle of the whole of human civilization is Hellas. Neither Greek nor Roman civilizations can be regarded as having been without influence by the great Eastern civilizations. Their territory was not isolated with great ‘Chinese walls’. Even the initial form of Greek civilization, Cretan-Minoan civilization, was formed before the Indo-European migration to Hellas (with some scholars suggesting that Minoan civilization is itself the heir of an alleged Atlantean culture).

The greatest treasure remaining from ancient Greek spiritual cul- ture in human civilization is Classical art in various forms, such as the Greek tragedians Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, the playwright Aristophanes, the sculptor Phidias, and others. Another significant

contribution of Classical civilization to world human civilization is Greek philosophy. Thales and Pythagoras, Heraclitus and Democritus, Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and Epicurus raised the entire human way of thinking and worldview by their profound philosophical sys- tems. The harmony of microscosm and macrocosm, the main basis of diversity of the Universe (substrate and substance), the idea of the ‘Logos’ (word) which identifies the world, the absoluteness of rea- son and necessity, human beings as a measure of truth, and principles about an ideal world in ancient Greek philosophy all had a significant influence on not only Western world perceptions, but on all human society. In the world empire of Alexander of Macedonia, Greek cul- ture in the form of Hellenism was adopted by multiple civilizations as the highest form of culture. The later Roman Empire was also founded on Hellenistic ideas and principles. The end of Hellenism, following the collapse of the Roman Empire, is the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Medieval (Post-classical) culture

Typically in scholarly sources, the Middles Ages are recorded as: “Dark ages, as well as an age of fanaticism, following the light of the period of Antiquity.” This position was particularly popular among representa- tives of the Renaissance. In fact, the Middle Ages is not the period when human cultural evolution came to a stop, but it is a period of preconditioning for future cultural and technical progress. Western European culture in the Middle Ages can be described as the period when Classical Greco-Roman achievements converged to form a new era. From this angle it would be correct to consider the significance and beauty of the Middle Ages as the basis of contemporary Western civilization, includ- ing Russian and later Soviet societies. The Russian writer Gorky noted that “an abundance of things in Western and Soviet museums likewise all share a similar style.”

The barbarians who destroyed the Roman Empire did not appreciate cultural artfacts in the beginning. In human history, German tribes, called Vandals, are viewed from a negative perspective for their destruction of artworks and historical monuments. They ruined the cities, temples, and irrigational networks that flourished in the places they invaded. The cultural level of the barbarians was thought to be much lower than that of those who were invaded. European states, which were joined

together artificially from different nations and tribes, gradually lost their barbarian features and turned back to an antique (i.e., Greco-Roman) mentality. In this process, the unifying function of Christianity was signif- icant. In the eleventh century, the French monk and chronicler Rodulfus Glaber wrote: “It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.”[3](#_bookmark295)

Beginning from the middle of the twelfth century, the Romanesque style was transformed into Gothic. Although Gothic art was mainly used in church buildings, it had great influence on the whole culture. In Gothic buildings, which were erected at the expense of citizen’s funds, people participated in Church services and discussed important social problems. They were places for university lectures, theater performances and parliament meetings.

In terms of its unique features, Medieval Western European culture can be viewed as two interrelated cultures: religious-formal, upperclass; and carnival-folk, lower class. Formal, upper-class culture considered the ascetic equivalent of Christianity as a goal of the human being, promot- ing a religious-moral consciousness.

The time of transformation from Classical civilization into the Middle Ages was an age of stress, crisis and collapse. As a result, emerging Western culture regarded efficiency and practicality as the main princi- ples by which to orient life; they selected only the most useful parts of the previous Classical culture. They, likewise, divided the society into landed estates. According to aristocratic thought, common people were closer to animals than human beings; they displayed no signs of being civilized.

Culture of the Renaissance

 The Renaissance has a significant place in the history of human culture. Spiritual revitalization and humanist characteristics of culture flourished at the heart of this age; humankind began tapping into the ripe fruits of cultural progress. Hegel described the idea of Renaissance as a “golden dawning” and new age of worldwide culture.

All civilized nations have experienced renaissance at some stage. Historical data rejects the Eurocentric position which claims that the Renaissance occurred only in Western Europe. For instance, the Indian

Renaissance occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in Central Asia this phenomenon covered the tenth to fifteenth centuries.

If in the Medieval era, God was regarded as the center of the uni- verse, during the Renaissance human beings were raised to the level of God. Italian nobleman Pico della Mirandola wrote in his *Oration on the Dignity of Man*: “The nature of all other creatures is defined and restricted within laws which We have laid down; you, by contrast, and by no such restriction, may, by your own free will, determine to whose cus- tody We have assigned you, and trace for yourself the lineaments of your own nature. We have placed you at the very center of the world, so that from that vantage you may with greater ease glance round about you on all that the world contains.”[4](#_bookmark295) As stated by the French philosopher Jean- Paul Sartre, the individual of the Renaissance is set free and is “alone” responsible for themselves and their fellow man. Medieval religious dom- inance had decreased the value of a person significantly.

Renaissance culture was, for the Western world, concerned with mas- tering time and space. Great geographic discoveries increased people’s understanding of the world. Technical achievements sped up life’s flow.

This age also thoroughly transformed the systematic interrelation between the world and people. Humankind’s unique place in the world offers opportunities to develop diversely. On the basis of Renaissance culture in the Modern Era Europeans made a decisive step toward modern civilization.

Culture of the modern era

If spiritual values took first place in the Antique and Medieval cultures, in the Modern Era humankind turned their aims and understanding of life in a thoroughly new direction. In the Modern Era Europeans marshalled all their potential to master nature. The civilizations of Europe and North America formed the most developed industrial-capitalistic system. In this age science and technology rose to the highest levels yet achieved. They proclaimed that the main goal of this civilization was to construct a wealthy society which could satisfy all human needs using all natural and technical resources available. The offspring of Western Civilization is an active, creative individual. A. Hamidov states: “Western people use their power of development and advancement for outer things…They create from this material their true world, a world of culture and civilization. In the last stages of development Westerners will be able to create

a specific monster, a system of technique and technology which can turn into Golem, which may prove dangerous for the existence of humanity and the planet.”[5](#_bookmark295)

Industrial civilization based on large-scale production competed with nature. The world was technologized. ‘*Homo faber*’ (‘man the maker’) aspired only to material things: benefits, profits and wealth became the main motto. However, the modern European age could not overcome its narrow circle. Social and international relations became complicated. Revolutions and movements brought disaster to people. Berdyaev said: “The industrial capital system was not just the most powerful develop- ment economically, it affected spiritual development, namely the destruc- tion of spirituality. Modern capitalistic civilization rejected God, and became a godless civilization.”[6](#_bookmark295)

Modern-era civilization went through historical-cultural stages such as the Reformation, Enlightenment and Romanticism in its development. In general, the following defining features of the Modern Era can be noted:

1. Nature is an object to which the actions of a subject are directed. If in the past humans believed in God as the absolute measure of truth, now nature provided the highest and final judgment. Scholars very often use phrases such as ‘natural man’, ‘society’s natural conditions’ and so on.
2. The influential part of a society became the economy and material production; it formed ‘economic man’.
3. Natural sciences (mechanics, mathematics, physics, and biology) took first place. Philosophers paid close attention to the develop- ment of rational and empirical methods.
4. Traditional and religious consciousness was exchanged for social and legal principles. Civil society (which rests on legislation) was strengthened.
5. Utilitarian directions became dominant in art, culture, religion and literature.

The twentieth century took its unique place in human history with its greatness and social crises, great achievements in science and technology and destructive wars, concrete steps toward a bright future and thermo- nuclear danger. If two world wars in the first half of the century aroused fear concerning the end of the world, the end of the century brought

about the strengthening of reasonableness and kindness. The main les- son of the twentieth century was that “we have to understand we all are passengers on the spaceship called planet Earth,” as stated by the great humanist Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (1900–1944).

In the twentieth century the beginnings of a global humanist culture took shape in all civilized states. The art which emerged in the Ancient world, originally without writing systems, passed from generation to generation and advanced to the most exquisite forms. In the Modern Era was born ‘screen culture’ (that is, observing and living life through digi- tal technology screens). Its basis was historicity, industrial society trans- formed into post-industrial regulations with its creativity turned into social unity. Post-industrial (that is, contemporary) society can solve for- ever the problems of food, clothing and all consumption matters. The next goal is the solution of quality of life issues. Production problems were replaced with problems of welfare, professional, technological ser- vices and relations. It is understandable that ethics became the dominant science among world sciences in the twentieth century. Even the United States, where an individualistic culture is highly developed, had to accept ‘collectivism’, a value which was peculiar to Eastern countries, because experience proved that the management of industry is not effective with authoritarian methods.

It is inappropriate to simply copy transformations in different spheres of culture to other states. As evidence of this we can highlight the fate of Kazakh culture in the Soviet period, which was overwhelmed by the imposed way of life. Under the Soviets, Kazakh society and economy, which were rooted in three millennia of Central Asian nomadic pastoral- ism, were forcibly collectivized and converted to agricultural and industrial ways of life in villages and cities respectively. By contrast, in their adop- tion of ‘Western’ culture, Japanese industrialists organized special ‘circles of quality’, aiming to involve multiple employers in the quality of produc- tion. This movement was based on Japanese cultural-psychological values and features. The Japanese are brought up from childhood placing high value on the moral duties of gratitude and loyalty. Japanese employers, motivated by such national-cultural values, relied on their strength and did not concern themselves with free time for employees. In the 1970s, similar circles were created in the U.S. After several years they were introduced into 230 American companies. Unfortunately however, only eight of them were successful while the rest could not achieve significant profit. Even this simple example alone illustrates our opinion. The root of American

individualism and entrepreneurial spirit rests on its history as well as complex ethnic and geographical construction. It is impossible to under- stand German diligence and their economic achievements without tak- ing into consideration German history and their national features. As for the Chinese, they have a unique optimistic worldview, regarding life and death as related natural processes. People live on earth, but both those alive and those deceased remain interconnected with one other. Chinese popular custom, according to which a grave is given as a gift to a seriously ill person, deeply confuses European people. The gift is a sign of esteem and true feelings toward them, since a dying person is seen as a passenger heading off on a long journey. On the other hand, social reformers call- ing for decisive steps to bring about serious changes have been frustrated in Europe. The prominent twentieth-century thinker Albert Schweitzer highlighted the need to reject technocratic culture and to rise to the highest level of advancement possible. He concluded that the destructive events, bloody wars, ecological catastrophes and other events of the twen- tieth century had led science to be transformed into “technocracy and technological science”, resulting in the sacrifice of culture for the sake of ideas, placing pressure on spirituality and emotions, leading to cultural cri- sis. The great thinker suggested as a principle that we should “esteem life” for the sake of a new culture common to all humankind. This principle supposes a turn from the idea of development as it applies to culture to a new direction of development based on common human values. This is the way that will lead humanity to a bright future.

Russian culture

Russian culture is an inseparable part of world culture. It is a culture with unique features that cannot be replicated. Hence, its input to the treas- ure of world culture is invaluable.

The main features in the formation of Russian culture were interre- lated with the following factors: takeover of the vast territory settled by many ethnic groups and nations; a unique Russian Orthodox branch of Christianity established according to spiritual and traditional customs; countering of the ‘isolationism’ which arose from out of the relatively temporary but long-enduring process of Western European civilizational development; the subordination of individual interests to state interests.

In order to support these ideas, let us consider the periods of forma- tion of Russian culture. Even though Russian culture, which is part of the world cultural tradition, was founded on a national basis, it closely

interacted with Byzantine and other cultures, particularly Bulgarian, Serbian, Armenian, Georgian and other countries which bordered Byzantium.

Ancient Slavic culture is regarded as the beginning of Russian cul- ture. Its main cultural components are sacred poems, mythology and legends. Many scholars believe most of these were lost after conversion to Christianity starting in the late tenth century. Before the coming of Christianity, a pagan culture was highly developed in Russian lands.

The worldview of the ancient Slavic people was closely related with nature-worship. They perceived each forest, stream, well and even each tree as inhabited by a living spirit (cf. animism). They were especially impressed with the appearance of old oak trees which were covered with many leaves. They regarded rapid, fast rivers as sacred, so much so that in legends rivers could talk to people. The gods of simple-hearted Slavic people, who were very close to the earth and nature, were also related to the mysteries of nature. For example, Perun, the God of holy thunder, was the most powerful God.

Slavic people worshipped the Sun and had several names for it (for example, Dazbog—the most merciful God). Like other nations, Slavic people also described things with qualities peculiar to humans, thus bringing them to human consciousness. Clear evidence of this can be seen in production of the image of ‘Almighty Mother God’. Many works have been written about the Slavic people. In one of them, a Byzantine historian of the seventeenth century, Procopius of Caesarea, wrote: “Slavs and Antaes are not ruled by one person, but live according to the rule of the people [cf. democracy], they thus resolve issues of happiness and misfortune through general counsel.”

Religion is the main element of any type of culture. Religion is not only worship or a system of religious rituals, it is an understanding (or worldview) regarding the environment, and ideas about humankind’s place within this environment. It is a system of religious beliefs as well as an image of life. Consequently, conversion to Byzantine Christianity by the people of Rus’ was a critical turning point in its cultural history. The acceptance of Orthodox Christianity by the Russians was determined according to their internal and external conditions. The main condi- tion which determined their choice was economic and cultural relations between Kievan Rus’ and Constantinople. Orthodox Christianity highly influenced all spheres of the Russian state’s social, political and cultural life. As a result of conversion to the new religion, trade, political and

cultural relations with Christian countries stabilized and began taking shape from a new vantage. Southern Slavs, Armenians and Georgians, who had converted to Christianity before the Rus’, experienced the impact of Byzantine culture much earlier.

Leading world cultures significantly influenced the development of Kievan Rus’ culture, which took form as a result of the unification of the eastern Slavs and the related rise of one of the most influential countries in Europe by virtue of its expanding territory and power. We have no other comparable cultural phenomenon in the Medieval world. In fact, geographically Rus’ has borders with Byzantium, various eastern and Caucasian nations, Western Europe and Scandinavia, and they all exerted great cultural influence on the area.

After conversion to Christianity, Rus’ culture achieved its peak in a very short period of time, particularly in the times of Prince Yaroslav (eleventh century). Kiev was transformed into one of the largest cities in Europe. While foreign travelers called Kiev ‘the second royal city’, the eleventh-century writer Adam of Bremen offered it a high valua- tion, calling it “the rival of the scepter of Constantinople.” The Kievan Sophia cathedral, built in the reign of Prince Yaroslav, was an outstand- ing monument. According to historians of architecture, there is no other comparable building with thirteen domes displaying such outstanding architectural esign, not only in Byzantium, but across the Christian world.

Kievan Rus’ was called ‘the country of books’. Schools, libraries, and archives were opened in monasteries and much foreign literature was translated; chronicles were recorded. The price of some works was so high that in case of fire books had to be rescued first. If we thus consider Kievan Rus’ culture within its broader world historical context, we can conclude that it was at a high level.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the center of Russian cul- ture became Novgorod. The city, with its painting and architecture, called itself ‘The Great and Honorable Novgorod’. It is not just coin- cidence that a foreign author evaluated this historical city, saying: “Its wealth is equaled only by Rome.” No other country was so skilled and passionate in creating and painting the iconic works of beauty which have become an inseparable part of Russian Christianity. Among icons preserved in Novgorod there are some which have global significance, including the *Angel with Golden Hair* painted at the end of the twelfth century and housed in the State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

By the end of the fifteenth century Moscow had achieved high cul- tural and political authority in Eastern Europe. The great state of Byzantium was experiencing its famous downfall; the culture of the southern Slavs was in decline; the Mongol and Tatar raids were still strong; the historical victory of Dmitry Donskoy over the Golden Horde at the Battle of Kulikovo (1380) elevated the authority of Moscow. After this event various art representatives from different states, including Rus’, started to gather in Great Moscow, and Moscow became one of the largest cultural centers in the region. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Russian Orthodox Church gained its independence and became separated from Western Christianity. Now Rus’ considered itself as the main guardian of Christianity and took responsibility for developing and spreading it worldwide. As a result, Moscow Rus’ pro- claimed itself ‘Holy Rus’ and Moscow became the ‘Third Rome’. In 1480 Moscow finally gained its independence from the Golden Horde, but the influence of Eastern culture on the Russian state did not end. From 1547, in the time of Ivan IV (d. 1584), Rus’ was officially entitled Russia.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Boris Godunov paid close attention to culture, enlightenment and Western civilization. As a result, Russia’s trade relations with Western countries intensified and its cities flourished, becoming large cultural centers. The development of the Moscow Kremlin was commenced. However, only 2% of the Russian population were settled in cities at the time, which meant that the major- ity of the population were still peasants.

In the middle of the seventeenth century state and private schools were founded at which different disciplines, including foreign languages, were taught. In 1637, the first Slavic, Greek, and Latin Academy was founded in Moscow. The Likhud brothers, who had graduated from Padua University in Italy, guided the Academy. Under Western influence, the first theater performances took place and in 1675 the first ballet was performed in the Russian state theatre.

Cultural changes in the beginning of the eighteenth century in Russia were closely related to the reforms of Peter the Great. The main feature of this new age of Russian culture was that it developed in close inter- relation with other cultures. As a result of clear-sighted state policy, aim- ing to destroy national isolationism, international relations with Western countries were expanded; humanistic and rational sciences began to pen- etrate Russia. The ideology of absolutism accompanied European ideas

of enlightenment and rationalism. These changes also influenced the sphere of culture. The process of differentiation had begun, and new directions in cultural formation began to take shape. Most important was the visible tendency to aspire for democracy.

Peter the Great’s reforms covered all aspects of social and cultural life. As a result, the pace of cultural development increased in comparison with previous periods, and new styles (Baroque, Rococo, Classical) were followed in the sphere of art. This was the main feature of Russian new-age culture.

The issue of education for young people and the construction of schools was raised to the official state level only during the reign of Peter the Great. Due to a shortage of specialists, along with the local system of aristocratic schools, the practice of sending young people to foreign schools started from the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

The nineteenth century in Russian cultural history is of great impor- tance within the period from Kievan Rus’ to the Tsarist Russian Empire. In the first place, since this period was a time of cultural revival, we can label it as the Russian Renaissance period. Among many others, some forty Russian writers served as a cultural-spiritual source for literature for two centuries. The nineteenth century was full of philosophical-human- istic endeavors related to peace and equity, happiness and the free will of humankind. The nineteenth century laid the basis for the cultural trans- formations of the twentieth century; it was a ‘golden age’ of Russian cul- ture which started with the birth of the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) and ended with the death of the metaphysician and philosopher Vladimir Solovyov (1853–1900).

The nineteenth century was full of many social movements (anar- chists, atheists, populists, Marxists, nihilists ad others), more than in any previous centuries. Russia understood its historical role in the West–East dilemma. Developments in nineteenth-century Russian culture were some of the greatest achievements in world cultural history because the Russian national culture was based precisely on this broader world historical period.

The culture of the Soviet period is a complex one, full of deep contra- dictions. Hence, it is the main purpose of a scholar of cultural studies to conduct elaborate research about its achievements and mistakes, victories and failures from as objective an historical perspective as possible. Today there exist two points of view about the culture of the Soviet period. The marginal position regards Soviet culture as absolutely uninteresting

and as the dark burden of a totalitarian system; the more rational posi- tion tries to explain cultural processes elaborately from a concrete and complex historical perspective. Representatives of the rational approach make suggestions based on thorough analyses of historical develop- ments. Indeed, it would be biased to consider the history and culture of the Soviet period separately from its entire social system and its main ele- ments. Contradictions were commonplace within the whole Soviet totali- tarian system. In the twentieth century the false premise that “ideology is the main content of culture”[7](#_bookmark295) turned into a State program, as a result of which, Russian intellectuals were oppressed, and the main cultural values destroyed. In spite of these contradictions, the rich heritage of the ‘Silver Age’, produced at the beginning of the twentieth century and then sup- pressed due to ideological and political conditions, became accessible once again for inquirers at the end of the century. No matter what diffi- culties they have faced, Russian society and its cultural heritage will never lose its significance for world history and culture.

Islamic culture

In the seventh century CE there emerged an event that was critical for the entire history of humanity, namely the rise of Islam. This religion, which appeared in the Arabian Peninsula, brought tremendous changes to the spiritual, political, social and economic life of not only the pen- insula itself, but also Northern African, Asian and European peoples. It facilitated cultural advancement in those regions, so it would be logical to ask why the changes occurred and why peoples with differing cul- tural paradigms converted to the new religion and changed their spiritual beliefs and values. We could answer that the culture based on the new religion and its principles was superior to the existing ones. However, that would undoubtedly be a biased and arrogant answer. Of course the state which spreads the new religion can have political influence, but that in itself is not sufficient to provide effective proselytism.

For Muslims, the very emergence and development of their religion is a divine act, and the astonishing success of the prophet’s mission is proof of his trustworthiness. “This large and beautiful structure – Islam – tran- scended a religious community of purely national character, or a religio- ethnic group; in similar fashion, it displayed its longevity by safeguarding its right to exist and retain state status, being transformed into a broad cultural community.”[8](#_bookmark295)

Islamic civilization was founded in the seventh to ninth centuries CE during the Arab-Muslim military campaigns[9](#_bookmark295) and trading relations with surrounding peoples. Islamic civilization covered the areas of the ancient developed civilizations such as the Mediterranean region, as well as western and central Asia. The civilizations in these regions provided the cultural substratum for the formation of Islamic civilization, which spread through Arabia and Iran to remote and peripheral regions such as northern Eurasia, southern and southeastern Asia, China, Africa and the Balkan Peninsula.

Conceptual frames on the emergence of Islam have been suggested by the Kazakh scholar Sanzhar Asfendiarov in his article titled “Islam and Nomadic Economy” published in the 1930s. Even though it is appar- ent that the mark of his time—the early Soviet period—prevails in his opinions on religious origins, his logical thinking and consistency, meth- odological principles, elaborate analysis of social phenomena from wide social perspectives arouse great interest. Of course, it is difficult to accept his position about Islam and its emergence in its entirety. Nonetheless, we think that this Kazakh scholar has laid bare the social preconditions of Islam. Let us, therefore, now critically analyze his article.

Asfendiarov pointed out that: “as with other religions, Islam also has a long history; it passed through several historical periods, with sev- eral recent layers. The difference between current Islam and the Islam which prevailed in the times of Muhammad is like heaven and earth, while its similarities are minimal. Hence, we need to consider not only the social-economic structure on which Islam was founded, the pro- duction method which identifies this structure, and the tribal relations formed in that region, but the entire historical processes of the Middle East region.”[10](#_bookmark295)

If we look at world history in the period before the emergence of Islam, it was doubtless a very complicated period for humanity in all respects. In those times Western Europe was experiencing feudal dis- order. Classical civilization had been destroyed and the basis for a new civilization had not yet formed. Europe, exhausted from internal con- flicts, could not yet see how to escape the circumstances of their Dark Ages. Regarding this, the Islamic thinker Abu al-Hassan al-Nadvi stated: “The Northern European nations were left behind from the main life streams and their knowledge about the environment was too weak. From a religious perspective, they were still between Christianity and ancient idolatry.”[11](#_bookmark295)

Before the emergence of Islam, the religions of the Middle East could not provide a theological-philosophical grounding for the shared herit- age of humanity, nor supply it a universal character. Judaism could not overcome its ethnic confinement because the foundations of its teachings did not allow it to attain universal status. Theological disputes within Christendom led to persecution and bloodshed for those who did not accept the various church councils’ decisions. Zoroastrianism departed from its foundational ideals and was influenced by teachings such as Manichaeism and Zurvanism. However, it could only satisfy the interests of the Persian rulers and could not transcend the ideology of the Persian Empire. Buddhism, which promoted the rejection of life in this world, did not embrace the need to change this present life’s circumstances; even though it led to individual development, it estranged its followers from society.

The fundamental concept of Islam is an absolute faith in the Creator of all, Allah. Islam calls this ‘Tawhid’. Muslims feel very proud of this belief which was passed to them through the Prophet Muhammad. Montgomery Watt wrote that:

Muslims accepted Islam as the purest and highest form of worshipping god. However, they did not declare these advantages, because it would be the sign of an unbeliever. They realized this belief patiently, relying on their own power. The wisdom of other nations was embraced easily and later was regarded as truly Arabic… They took foreign wisdom and sci- ence seriously and studied it elaborately. When people brought up in other traditions converted to Islam they compared their previous cognitions with the Qur’anic teachings.[12](#_bookmark295)

From this excerpt we can see that Muslim pride was based on spiritual- ity and led to arrogance and pride. It is said in the Qur’an that “Allah guides whom He wills.” Hence, acceptance of religious faith should not be because of outer impact or coercion. Therefore, Islam and its founder, the Prophet Muhammad, did not pressure people on issues of faith. It is said in the Qur’an that “there is no compulsion in religion” (Sura 2, 256).

Islam’s support of science and scholarship impacted its rising sig- nificance and authority in society. Engaging in science and scholarship was considered a noble undertaking, and eventually respect for learn- ing became an important part of Islamic civilization. By harmonizing

intellect and faith, the authority of science and scholarship in the Islamic world provided Islam with a leading role in the Middle Ages.

* 1. Kerimov described the development of learning in the Arabic- Muslim world, noting that by “[m]astering the scientific achievements of other nations, Muslim scholars made tremendous advances in more sciences than ever before.”[13](#_bookmark295) Islamic scholars praised the great qualities and abilities of the human intellect, and tried to prevent it from doing things which had no value or benefit to the person themselves or to soci- ety. Accordingly, they created various scientific disciplines and contrib- uted greatly to the identification of research objects and subjects as well as the cognitive and everyday significance of each branch of science. One Islamic scholar, Al-Ghazzalı (eleventh century), divided the sciences into two categories:

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* + 1. False sciences which have no value for people. He listed in this cat- egory magic, astrology and horoscope.
		2. Sciences which are beneficial both in this and the next world. This category includes Qur’anic and religious sciences, *fiqh* (deep understanding), *tafsir* (explanation), linguistics, natural sciences, and studies of culture and society.

Al-Fārābı̄ classification of sciences is similar to this. Muslim thinkers who identified the distinctions between false and true sciences rescued human intellect and cognition from useless deviations and led them to researches which are concrete and useful for both the individual and soci- ety. This principle of Arabic Muslim scholarship is based on the Qur’an. “Generally for Muslims different directions of sciences were divided into ‘necessary’ and ‘unnecessary’ according to their social usefulness.”[14](#_bookmark295) Thus, humanism, tolerance, social justice, and special respect to science and education were the main foundations and principles of Islamic civ- ilization. These foundations, values and principles influenced its spread far beyond the borders of the Arabian Peninsula to turn it into a world phenomenon.

The first official conversion to Islam by the Turks was during the reign of the Kara-Khanid Khanate which was founded in the ninth cen- tury in Eastern Turkestan. The Kara-Khanids highly influenced the establishment of Islam in the regions between Kashgar and Issyk-Kul. The Seljuq Turks, who converted in the mid-tenth century in Central Asia, then brought Islam with them to Asia Minor, which was under the control of the Byzantium Empire. In 1071, the Seljuq leader Alp Arslan captured the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogene near Manzikert in Armenia. Consequently, he established the long-lasting reign of the Turks in Anatolia. The historical period when Islam spread in the Eurasian cultural area is closely interconnected with the Mongol Empire. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Islam was the leading civilization among medieval societies. Ultimately, the campaigns of the Crusaders, enemies of Islam, to the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea were unsuccessful. They totally lost Jerusalem in 1187 and instead conquered Constantinople, the center of the Byzantine Empire, their previous ally and coreligionist, in 1204. They founded the Latin Empire in the strategic Bosphorus region. However, the Byzantines freed their capital in 1260 and expelled the Latin Crusaders. But they could not revive their previously great empire. In 1453, the Ottoman Turkish army conquered Constantinople and finished off the history of Byzantium. From this time on, the Ottoman Empire became the main heir of Islamic civilization and made an invaluable contribution to the preservation of its unity and cooperation for an extended period, until the end of World War I. Islam provided the opportunity to the Turkic peoples to preserve their ethnic unity. At the same time, the Turks protected the Islamic world from outer enemies and provided stability for its civilization.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, a historical development took place which completely altered the Medieval map of Eurasia: Turkic and Mongol nations appeared on the world historical stage. A powerful empire was founded by Genghis Khan whose clan colonized the terri- tories from Eastern Europe to the Korean Peninsula. The Islamic world was also influenced by their invasions. In 1258, the Mongol military destroyed the Abbasid Caliphate and threatened the borders of Egypt. The Mongolian invasions destroyed many civilizations. However, these civilizations flourished again, and revived their cultural material and humanist potentials, while the heritage and enormous empire of Genghis Khan’s descendants disintegrated, and was influenced by diverse civiliza- tions such as the Chinese-Buddhist and Turkic-Islamic.

In the fourteenth century, the Ulus of Jochi in Central Asia, which included the Kipchak Khanate, began to disintegrate intensively. As a result, the Golden Horde, which was one of the greatest Mongol-offshoot states of its time, broke into several khanates of varying sizes. These historical cir- cumstances led to the establishment of the independent Kazakh khanate

in the second half of the fifteenth century. As stated by D. Stuart, con- version to Islam by the Kazakhs was a very complex process. It included:

(1) the introduction and penetration of Islam; (2) conversion to Islam by higher authorities; (3) the announcement of Islam as an official reli- gion; (4) familiarity with the neighboring Muslim nations which were Islamic states; and (5) the formation of a Muslim majority among the population. Regarding the final two stages, Stuart described the decision in 1509 that the Uzbek Shaybanids issued about the Kazakh faith and provided Fadl-Ullah bin Ruzbihan Isfahani’s report on that decision. Stuart wrote:

According to Ruzbihan, the Kazakhs converted to Islam in the times of the great ancestor Oz Beg (or Uz Bek) khan. After 200 years they came to know perfectly all the rules of Islamic life, but they intentionally broke them. The Kazakhs who break the rules observe the ‘namaz’ prayer and other duties correctly, therefore ignorance is not the cause of their sin. Ruzbihan noted that Kazakhs bow to idols. He likewise described the Tengrian rite of offering the first kumis (that is, cultured mare’s milk) as a sacrifice. He explained it as a ritual of sun worship. The main reason for the consensus (on Kazakh religious practice) was the capturing of Muslims in the invasion of 1507-8. As a result of the consensus, the Shaybanids, whenever conducive for them, began going to war against the Kazakhs, thus it was possible to capture Kazakhs. The consensus issued in 1509 was a shock for Muslim Kazakh consciousness. But the process of Islamization did not stop.[15](#_bookmark295)

As seen from the above description of the penetration of Islam into the area of Eurasia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, the process lasted for many centuries and went through several periods. Arbitrarily the process of Islamic penetration into Central Asia can be divided into: (a) the first introduction in the eighth–eleventh centuries; (b) the period of tempo- rary downturn due to the formation of the Mongol Empire in the thir- teenth century; (c) the revival and quick development of Islam in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries; (d) the establishment and strengthening between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.

More than official Islam, it was Sufi teachings which spread widely among the nomadic Turkic peoples. The main reason for the establish- ment of the Sufi practice was the tradition of venerating ‘saints’, before conversion to Islam. Sufis, who were famous and authoritative for their spiritual purity, healing skills and piety, tended to turn into living legends.

After their death, their graves became holy places (centers of pilgrim- age). Without overemphasizing such unique features, Sufism had great impact on the spread of Islam to the Central Asian nomads. Islamic moral principles were instilled into people’s consciousness through Sufism. The Hanafi School was practiced officially at the broader social level, though observance of this teaching was much wider among sed- entary Turkic peoples than among nomads. Even though nomads fol- lowed traditional legislative norms in the regulation of social life, they followed the principles of this teaching in observing Islamic rules and matters of worship. The call to prayer and naming upon the birth of a child, marriage, funerary rituals, fasting, rules of observing worship were all conducted according to the rules of Hanafi teaching. Like other Muslim countries, nomads also celebrated holidays such as Eid al- Fitr and Eid al-Adha. *We thus see in the history of Kazakh conversion to Islam an example of how the Islamic faith spread among many peoples and cultures of the world*.

In the Middle Ages Islam was victorious in the struggle between reli- gions in the Turkic Central Asian states and many other parts of the Afro- Eurasian world. There were several reasons for this. Islamic teachings were much simpler and more understandable than other religious teachings. Secondly, “Islam stood out with its syncretic features. It mastered many ideas of previous religions. It is often compared to branches of a river.” Thirdly, Islam could give new impulse to the development of statehood and culture in countries which adopted Islam. Unfortunately, in more recent centuries, Islamic civilization began to lose its leading position. Rivalry between the branches of Islam and individual clans led to feu- dal contention, the demise of statehood, and the degradation of science. Furthermore, Islamic civilization trailed behind other civilizations from a scientific technological perspective. Religious and ethnic disputes, political turmoil, colonization, and cultural weakness were all factors impacting the Islamic world between the thirteenth and twentieth centuries.

However, the twenty-first century offers great opportunities for Islamic civilization. Many Islamic countries can achieve their independence and build general political and economic institutions. More sig- nificantly, Islam has gained recognition among humanity as a core contributor to spiritual purity and values, and as a nurturing force able to provide humankind with essential unity. Some 1.7 billion people across the globe today connect life changes, welfare and wisdom, and the future of human civilization with this one deep inner faith.

For the past five centuries the world has been developing accord- ing to a Western civilizational model. Western civilization preserves in memory both great achievements of humanity and bloody, destructive wars. Regardless of this, it is impossible to reject the achievements of Western civilization in its development of ideas, basic human values and freedom, civil society, and legal statehood. These are the results of the strong courage and persistent struggle of Western civilization’s leading representatives as well as ordinary people. Not to be passive, but instead to take action, to be in a tireless search for knowledge and foster a hard work ethic, to realize their true potential—all of these became life prin- ciples of the Western world. There have been those who have made mis- takes and gone astray, but the ideals of searching for truth, striving for justice, and living free have become the hallmarks of Western civilization.

The contemporary age is different. The process of historical evolution is setting new challenges for civilizations and societies across the globe. The future is going to be shaped by the results of the measures taken in response to these challenges by individual countries and other major reli- gious, cultural, linguistic, social and economic groups, as well as human society as a whole. Islamic civilization has set forth noble goals and weighty responsibilities. What alternative models can Islamic civilization offer the world in the spheres of economy, politics, and social life? How and in which directions should the reform and modernization processes be implemented within Islamic civilization? Can Islam solve its own inner problems in a civilized way? These kinds of questions go on without end. The main point is that representatives of this civilization must pose these questions to society while also themselves seeking answers to them. As stated by Heidegger, one can find truth only when tirelessly probing the questions of our existence.

**Notes**

1. Edward Burnett Tylor (1812–1917) identified the following five types of myths: (1) philosophical or explanatory myths; (2) myths based on real descriptions misunderstood, exaggerated, or perverted; (3) myths attrib- uting inferred events to legendary or historical personages; (4) myths based on realization of fanciful metaphor; and (5) myths made or adapted to convey moral, social or political constructions.
2. A.J. Toynbee, *Postizhenie Istorii* (*A Study of History*), p. 549.
3. Lev Lubimov, *Batis Evropa oneri* [*Western European Art*] (Almaty: Publisher, 1982), p. 22; Rodulfi Glabri, *Historian Libri Quinque*/

Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and tr. John France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 114–117.

1. *Istoria Estetiki. Pamiatniki Mirovoi Esteticheskoi Misli* [*History of Aesthetics. Monuments of World Aesthetic Thought*] (Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Arts of the USSR, 1962), p. 507 (Web edition

– Adelaide: ebooks, 2005. URL: [https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/p/ pico\_della\_mirandola/giovanni/dignity/](https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/p/pico_della_mirandola/giovanni/dignity/)).

1. A. Hamidov, *Shigis zhane Batys: Dunielik Katinas zhane Dunietanim* [*East and West: Relation of Worlds and World Outlook*] (Almaty, KZ: “Shahar”, 1993), No. 1, p. 11.
2. Nikolai Berdyaev, *Naperelome* [*On the Edge*] (Moscow: International, 1990), p. 80.
3. Transl. note: Cf. Stalin’s approach to the ‘national question’ as officially “national in form, socialist in content” (Walker Connor, *The National Question in Marxist*-*Leninist Theory and Strategy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 201–202).
4. G.E. Grunebaum, *Klassicheskii Islam. Ocherki Istorii (600*–*1258)*

[*Classical Islam. A History. 600 A.D. to 1258 A.D.*]. tr. from English by

I.M. Dizhura and V.V. Naumkina (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), p. 13.

Transl. note: The Kazakh verb behind the English translation of ‘con- quest’ is ‘zhorik’. It is translatable as a military ‘march, campaign, attack, assault, invasion’. Of comparative interest, Gabitov uses the same Kazakh verb here of the ‘Muslim campaigns’ which is typically used in Kazakh accounts to describe the Christian Crusades of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries (‘aikish zhoriktari’, lit. ‘conquests of the cross’). Indeed, Gabitov himself uses the same verb in reference to the Crusades later in his narrative.

1. S. Asfendiarov, “Islam i Kochevoe Khoziastvo [Islam and Nomadic Economy],” *Atheist*, Vol. 10, No. 58 (Nov 1930).
2. Abu al-Hassan al-Nadvi, *Chto Poterial Mir po Prichine otkhoda of Islams* [What the World Lost When the Muslims Fell], tr. from English (Moscow: Ansar, 2006), p. 14.
3. W.M. Watt, *Vlianie Islama na Srednivekovuiu Evropu* [Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe], tr. from English (Saint Peterburg, Dilia, 2008), pp. 24–25.
4. G.M. Kerimov, *Shariat: Zakon Zhaizni Musulman. Otveti Shariata na problemi sovremennosti* [*Shariah. Law of life of Muslims. Shariah responses to problems of contemporaneity*] (St. Petersburg: Dilia, 2007), p. 164.
5. A. Kh. Zarrinkub, *Islamskaia tsiviizatsia* [*Islamic Civiization*] (Moscow: Andalus, 2004), p. 25.
6. R.N. Bezertinov, *Tengrianstvo—Religia Tiurkov i Mongolov* [Tengriism is the Religion of Turks and Mongols] (Kazan: Slovo, 2004), pp. 144–145.

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