

The Wisdom of the Great Steppe

Abai Kunanbaiuly

(In Commemoration of Abai on the 175th Anniversary of His Birth)

edited by
Suat BEYLUR
Omirbek HANAYI

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Abbreviations

CC	Codex Cumanicus
CICA	Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSTO	The Collective Security Treaty Organization
DLT	Dîvânu Lugâtî't-Türk
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
KazAID	Kazakhstan Agency for International Development
KB	Kutadgu Bilig
KE	Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ
NF	Nehcü'l-Feradis
OSCE	The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
UN	United Nations
UNDP	The United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	The United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization

PREFACE

Prof. Dr. Muhittin ŞİMŞEK

Chairman of the Board of Trustees

Every nation and every civilization has its founding values. On this basis, it would not be an exaggeration to say that Abai Kunanbaiuly is at the forefront of the national, spiritual and cultural values of the Kazakh society. When we consider the sources and environment that shape intellectual and literary personality of Abai, in fact, we can regard him as the common heritage not only of today's Kazakh society, but also of the great steppe and even of all Turkic peoples. Because his knowledge of the works of Al-Farabi, Khoja Akhmed Yasawi, Nizami Ganjavi, Nava'i, Fuzuli and Şehabeddin Mercani, who have an important place in Turkic-Islamic thought, is a clear indication of this view. This quality of Abai adds another personality, the carrier of values, to his founding personality. In addition to the above-mentioned luminaries, Abai also read works of Russian and Western thinkers such as Tolstoy, Pushkin, Lermantov, Goethe, Spinoza and Spencer and even translated the works of some of them, and brought them to Kazakh intellectual and literary life. Considering all these aspects, Abai not only paved the way for the intellectual and political independence of Kazakhstan, but also laid the foundations for the social and human development of today's modern Kazakhstan as a spiritual guide.

Even this brief statement can be considered among the justifications for further research of Abai with all aspects such as poet, thinker, hakim, moralist and opinion leader, and for his promotion in wider public and scientific circles. For the very reason, making 175th anniversary of his birth occasion we, Eurasian Research Institute of Khoja Akhmet Yassawi University, aimed to bring a work that can be considered the first to relevant literature in terms of language and content in order to make the thoughts and works of great poet and thinker known all over the world.

The book, "The Wisdom of the Great Steppe - Abai Kunanbaiuly", which is the product of a long and demanding efforts and consists of eighteen chapters, has been prepared by expert researchers and scientists who examine Abai and his works from different perspectives. I would like to thank everyone who contributed to the preparation of such a rewarding work, particularly the editors, Dr. Suat BEYLUR and Omirbek HANAYI, and the authors of the book chapters. Finally, I congratulate all the staff of the Eurasian Research Institute, in the person of Director Assoc. Prof. Vakur SÜMER, for bringing such a valuable work to international literature.

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Suat BEYLUR

Chief Editor

“The nature of Abai, the voice of Abai, the breath of Abai is the breath of time, the voice of the people themselves. Today, the poet’s voice merges with our voices, grows stronger and gains new power.”

This concise expression of Mukhtar Auezov still maintains its validity and vitality after decades. This phenomenon is clearly seen in the discourses, education and cultural policies of the administration and ruling class, especially the founding president Nursultan Nazarbayev and current President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. The fact that the 175th anniversary of the birth of the great poet was celebrated enthusiastically throughout the Turkic World as well as in Kazakhstan shows that he has a well-deserved reputation and is embraced beyond the borders of Kazakhstan.

Abai Kunanbaiuly, who is a mirror of Kazakh society and 19th century modernization efforts, is one of the most important figures of today’s Kazakhstan with his thoughts and legacy in social, cultural and political spheres. In this respect, Abai can be portrayed as both a moralist who criticised social problems of his own society and seeks solutions to them, and a spiritual guide to his followers. The thoughts and philosophy of Abai, whose poems and words were known by heart by everyone, young and old alike, in Kazakh society, also formed the main motivation of the nation-state building process in the post-independence period. For this reason, Abai studies (Abaytanu) are included in all levels of education curriculum from primary school to university. Furthermore, notable birth anniversaries of Abai Kunanbaiuly, as spiritual founder, are celebrated at all institutions and organizations. A great number of scientific works and cultural activities are carried out as part of the Spiritual Revival (Ruhani Janguru) program. These works and activities have further increased with the announcement of 2020 as “the Year of Abai”, on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of his birth.

By making the 175th anniversary of his birth an occasion, as the Eurasian Research Institute, we aimed to collect works analysing Abai with various aspects such as poet, thinker, intellectual, hakim, moralist, artist, etc. in a single book. This book, which has been prepared with the contribution of researchers who study Abai and his works and consisting of 18 chapters, was published before the end of 2021 as an output of a long and labourious effort. I would like to thank Omirbek HANAYI, Almas JUNISBAY, and Aynur AKHMETOVA for their contribution to the article acceptance and content control process, especially of the sections translated from Kazakh and Russian into English. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Chairman of Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Turkish-Kazakh University's Board of Trustees, Prof. Dr. Muhittin ŞİMŞEK, and Director of Eurasian Research Institute, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Vakur SÜMER for all their support in the completion of this book, from beginning to end.

CHAPTER – I

BIOGRAPHY OF ABAI: A LIFE PATH “STREWN WITH THORNS”

Tursyn JURTBAY

Abai is an ambitious person who grew up immersed in the last of the nomadic civilisation. His childhood, youth, maturity, and conscious creative life coincide with that intricately conflicting point of life, knowledge, culture, customs, spirituality, laws and traditions, power and society, social conflicts, livelihood, and worldviews of the nomadic civilisation.

Abai (Ibrahim) Kunanbaiuly was born on August 10, 1845, in a place called Syrt Kaskabulak in the Shyngystau volost of the Semei region. Kunanbai, the father of Ibrahim (Abai), was the head of the Kishik-Tobyqty volost at that time.

Abai grew up under the upbringing and influence of his father Kunanbai, who held two powers in his hands as a volost head and a senior sultan. No matter how hard Abai tried to be independent, he had no choice but to follow the narrow, controversial path of a life “strewn with thorns”. M. Auezov wrote about it in his study “Abai’s birth and life” when he had not yet surrendered to Soviet pressure. He writes: “in those days (in his childhood – writer), Abai’s faith was his father’s words, Abai saw his father’s enemies as his own enemies and his father’s friends as his own friends” (Auezov, 1997: 119). Abai depicted his father’s image with these verses: No one ever among Kazakhs, born with his character. He left an immortal legacy not accumulating wealth (Abai, 1961: 229). Abai accepted and respected his father as a “gentleman”. These historical and life events are the realities of Abai’s being that directly influenced his perception of the world and formed his artistic realm.

Abai's Early Life and Education

In all the theoretical logic of the psychology of creativity, the main reason for the creativity of great people is an "unhappy childhood" and the tragic horrors of early life. And, Abai experienced not one but several such horrible atrocities and disappointments from the society on the threshold of his house, the house of the senior sultan.

As a child, Abai was afraid of such horrible events, and up until the age of five or six, he was silent and staring, and only listened to the words of young adults and seniors. Dulat, the great poet of the "Zar Zaman" movement, came at the invitation of Abai's grandmother, Zere, and sang his curative blessing song to young Abai: "What life awaits ahead? You will reach the summit with true effort!" And undoubtedly, Dulat's songs became the melody of his heart and set the tune for his tongue. It is said that only after Dulat's blessing did Abai's speech come out, and he would not stop saying proverbs and parables thereafter. Mukhtar Auezov states: "From a young age... he bore heavy tasks on his shoulders even though his strength and mind were still too young to carry them" (Auezov, 1997: 119).

The event that triggered Abai's young imagination and formed his system of artistic perception and artistic thinking was the heroic tragedy of Kenesary Kasymuly, who led the Kazakh national liberation uprising. Abai heard the mourning and farewell songs of Nysanbay and Doskozha about the Kenesary uprising, which covered the whole of the Kazakh steppe. He listened to the witnesses' stories of those events and grew up with the witnesses' children. Some of the remnants of the defeated army of Kenesary even took refuge in the village of Kunanbai and became members of that community. Abai's heart was broken by the horror of the mysterious stories told by his father, Kunanbai, about the severed head of Kenesary Khan, and the fact that the severed head was carried in a coffin to Omsk, and finally turned into a silver ashtray by order of General Gorchakov. It is not surprising that Abai's heart was nourished artistically when these mysterious stories became interwoven with the steppe people's thousand-faceted sagas. He instilled in his mind a sense of honour when he came to intuitively understand why Kenesary started the fight. A deeper understanding formed as he grew up, and even became an artistic idea, and later triggered him to write the long poem "Iskandar" (Alexander the Great), a poem about the value of a dried skull. Abai was not satisfied with this either: he asked his young poet friend Kokbai to write the long poems "Sabalak" (Ablai) and "Nauryzbai-Kanshaiym", and narrated the European novel "Kesikbas" in prosaic style and popularised it. All this makes it clear that the theme of Kenesary's skull was his inspiring artistic idea. Remembering Abai's verses, "I will become profound, drinking the poison of the past..." we believe this was the first drop of Abai's poison (Abai, 1961: 271).

The second story that touched Abai's heart distressed him as a child was the Musakul-Tokpanbet armed conflict in October-November 1846. In the "Barak Bitim" (Barak Treaty) of the same year, Kunanbai blessed Bozhei with his three-year-old daughter Kamshat, and paid three five-year-old horses, rolls of cloth, and three pieces of sheep-hoof-shaped gold. However, because of her carelessness, Kamshat, according to some sources, was treated as a slave girl inhumanely and

passed away early. The conflict now escalated from a case about the land to human costs. The tragic death of Kamshat also tortured the heart of young Abai. The Kazakh traditional grief of his mother and aunts, who cried for nearly a year, sowed a poisonous seed of revenge in his heart. Abai could not forget the mournful voice of those mourners until his death. It seems that Abai even turned that mourning into a poetic mood of his own. Fifteen of his almost a hundred poems are about mourning, including:

Until he passed this world, he spoke his faith!... Of the eagle with red legs, the chick was taken by disease. A towering fruit tree, the sprout burned in the fire... Did not live long, died when green, the death of the young is too heavy, the sunny side is reaped quick, alas, the jealous world and the hostile death (Abai, 1961: 249-250).

Kamshat's sad and tragic fate can be seen in these lines. There is another reason why this story and the death left a deep imprint on young Abai's heart. Kunanbai used to let six- to seven-year-old Abai and his four- to five-year-old brother Iskak sit in the corner and participate in the meetings of the judges and contenders of this conflict. To find out what they understood, he asked them questions at the end of the meeting and examined them. It seems that Abai listened to the quarrels and arguments quite patiently as he was introverted and silent from birth. He also expressed his childish thoughts on the decisions of the judges. Involuntarily, Abai grew up listening to his mother's mourning and his father's arguments. However, the "Musakul" incident did not fade away. With the passage of time, it emerged before Abai as "a dark tornado" fighting against him.

Between the ages of 10 and 13, Abai's third horror story, which the steppe people had never witnessed, took place. A group of people from the Tobyqty tribe robbed a mail caravan carrying money between the Verny fortress and the city of Semei, which the Kazakhs called a "Feather mail", and killed an officer. The event took place at the Alshin station at the foot of Mount Arkat, east of the Shyngystau mountains. The governor of Semei issued a decree: "Gather all the volosts and find the criminals". None of the tribes could speak out and all were afraid of the armed group. Kunanbai talked to the governor. He said if the authority forgave his previous crime and restored his officer rank, they would find the thieves. His proposal was accepted by the governor. Thus, Kunanbai turned to his old friend, the head sultan of Ayakoz, Barak Soltabayev. He and Barak crossed the Chinese border and visited Shotan and Bopanay, the Genghis princes who ruled the Abak Kerei tribes. Shotan and Bopanay caught the thieves Tabyldy, Uderbay, Zhundibay, Tunlikbay, and Mambetey, all from the Kokshe tribe. They were hanged on a gallows in Ayakoz by the Tsarist government. Kunanbai's guilt was forgiven and he became the governor's "secret assistant on a special mission". This "service" was probably the reason why Kunanbai was acquitted from the court trial (Abai, 1961: 25). It should be noted that Kunanbai, who did not expect such cruelty from the authority, protested to the governor, asking: "Why did you put the robbers to death without a trial? You have made us sin".

In this confrontation with the governor, Kunanbai not only fully defended his reputation but was also appointed as a "secret assistant to the special mission

of the governor" (Abai, 1961: 25). He returned with "special and secret" powers so that nobody would ever threaten him and exercised authority over the whole Kazakh steppe. Abai did not see this event with his own eyes. However, when Kunanbai came to report to the governor on the completion of the case against five people in Semei, it was clear that he told Abai, a schoolboy from a madrasa and a learned young man, what he had done to "make up for his crime".

This is what Abai gained from his life before he went to the madrasa: he learned to read and write, learned the language of science, and gained cognitive development. Three or four years of study opened the door to a turning point in his life and the nation's intellectual and spiritual development. It was a truly great historical opportunity. It was Kunanbai, Abai's father, who made a breakthrough and gave him such a historic opportunity.

Kunanbai was a talented, intelligent, and pious man who set high standards for religious education as well as general education, and was able to choose the path of enlightenment that would lead to true spiritual knowledge. Thanks to the wise decisions that he made after his conversations with respected theologians, he chose the best teacher for Abai. The madrasa of the Tatar imam Gabdulzhappar (in one source – Abdullah), where he sent Abai afirst, turned out to be a madrasa where teachers recited facts rather than "the sciences through which children learn the secret of God hidden from man". He immediately realised the reason why Abai didn't learn much. Kunanbai, who had been listening to sermons and lectures by imams and teachers from 15 mosques in Semei for three months, was pleased to hear the sermon of a young Hazrat named Kamaleddin (Kamaraddin, Kamali) in the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa. "This young teacher's sermon is clear and understandable, and is the right path to enlightenment", he said, and he sent Abai there.

After taking the path that led to science, secular knowledge, and the world of literature, which was taught by Kamaleddin, the first graduate of the Jadid-oriented Mercani madrasa, Abai completed the planned course of learning and joined the mature students who were ready to gain religious knowledge. He sang and recited books of poems and songs, such as Muhammadie, Zarqum, and Suhfatul Gazizi, and made a habit of partying and entertaining. Abai, who had a poetic talent from birth, enjoyed these poems very much and quickly learned these rhyming, sad, and mournful melodies, giving them his full attention. He sometimes joined in with these melodies and recited verses. With the same passion, he began to get acquainted with the works of poets, writers, and scientists from the East. Abai worshipped the Eastern poets: "Fuzuli, Shamsi, Shakhali, Nava'i, Sa'di, Firdausi, Khoja Hafiz – all of you, inspire me, the great poets" (Abai, 1961: 59), he said "wishing fire and strength to his poem". This was probably the first time he started to be occupied by that poetic talent. Among those talented students was Kurbangali Khalidi, a prominent future historian, author of the famous books "Tavarikh-i hamsa-i sharqi" (Five histories of the East) and "Tarih-i jarida-i jadidi" (New History) (Kazakh manuscripts, 2013: 268-284).

His youthfulness became more and more mature and he dived deep into the ocean of knowledge. The direction and model of the Jadid school demanded this from

him. The purpose of the Jadid school was to study religion in a scientific way. Al-Ghazali, who brought a new understanding of the Islamic world in terms of religious philosophy, natural sciences, and cognition, was a highly regarded scholar of his time with his critical views. Ibn Rushd, in his work "Resistance to Resistance", considered Al-Farabi's Nature Lessons as a source of knowledge and concluded that "he who does not know the created world cannot know the Creator". It started with Al-Farabi and Ibn Rushd and drew the attention of Al-Ghazali, Sufi Allayar, Gulamahi Dawani, and Mercani.

The following position and scientific concept in Mercani's curriculum give a clear idea of what a "strong influence" was: Mercani, first of all, separated the obsolete superstitious (mythical), legendary, fantastical, and false logics in the history of religion, except for Abelgazy's "Turkic Chronicle", and directed them into a scientific system that analysed the real historical facts. At the same time, when the prestige of Eastern scholars was declining and "chronological" narratives prevailed, he enabled the Turkic community to take a critical look at its own ancestral destiny. He wrote his historical works, which became his life's mission, based on all the achievements of Eastern and European science of that time. He attentively studied the works of his predecessors, such as the "History of the Caliphs" by Muhammad Ibn Ishaq (died 767), the "Great History" by Muhammad Ibn al-Waqidi (747-823), the famous "History" by Al-Tabari (838-923), "History" by Al-Masudi (956), a collection of biographies and dictionaries of famous people by Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (died 1071), "Book of Genesis" by the Central Asian chronicler historian Abdul Karim al-Samani (1113-1167), Ibn Fadlan's "Journey to the Desht-i Kipchak Steppe", as well as the historical records of scholars from Egypt, Basra, Yemen, Merv, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Russia. Moreover, he greatly appreciated the work Mukaddima by the Tunisian scholar Abdurakhman Ibn Khaldun (1332-1402), who was "the first philosopher to interpret history from the philosophical perspective in the world scholarship", and titled his own historical work Mukaddima. Mercani made a profound interpretation of Dawani's philosophical views and revealed the essence of the science and the words of wisdom.

One of the foundations of Abai's religious, artistic, and philosophical views was the Jadid doctrine, which he imbibed, memorised, and analysed from an early age. In Abai's words and poems, it reads: "Sharia dictates, believe without thinking, Abai replies, to believe one needs to think" (Auezov, 2014: 300), and these Words are proof of the Jadid knowledge he had learned.

Abai's other spiritual teacher was Sopy Allayar, one of these "guardians of faith". The establishment of the Islamic system of artistic perception and critical thinking in the Kazakh steppe, including Abai's system of artistic perception and artistic thinking of the world, was directly influenced by the verses of Sopy Allayar. Abai memorised the works of Sopy Allayar, which were a "transition" between the views of Kadym (ancient) and Jadid (new). Even Kunanbai listened attentively to those "melodic books". When he rose to the level of a scholar, Abai often discussed Sopy Allayar's words on the cause of everything: If a desire is a curtain, don't open it, After a curtain, a hundred curtains may open (Kazakh manuscripts, 2011: 205).

These words of Allayar are also clearly reflected in Abai's verses: "If you touch upon one sorrow, a hundred sorrows stir up".

"Mercani studied mathematics and chemistry, insisted on teaching these subjects in madrasas, built a madrasa himself, taught Islamic teachings in Russian schools, and patronised Russian schools" (Auezova, 1994: 42-43). It should be noted here that Mercani had a great influence on Abai is going to Russian school. When comparing the disciplines and the scope of learning taught at the madrasas, they corresponded to the program level at the religious centers (schools) at that time.

Thus, in the middle of the third year, after a short new year's holiday, without consulting his father in the steppe, he began to study in a Russian school called City-Parish in Semei. This was Abai's first individual decision without his father's permission. Now, in the remaining 4-5 months, he studied the annual program (curriculum) with the utmost diligence, and in mid-May, he received an assessment paper of excellence (Zhanataiuly, 2018: 37-38). Not only that year, but during the three years he spent in the city, Abai learned to recognise, read, understand, and write the Russian alphabet. He may even have taken extra lessons. Otherwise, it would not have been possible to complete the three-year school program in one year, write an essay (which was a mandatory test), pass an exam, and receive a certificate of graduation. Kunanbai, a wise and tough ruler who had been tested in conflicts, tried to check the knowledge of the now well-educated Abai, and took him to the steppe.

Foundations of Abai's Worldview

At that time, the highest goal and achievement for the Kazakhs of the steppe was to become a judge, an elder, a governor of a volost. Apart from that, the steppe boys had no place to go. No sky to fly to, no stage to shine on, and no power and no means to fight for a common good for all Kazakhs. Although Kunanbai resigned from the post of head sultan and lost direct connection to power, he still held the title of the honoured officer and controlled the governing issues of the Tobysty tribe in his own hand, and Abai also joined this governing. Thus, Abai was a soldier of the "Peace campaign" of the Muskul conflict for 25 years since it began when he was one year old. Kunanbai let Abai write the information and reports to be sent directly to the governor during the "Zhigitek-Bazaraly" incident, and engaged Abai as an intermediate translator and intermediate judge.

Biographical data on Kunanbai and Abai mistakenly indicate that the organiser of the conflict was Kengirbay's grandson Bozhei Eralyuly. It is a historical fact that Bozhei was the main figure in the conflict until his death, that is, from the "Musakul conflict" in 1846 until the resignation of Kunanbai as head sultan in 1853 and the death of Bozhei (1853). After Bozhei's death, the Zhigitek tribe's main figures, Baisal, Suindik, Sugir, Tusup, Abdi, Darkembay, Baigulak, Kuntu, Besbesbay, Balagazy, and Bazaraly, started to get involved in the conflict. Bazaraly was a good-looking, talented, eloquent, and heroic figure, a vindictive and risk-taking guy, and he was the commander of the Zhigitek tribe. The popular saying "Bazaraly's fortune is strained by theft and women" was a clear characteristic of him, and he showed this character not to others, but to Kunanbai. Finally, "Abai

saw that 17 of Zhigitek's men, who had fought with his father since his youth, had been deported to Siberia". Not only did he see this, but he was also in the same arbitration process (Kulbayev, 1992).

Kunanbai, on the other hand, knew that this was his last step in power. Now, he was gradually releasing the reins of power and offering them to his children, especially to Abai. After Abai had taken power, Kunanbai gradually left the scene of the conflict. He began his later life with "repentance".

Before leaving for Mecca, Kunanbai thought about the plight of 17 relatives deported to Siberia:

When I was young, I prayed to God: Give me happiness! If you give me happiness, first bless me with wealth! And before wealth, bestow me with power! I got those three wishes. Unfortunately, if I asked for my kins' peace, I would have received it too. When all the Kazakh abided by my words, my kins did not appreciate me. They came so close and cut my belly, made me upset. Thus, he gave an assessment of his whole life.

At the same time, there was much to be said for the restoration of justice. In Abai's established scientific biographies, Kunanbai was accused of three major "legitimate accusations" and he explained Kunanbai's three accusations against Abai as Kunanbai's own fault. In fact, all of them were severe punishments imposed on sudden life events under the provisions of traditional laws.

The incident that made Kunanbai responsible for taking human lives was hanging Kodar and Kamka on a camel's hump. Yes, this was a real event in life, the punishment was carried out by Kunanbai in accordance with the sharia (Shakarim, 1988). This was a very harsh and unexpected sentence. Kunanbai, who then ruled the state, put the case before judges, held an open trial, and punished them accordingly. This event took place between 1835 and 1843 before Abai was born.

Kunanbai's negative blessing to Umitey and Amir was another tragic event that provoked resentment. Amir and Umitey were born to the families of two brothers, Kunanbai's own sons. They were Kudaiberdy's son and Isaac's daughter, i.e. Kunanbai's own grandchildren. If Kunanbai did not ban the consanguineous marriage as in the case of Kodar and Kamka would Kunanbai be Kunanbai? And would he be able to rule the state? How would he allow his kins and offspring to fall into immorality? Kunanbai's cruel sentences were not cruelty, but a harsh and fair judgement!

The third accusation against Kunanbai was his "zeal for religion", that is, his special religiosity. The weight of the third accusation was heavy, it had a deep meaning, it was a matter of ancestral and religious honour. This was the reason why Kunanbai accused Abai of being "pro-Russian and not defending the interests of Islam". When Kunanbai came back from the pilgrimage, he saw soldiers with rifles with spears, herds of horses, and herds of sheep near the village. When asked why, Abai said that for the Russian-Turkish war, they were collecting for the Russian army horses to ride, and sheep for food. And not only collecting money but also writing a letter of appeal against the Turks. Meanwhile, Kunanbai became very angry, blamed Abai, and immediately stopped what he was doing. It is clear that Kunanbai, who

had recently come from Mecca, saw the political situation in Istanbul, Crimea, and inner Russia, and the suffering of the Muslim people who fought under the Russians and did not support these deeds of Abai. After all, for Kunanbai, who saw the Muslim world with his own eyes and was full of the goals and interests of the Turkic world, acting against the Islamic world was a catastrophe.

Abai had no choice but to listen to him. After his father's words, Abai expressed his mood: "I thought, I pondered, I examined my faults" (Abai, 1961: 302). Indeed, Abai had morals and a reason to "ponder and examine".

For these three events, Kunanbai was cursed. All these events, which turned the world upside down, had a direct impact on Abai's manhood and the formation of his views. When Abai came to power, what was the internal and external prestige of the country, that is, the main "legacy" of his father Kunanbai? The annual report "Review of the internal situation in the Semei region" submitted to the governor-general of the steppe by the Semei regional administration gave the following information: Although Kazakhs of the Tobyqty tribe and Karkaraly district have become less savage (taking hostage and robbery – the writer) than Kazakhs in other regions now than before, they did not give up violence against their neighbours. It is their daily habit to hunt cattle in their neighbouring regions (Zhetysy, Syrdarya, Akmola). Of course, the neighbours will also retaliate, will reciprocate. Out of 85 volosts in the region, four volosts of the Tobyqty tribe are the most famous in terms of looting and plundering (Baigaliev, 2001), that is: Tobyqty, the rebel of the state, was full of many shrewd, robbed the wealth of Kazakhs, involved in many horrors, came across a disaster. The good people who came out of them could not correct them but tried (Abai, 1961: 112-113).

As a person who criticises the functioning of the state, Abai, at the age of 20, became an authoritative representative of the most famous of the "four most famous" volosts (candidate for volost head, in today's sense, a vice volost head). Thus, Abai devoted 18 years of his conscious life to the official power of the state, 12 years as volost head, 6 years as a judge (elder – the writer). From 1866 he served as a volost head of Kishik-Tobyqty volost. This is proved by a report written on June 30 and July 13, 1866: on the volost head Kudaiberdy Kunanbaiuly's (now deceased) response to the order of the Sergiopol district. It was signed: "The head of the volost I. Kunanbaiuly, the correspondent V. Ivanov" (Baigaliev, 2001: 27-29). This fully confirmed Abai as a volost head. This means that Abai legally continued the duties of his late brother Kudaiberdy without elections or appointments, that is, he had the right to full power. This fact was noted by Turagul Abaiuly in his memoir "My father". "At the age of 20, my father was elected a candidate for his brother Kudaiberdy. After Kudaiberdy's death, the enemy accused him of being underage and he resigned from the post" (Abaiuly, 2018: 30). According to the rules of the steppe, the age of the volost head should be at least 25, the age of the judge at least 35. Knowing this, Kunanbai registered Tanirberdy as 25, Abai as 24, and Iskak as 23 years old in the village registrar (Kozhanuly, 2018: 231-237). Therefore, Abai's age, as stated in the accusation, was not suitable for the post. At that time, Kunanbai Oskembaiuly was the legally elected judge of the Kishik-Tobyqty tribe. On July 8, 1866, the regional governor received a complaint that

“Abai Kunanbaiuly deliberately did not hold the election of a new volost head in the Kishik-Tobyqty tribe”.

Thus, in February 1867, at the age of 22, Abai was prosecuted for the first time before he enjoyed his long service. Once the cause of the incident had been determined, the criminal case was terminated. After 1866-1869, Abai took a three-year break and became the governor for the second time between 1872 and 1874. However, fearing the tragedy of the first two rounds of elections, Abai refused to run in the next election. At that time, the “party conflict” in the Konyr-Kokshe volost had escalated into a riot. Abai’s explanation to the investigator proves this. Abai said:

I was elected by the people of Arkat (formerly Konyr-Kokshe-Tobyqty) volost and appointed by the order of the governor. That year, not the majority, but the whole community unanimously elected me governor. I served in this position from 1875 to 1878. The military governor of the Semei region signed and approved my post. At the end of my three-year term, I resigned. I was dismissed with the permission and approval of the public (CSA RK. f.44. d.9014).

It was at this time, in 1876, that the wealthy Kazakh of the Konyr-Kokshe volost Uzikbay Boribayev filed a lawsuit against Abai. It was immediately sent directly to the Omby Corps. The investigation lasted exactly eight years, with some complications and some alleviation. The tone of the complaint and the investigation was both harsh and mild, depending on the political and tribal situation in Tobyqty. Initially, the pace of the investigation, which was reported to the general affairs department of the Semei regional department from above, was effective. During these eight years, Abai was imprisoned twice and placed under house arrest in Semei. The summary of the statement submitted to put Abai in “eight years of trouble” was as follows, The head of the Semei region informed the governor about the results of the investigation (we have to give it in full length, albeit it is long, to reveal the truth):

Until now, none of the volost heads elected to the Konyr-Kokshe-Tobyqty volost has fully served their three-year term. Take, for example, the three years between 1872 and 1874. Alatayev was elected first, and his case was taken to court. Kuandyshev was elected second, and he was also prosecuted. The third elected, Dutbay Uandykov, was also convicted. Zhusup Kozhamkulov was dismissed. Finally, the three-year post was completed by the fifth volost head Karymbayev. All of them were prosecuted for slander and a grudge against the Kazakhs of this region, but all of them were later acquitted. The reason for this was that people with prestige in the volosts wanted to become volost heads themselves or develop a conflict with the newly elected head (Abai).

Currently, no one has been prosecuted in this volost. In order to avoid such a mess, Ismailov, the former governor, asked them to choose a person they liked from another volost. Thus, he nominated Ibragim Kunanbaiuly, whom he and others knew well. He was a very smart man. In this regard, Ismailov showed foresight. The people of Konyr-Kokshe-Tobyqty volost unanimously approved Ismailov’s proposal and elected Kunanbaiuly, who was registered

in the former Kishik-Tobyqty volost. He is the volost head of Konyr-Kokshe-Tobyqty volost now. During the two and a half years of Kunanbaiuly's rule, this volost stood out in an exemplary manner. Prior to that, there were daily hostage-taking and frequent killings. And last year, thanks to Kunanbaiuly, no one was involved in any trial...

The ultimate reason why Boribayev sued is that there are very strong tribal conflicts in the volost, so each party wants to elect its own person. They don't know that Kunanbaiuly is resigning of his own accord. They deliberately prevent Kunanbaiuly from running in the upcoming elections, so Boribayev wrote the statement himself. The lawsuit alleges that Kunanbaiuly's case would be taken to court and investigated and that he wouldn't be able to run in the election for the next three years. It is the most exemplary volost not only in the district but in the whole region. He agreed to rule the Konyr-Kokshe-Tobyqty tribe only because he respected others. As for Boribayev, he should be prosecuted for writing a false statement and slandering an official, he reported.

Abai he explained profoundly "The volost chiefs are elected for a three-year term. They spend their first year in the office listening to all kinds of grievances and complaints: 'Don't forget that we elected you!' Their second year is given over to fighting possible future rivals, and the third year to their campaign for re-election" (Abai, 1961: 441).

In the run-up to the next volost elections, the accusation would be filed manifold. On March 17, 1878, the governor of the Semei district supervised the case according to Uzikbay Boribayev's statement, and Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly answered the questions of the investigator as follows:

... I do not admit the accusation of Kazakh Uzikbay Boribayev that I took away lake Taimak, I do not consider myself guilty. Before I started my volost head position, lake Taimak was a vacant lot, common to all locals. In 1876, Kazakh Musa Ayubayev, with whom I had no kinship, came to me and asked for a place for winter pasture. In this regard, I took advantage of my position and made a statement to the judges elected by the community. They gave lake Taimak, and this decision was recorded in the journal that registers the decrees. I have nothing to do with it. During my tenure, I did not take bribes from anyone, either in cash or of any other kind. This can be proved by the decision of the judges of the Arkat volost. If I had written a false verdict or made a false decision, any of those verdicts would have been registered in this case as physical evidence, as evidence of my crime. In fact, the prosecutor himself could have included one of the verdicts in his statement. If there is no such physical evidence, then the accusation is a lie in itself.

I did not gather sheep for slaughter during the meeting. When the meeting was in the progress, the community themselves slaughtered sheep for food. I don't know how many sheep were slaughtered during the meeting, I didn't count it. In any case, it should be much less than that in Boribayev's statement. I did not take bribes from the people, taking advantage of my position for personal gain. If I wanted to do that, no one would tell me

anything. Because I am a stranger, and the governor elected in my place would not have allowed it.

It is true that I gathered sheep for a group of passing young soldiers. The total number was about 300. We bought a yurt and firewood with the money from those sheep, and I gave the rest of it to the chief of the volost Shymyrbai Bibolov and received a receipt.

I have never been to Uzikbay Boribayev's village and I have never offered to make peace. Because I have never been in a conflict with Boribayev, so there can be no enmity. It is illogical to agree to return lake Taimak because I have left the volost and I do not have such power.

On the contrary, the head of the county came to me after the investigation. During the talk, he apologised to me in front of Karatay Zhalbin and Kozhaken, judges from the Alzhan volost, and Baikulak Baziyeu, a Kazakh from the Shyngys volost, and admitted that they had made false accusations. I responded to Boribayev's words as follows: 'If it is true that you have sincerely apologised, then name the person who is provoking you to write the accusation. Because I know that you, Boribayev, are playing for the sake of someone with more power. You can't be my enemy, we have never come face to face at least' (CSA RK. f.44, d.1430). The kind of Uzikbay's depicted in Abai's following verses, 'Having been to the bank of the Ertis, Submitting a false accusation, As if he conquered a country and seized the Edil river, returns home boasting and bragging (Auezov, 1997: 80), left in the shadow, and the real steppe wolves came open to their usual tribal fronts'.

During this time, Zhigitek's men also matured and became ready soldiers. Kuntu's internal and external conditions were perfected, and he was able to compete with Kunanbai and his kins, including Abai. Meanwhile, Bazaraly, who had been deported to Siberia, returned. Obviously, the revengeful man must have returned with resentment: "I will show your trouble, Kunanbai's kins"

Abai, who had been in prison for six months because of Bazaraly's persistent struggles, was also upset and thoroughly prepared. The incident escalated in 1874, the year when Kunanbai left for Mecca. During the investigation, Bazaraly, believing the rumour that "Abai was going to be driven to Siberia", took hostage a herd of horses (800-850 horses) of Abai's elder brother Tanirberdi. Not only did they rob the horses, but also the community of the Zhigitek tribe settled along the Karaul River slaughtered the horses (in the second source – 1,000 horses) in one night. Abai was encouraged by the decision of the regional administration to justify himself and immediately began to retaliate. "He managed to remove Kuntu from office for his false accusation and got Kuntu's vice volost head elected... and for each of Tanirberdi's horses got two five-year-old horses as payment" (Auezov, 1997: 213). Angry Bazaraly did not accept the failure and struck back a second time but failed again. Bazaraly's kin Abdi had a daughter named Zagipa. She wrote a letter to Abai, asking for her emancipation. The frantic event also ended with the participation of Bazaraly. There was a fight between the two sides, and a man was stabbed with a spear and there was bloodshed. The scandal between Nurganyms and Bazaraly, who was a spear-wielding hero, a handsome and eloquent man, a strong hostage-getter, and a non-thief, non-robber, further irritated Abai (Jurtbay,

2004: 377-383). At this time, there were only four people whose names were known to the outside world. They were Kunanbai, Bozhei, Bazaraly, and Abai. Abai prosecuted Bazaraly and had him driven to Siberia for the second time because he didn't keep his promise of stopping robberies and had about 850 horses slaughtered in one night.

At the same time, the 40-year-old conflict between Bozhei-Kunanbai and Bazaraly-Abai had just reached its climax. These ten years of Abai's life ended with regret as shown in the following verses: "Now the talk of the people is theft and robbery, I have not seen a conscious soul who would understand my talk. To this day, there is no hope in this neighbourhood, that which makes one happy and satisfied" (Abai, 1961: 81).

Abai, who had been involved in power and tribal disputes since he was a child, had only one obstacle: trials and imprisonment. And there was a fundamental principle for that. After all, it was natural that Abai stumbled now and then, after a long time of mutual conspiring and plotting. Only the unpleasantness of revenge and resentment behind it made both his soul and heart cry. The cases of accusation multiplied, the number of sealed papers grew, and Abai was almost driven to Siberia twice (Auezov, 1997: 141). These events took place between the years 1866 and 1886.

He wanted to establish a harsh but just government and desired to spend all his energy and strength correcting the country and those who had strong self-importance with a green-leaved young hope. Between 1876 and 1886 he was twice taken to the Semei jail as a result of his struggles with his enemies. The jail is not a prison in itself. However, each captive is held under the appropriate pressure, even if it is a temporary prison. It has an iron mesh window and locked door. There is a narrow hole in the middle of that door – a narrow passage that connects the captive with the outside world (Auezov, 2013: 166). Through that "narrow passage" he seethed, squirmed, squeezed, and squabbled with officials, lawyers, and investigators, sharpening his tongue, and got transferred to house arrest. After his freedom was restored, he talked to his teacher, Kamaledin (Kamali), and opened the door of the madrasa library, as he customarily did in that long-forgotten student time. In 1883-1884, he got Akylbay and Magauya admitted as members of the society of primary education, i.e., as students (Beisenbaev, 1988: 27).

Abai, who was zealous about everything by nature, was passionate about other realms. He was wholeheartedly drawn to knowledge. After he had fully acquired the teachings of oriental classic writers, and religious scholars at the madrasa, he became interested in the city library and became a regular reader. Thus, he spent the winter of 1879 and the spring of 1880 in the city.

As he wrote, "the person who opened my eyes to the world is Eugene Michaelis". When Abai came to the library one lucky day, he met Michaelis, a student of the Faculty of Natural Sciences of St. Petersburg University, who had been deported to Semei for his participation in the anti-Tsarist movement. According to Michaelis, Abai had organised the reading of books. He systematised fiction, criticism, philosophy, history, natural sciences, social literature – and selectively read them

for a specific purpose. The number of acquaintances and like-minded people from the intellectuals also increased, and he interacted with scholars such as Gross and Dolgoplov, and approached “the horizon of another new world”. In the second winter, he moved on to European scholars such as Spencer, Louis, and Darwin. In particular, he carefully read Draper’s philosophical work *The Intellectual Development of Europe* (Auezov, 1997: 132, 203, 376).

American traveller G. Kennan in his famous book “*Siberia and Exiles*”, published in New York and London in 1891, and later widely popular in the world, provided important information about the level of education of Abai Kunanbaiuly (Kononbay). G. Kennan visited Semei from July 14 to 19, 1885, to get acquainted with the situation of political deportees. At the suggestion of governor Tseklinsky, who went to the city library, which was located in a small wooden house in the center of the city. He got acquainted with the small museum of anthropology. Much to his surprise, Russian-language newspapers and magazines, as well as books not allowed in Russia, thousands of volumes of carefully selected Spencer, Buckle, Lewis, Mill, Taine, Lubbock, Tzeilor, Huxley, Darwin, Lyell, Tyndall, Alfred Russel Wallace, Mackenzie Welles, Henry Mann, as well as Scott, Dickens, Mariette, George Eliot, George MacDonald, Anthony Trollope, Justin McCarthy, Erkman-Chatrian, Edgar Allan Poe, Bret Harte (Kennan, 1999: 182) and Shakespeare, Balfour Stevenson, Heine, Hegel, Lange, Irving, Cooper, Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe (Kennan, 1999: 199) were stacked on the shelves of the small and neat room of the library. Then, Leontiev organised a special party in a private apartment to engage G. Kennan and political sceptics in conversation. When it came to books and libraries, Leontiev recounted the following in his famous work:

After we were introduced to the members of the community, we had a lively conversation. In connection with my question, Leontiev told me about the history of the Semei library. The library is doing a great job not only for political deportees but also for the intellectual lives of the city’s residents, he said.

Even Kazakhs (in the original text: Kyrgyz – the writer), he said, “from time to time use its services. I know an educated old Kazakh man (old Kyrgyz) whose name is Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly (original – Ibragim Kononbay), who not only visits the library but also reads books by authors such as Buckle, Mill, and Draper”.

So, said one of the students, “do you mean that in Semei there is an old Kazakh who reads the works of Mill and Draper?!”

“Yes, that’s right”, replied Leontiev confidently. When I saw him for the first time, I was surprised to hear him ask me the difference between induction and deduction. I later found out that he really knew English philosophy and then read the Russian translation of all the books I mentioned.

“Do you think he understood everything he read?” the student asked.

For two evenings I took an exam from him on Draper’s “The intellectual development of Europe”, answered Leontiev, “to be honest, he understood it very well” (Kennan, 1999: 198-199).

From this excerpt, first, here is a detailed description of the book found in the Semipalatinsk library. The second shows that Abai had read these books or could read them. Thirdly, the memoirs of mullahs like Kobai confirm that Abai had read Darwin carefully.

On the same day, when George Kennan arrived in Semei, Abai returned to the Karamola meeting on the Shar River and was under investigation for subsequent complaints. Of course, Abai may have seen George Kennan, who visited both sides of the Semei River, saw mosques, and visited yurts, but even if he did not see them, he heard them, and it is clear that Leontiev and Lobanovsky explained the meaning of his visit to him. The main point of this is that it clearly and convincingly proves the above and later facts about Abai's library. For example, thanks to Abai's summarising, and Baimagambet's narrative skills, the "red skin" Indians, African legends, the Inquisition, "gentlemen novels" and even "red beard" stories about samurai were widespread across the steppe. He and Bishop Sergei analysed the words of Holy Books, such as the "Torah", "Bible", "Psalms", and "Buddha", in comparison with the verses of the Qur'an. All these prove that he possessed deep and stable knowledge.

Abai pondered his own intellectual development, saying, "I have read many books by European scholars since my 30s. Near the age of 40, the world I know has turned upside down. My East turned into the West, my West became the East" (Auezov, 1997: 205). Abai got into the habit of diving deep into the content of each book he read. For example, after reading the Buddha, he said, "How profound was the word of the Buddha. Too bad I didn't come across the book earlier". He loved Lermontov and said, "This is a real poet poisoned by love. What poisoned his love is anger".

No matter how strong his mind, energy, and will were, no matter how hard he tried to think freely during his lifetime, Abai could not live without the influence of his environment, and he was simply not allowed. In the summer of 1882, the peace of free life, which lasted less than three years, was broken. On behalf of the well-known plaintiff "Mullah" Uzikbay's Boribayev, Kuntu and his fellows revived the previous dispute and sent another accusation against Abai directly to the governor-general at the Corps in Omby. Thus, Uzikbay Boribayev turned out to be the real someone of lawless greed, heartlessly accusing (Abai, 1961: 199), as in his verses. According to the plaintiff Uzikbay's "sincere regrets", the reason why the animosities against Abai got so escalated is that after he was elected the volost head, he banned taking hostages, and persecuting and punishing criminals. However, according to traditional steppe laws, taking horses as hostages was not considered a crime. This time again, the accusations against Abai were exacerbated by the "widow's case". Orazbai and Zhirenshe: "Abai has gone too far! Not only did he violate the Kengirbay law, but he called him 'Black Boar' in front of all Naimans. We will not forgive. We will fight with Abai", said Baigulak, Kuntu, and others, a total of 16 men, taking an oath.

Thus, the "widow's case" led to the breaking of Abai's ties with close friends. It was a deeply cursed incident that provoked an "irreconcilable enmity" between Kunanbai, Bozhei, Bazaraly, and Abai. After Kuntu was elected the volost head, the resentment that accumulated in their heart for more than three decades now

grew and spread like poison. From now on, “on behalf of all the offenders from the Kunanbai family, Abai will be responsible for all the mischief”. Thus, in 1883-1885, Uzikbay Boribayev’s statement was again stirred up and even sped up. However, Abai was quite strong in the struggle. As a result of working with the Russian officials, he interacted with lawyers and interpreters, and became aware of the laws, understood the weaknesses of the Russian officials. He was at a point where he could retaliate (Auezov, 1997: 127). This is clear from the results of the following case investigation.

After this, on April 27, 1883, in a letter addressed to investigator Novoselov, Boribayev said:

All the allegations and accusations against volost Kunanbaiuly were false, so I withdrew everything contained in that statement. I am ready to swear to it. Based on this request, the investigator should stop the investigation without initiating a formal court case. I would like to add that I have never had any hostile intentions against Kunanbaiuly. The reason for the growing animosities against Kunanbaiuly is that after he was elected governor, he banned the practice of taking hostages, and harassing and punishing all criminals. However, according to the steppe tradition, taking horses as hostages is not a crime. That’s why he irritated the influential people in the volost. Kazakhs, especially like Karatay Sapakov, gathered people and formed a group against Kunanbaiuly. He filed a lawsuit against Kunanbaiuly, denigrated him in front of his officials, and tried to remove him from power, albeit temporarily. At the meeting of such determined-to-animosity people, they invented false accusations and collected money to cover their travel expenses. They picked me and sent me to Semei. All those who signed the statement were close relatives of Sapakov and enemies of Kunanbaiuly.

Summing up the results of the investigation, the district judge addressed the regional administration on August 27 that year:

This case was the result of Boribayev’s personal hatred for Kunanbaiuly and Ayubayev. All the information in Boribayev’s statement about Kunanbaiuly’s criminal activities is based on rumours and gossip, and there is no evidence that he saw or knew. Therefore, there is no point in further investigation. The case should be closed (CSA RK. f.44. d.9014).

Abai’s enemies, who did not accept the above verdict of the regional administration, once again picked up Uzikbay Boribayev’s accusation. This time they sent it directly to the governor-general of the steppe in Omby. Abai was in serious danger. The governor-general was interested in exiling Abai. “But at that time there was an official named Losovsky, who was in charge of the corps’ office and used to work in Semei district and knew Abai well. He met Abai with the corps general and let them talk face to face. It seems that Abai spoke freely and equally, it is not known exactly what they talked about. But after the conversation, he said to Abai, “You are a man with a mind above your own surrounding” (Auezov, 1997: 212). So, the case was completely closed. The case was not raised again.

That is why in May 1885, in the Karamola meeting, Abai was elected the top judge and was appreciated by the governor-general of the Semei region. As soon

as V. Losovsky arrived in Omby, the governor-general closed the nine-year-old investigation by order of a special official. The content of the protocol was as follows:

On the termination of the investigation into the case of the volost head Kunanbaiuly, the village elder Ayubayev, and the prosecution of Kazakh Boribayev for defamation: 1) Boribayev's accusation, that Kunanbaiuly was bribed, illegally collected money, made his own decisions and sentences, confiscated the seals of judges and elders, and signed those false verdicts, turned out to be unfounded. 2) Ayubayev, who is accused of aiding and abetting such illegal actions, was not involved in the case. 3) Thus, the accusation of Boribayev against Kunanbaiuly and Ayubayev was not only an injustice but also a crime. 4) By the above-mentioned false statement, Boribayev intended to convict innocent people. 5) In order to achieve this goal, Boribayev sent false statements to various criminal investigation agencies. 6) As a result, Kunanbaiuly and Ayubayev were under investigation for a long time. In the end, the investigation into these people was complete and their innocence was proved. 7) Boribayev himself admitted that the allegations in the statement were false. The reason is that a factious group had been formed in the volost. The group instructed Boribayev to file a lawsuit against Kunanbaiuly in order to elect a governor from their kins. Thus, they hoped to sue the volost. 8) Boribayev's claim that (the interpreter) misinterpreted his words in the latest investigation cannot be trusted. His previous testimonies were fully confirmed. 9) The commission that decided to approve the outcome of this case considered that the false accusation of innocent people through a false statement was not only an insult to honour but also an illegal act. Therefore, the government and the authorities will prosecute them for opposing the decision of the courts and initiating false proceedings. The commission ruled that Boribayev's actions were in accordance with Article 940 of the Rules of Criminal Procedure and Article 1169 of Part II of Volume XV of the Law of 1868. According to the general law of the Empire, the governor should be informed that an investigation had been launched against Boribayev. As for the decision of the regional administration on the innocence of Kunanbaiuly and Ayubayev, it will remain in force (CSA RK. f.44, d.1430).

Thus, the prison, the house arrest, and the investigation seemed to be over, and Abai ended the conflict. Here is Abai's life: Is there a dessert that does not lose its taste, pleasures are feeling when one living in haste, what of life deserve to appreciate since it makes friends quarrel and arise hatred and enmity (Auezov, 1997: 274). Thus, the most treacherous part of life ends.

A Difficult Period in Abai's Life

So, how did Abai differ from "predecessors during his three terms in the post of volost head, when he began to change the epoch?" First, he sought to reconcile the contradictions between the traditional Kazakh law and the Russian Empire's "Steppe regulations". The "Provisional Rule" of 1868, issued against the traditional laws of the Kazakh people, with the aim of subjugation and colonisation, allowed the escalation of such disputes among Kazakhs, and exacerbated the controversy

and conflicts. Articles 135-167 are devoted to the “people’s court” among the Kazakhs. In this regard, Abai said: “God damn the laws to which they swear every day, God damn their wealth for which they sold their dignity, God damn their regulation which makes them set up storehouses in 40 places for 40 days” (Abai, 1961: 76).

The reason is that in the past the number of judges in each volost was four, but in the new system, their number had increased to eight. As the saying goes, “If there are two judges, the two controversies will double.” Now eight judges took turns to make a decision on one case. Not only that, but the decision would be approved by the volost head. The decision of the volost head would be signed by the district governor. The governor was the key institution that the complainant addressed. And the governor’s decision would be approved by the governor-general. To go all through this, the entire investigation process lasted for years. The trials became inexhaustible battles that would transit from fathers to sons. For example, Kunanbai Oskembaiuly’s case lasted for 20 years, and it was transferred to Abai. The complaint against Abai started in 1872 and remained unresolved until 1898. Thus, the institution of judges became a lever of power that instigated conflict rather than peace and prosperity.

Abai was elected *töbebiy*¹, presumably, three times in his life, and twice as evidenced by the facts. In today’s terms, he worked as the chairman of the Constitutional Court. This is one of the manifestations of Abai’s statement about the “qualified judge” in his “Third Word”. He was elected *töbebiy* for the first time in 1885 in the “Karamola” meeting and for the second time in the “Koktuma International Emergency Meeting” on the border with China from 1888 to 1890. For this service on August 25, 1890, by № 89 order of the governor-general of the steppe, he was awarded a sword belt and a pearl sword. The head of the Semei district, K. S. Navrotsky, in his characterisation of Abai in 1903, wrote:

He was a very intelligent and wise man, twice elected to the volost head post for three years. In the past, Kunanbaiuly was a respected man who had a special authority and influence among the Kazakhs of Semei and beyond. He was repeatedly elected *töbebiy*, the most respected position among the Kazakhs, resolved inter-district disputes, brought peace and prosperity, received the trust and respect of the people (Beisenbaev, 1988: 37-38).

In July 1885, the “Regulations” consisting of 74 articles were adopted in the “Karamola Meeting”. At the direct suggestion of the governor, these Rules were written by Abai in consultation with the elders of the state – the judges. In the end, Abai signed his name after the expression Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly, an honorary Kazakh of the Semei district, signed the “Regulations with sincerity, justice, and truthfulness, according to the Kazakh tradition”. He was the 18th of all who signed. Two articles of the “Regulations” were included at Abai’s direct suggestion. According to the opinions of some narrators, they were:

1 A neutral and independent judge who makes the final decision on a specific case.

Article 40: Those who assist theft shall be punished equally to the thief. However, court should not hesitate to impose or to imprison a person who helps or supports the crime of theft.

Article 46: The widow of a man who has died can marry a relative of her husband. If she doesn't love, it's up to her (Regulations, 1886).

Both before and after the 1885 emergency meeting, the accusation (against Abai) became even more intense than before. The main reason for this was the dissenters at the emergency meeting of the districts of Kereku, Oskemen, Kokpekti, Zaisan, Semei, Zhetysu's Makanchi-Lepsi, and after the meeting, Abai's enemies from the Tobyqty tribe headed by Kuntu, and some judges and volost heads of outer districts who thought their interests were violated, a total of 50-60 people, gathered and filed a complaint against Abai.

The second feature of Abai's rule was aimed at restoring peace in the state: If a thief did not have enough money to pay the loss, his relatives used to pay. Now Abai ruled: "Let the thief be helped out by the person who instigates or supports him, not by his kind" (Auezov, 1997: 386). There were big men who captured hostages as a means of revenge, to suppress their enemies, or to call for an open confrontation, there were people who validated thieves' words because of kinship, including their own brother Tanirberdi, there were thieves and robbers who denied their crimes, and scoundrels and the litigative who, promising revenge, bought someone's outdated dispute (actually there were such "businesspeople", and broke people's "blessing" (mutual peace agreement) and caused litigation. Abai got control of all these people, and punished them severely. He got the losses paid twofold and restored justice.

The third biggest problem among Kazakhs at that time was land dispute. The number one issue and most important disputes were to be resolved by any volost head. When it came to the volost, the village, the winter pasture, and the summer pasture disputes, Abai appealed to the "Temporary Regulations" on the management of the Kazakh regions issued by the Tsarist government in 1868, and he also called a special expedition and got the borders between volosts, borders between winter and summer pastures marked and mapped, and approved by the governor. At the same time, accusations and controversies provoked by S. Begimbetov and Boribayev did not stop. They wanted to remark and remap the lands that had already been approved. The "land dispute" that had stirred not once, but every other year, did not free Abai from a lifelong investigation.

The fourth characteristic of Abai's governing concerned the long-standing regulations on widowhood dispute and marital freedom, which had been used as the most traditional law in the country for centuries: Previously, if there was no guardian from her father's family to marry the widow, her late husband's brothers had the right to marry her to someone else. Abai believed that this was not just. The widow was initially sold to her husband (paid endowments by the bride – writer). But she came to her husband with those endowments, so she had already paid the endowments. Now, if she was sold once more, then it would be a violation of justice. If there was not a guardian from her husband's family to marry her, it was up to her to decide, she was free (Auezov, 1997: 386). In this regard, Abai referred

to both the traditional Kazakh laws, “The Seven Charters” and “Provisional Rules”. Kunanbai once blamed Abai for “being pro-women and inappropriately getting involved in widows’ cases and women’s rights”. He said that “it aroused vengeance and hatred”. And it came true. The bloody vengeful conflicts among Karatay, Suindik, Kulynshak, Kuntu, Baigulak, Abdi, Bazaraly, Orazbai, and Zhirenshe were exacerbated by the “widow’s case” and ended with Abai’s house arrest.

Thus, during his 12 years in power, Abai failed to achieve his goals to “rule the country with the Kazakh traditional laws”, “to stop theft”, and “to let women have their rights in their hands”.

According to M. Auezov, Kunanbai died in August 1886 at the age of 82 (Auezov, 1997: 110), and Shakarim’s note reads: “The late Haji passed away in August 1885 at the age of 81 – in the year of the chicken” (Shakarim, 1988).

Such a fierce battle, which was ordained to the man’s fate, now passed to his spiritual heir, Abai. All the “gifts of life” that once belonged to Kunanbai now passed to Abai by the power of the Almighty. Born when Kunanbai was 41, Abai upheld him as the “faith of the soul” for 41 years (M. Auezov). And at the age of 41, he was left alone to face the difficulties of that dark time. The remaining 18 years of his life raised him from the “sultan of oppression” to the rank of the sultan of spirits.

Continuing to mature, Abai guarded both his “wisdom and resentment”, got tested by the time, examined the ups and downs of his destiny, saw the betrayal of his kins and friends, and in 1886 reached the crossroad. Abai, who entrusted the state’s tumultuous work to Ospan, held at the periphery of his vision the conflict-filled, “exhausting, back-stabbing” narrow path until 1891. And he turned with all his heart and soul to the white path that would lead him to his eternal spiritual realm.

This time Abai’s younger brother Ospan ignited Abai’s severe discord, which endangered Abai’s safety, “distanced the close kins, alienated the relatives”, and even left no friend to believe. After another conflict, Ospan chased Orazbai, who had gone to Semei to complain, caught him in front of the governor’s office, tied him to the back of a phaeton, and brought him to the village tied up. Abai intervened and released him. The distance between Semei and Shyngys is 200 km. There is no paved road. Orazbai was not a person who could tolerate such insults for two or three days. Now, Orazbai, determined to fight to the death, said: “Kunanbai’s son! As long as I can walk on the ground, I will bring this violence and humiliation back to you”. He also broke all ties with Abai and moved to Bugly volost with all his clan.

This event took place in 1891. And Ospan died in 1892 at the age of 41 after seven days of illness. Now, whether he wanted to or not, Abai was to receive all of Ospan’s burden (Isakov, 1995: 139). Abai was hit by Ospan’s death heavily and became ill (Auezov, 1997: 321). He mourned his death and was afraid of the restless, resentful, revengeful, and back-stabbing life of the coming days, and wrote:

... your flag hasn’t fallen, you haven’t hidden from your enemies. You have not dodged the armed offenders, your brave and generous heart has not changed, your good life has not been spoilt... Alas, you died with honour! (Abai, 1961: 200).

When the fall of Ospan began to dissipate, a critical period of destiny began for Abai. Fate had struck his most sensitive nerve again. In order to make up for the past, Abai had his children educated in Russian schools, preached knowledge, and didn't expect them to run for offices as other Kazakhs did. After his second son, Abdurakhman, graduated from the city school, Abai transferred him to a Realschule in Tyumen, spending several hundred rubles a year. Abai was one of the first Kazakhs to spend so much money on education. After graduating from the Realschule in Tyumen, Abdurakhman went to the Institute of Technology in St. Petersburg. There, on the advice of an acquaintance (Mr Losovsky), he entered the Mikhailov artillery school. Unfortunately, Abdurakhman, who hoped to take care of his country after graduation, died of pneumonia in 1895 while preparing to go to the Artillery Academy (Bokeikhanov, 1905: Kunanbaiuly, 1909). This was the beginning of Abai's incurable disease of "grief" that started to take over his whole body.

The mourning of this death put the whole of Abai's village in a state of grief. Abdurakhman's wife Magripa was in a state of agony and farewell with the world not long after the one-year mark of Abdurakhman's death.

He sought redemption and consolation for this miserable life and made a distinction between this false passing life and the eternal one, between being and nothingness. He began to pay attention to the four pillars of mind, the Sharia, the Mağrifat (knowledge and science), the Tarikat (the road to true religious knowledge), and the Truth, to philosophical teachings such as the origin of the created, to the attributes of the Creator Allah, to the basis of morality – faith, conscience, scholarship, science, the power of the soul, and the power of the body. At that time, in 1897, his teacher in Semei, Kamaledin (Kamali), sent an urgent letter, saying:

Archbishop Sergei will come to Semei and organise a debate about religion in general, including the topic of which faith Kazakhs should hold. If there is something wrong with our religion, he is going to baptise all Kazakhs and convert them to Christianity. That is why I said, "Abai, read the holy books of all four religions. Let him take part." I am recommending you. We want you to give your consent to protect the honour and faith of your people and the spirit of the dead.

Abai thought for a long time and agreed. In our opinion, his famous "Thirty-eighth" word, which is like a commentary on the Qur'an, is a hashia (a side note), an interpretation, which was written on paper for the debate with Archbishop Sergei.

The secret debate between Abai and Archbishop Sergei lasted for two and a half hours. According to Kokbai Mullah, a friend of Abai, who witnessed the incident, all Muslim scholars in Semipalatinsk gathered in the mosque, entrusted Abai with the protection of the honour of Islam, prayed and blessed him. In front of the White Church (which still exists), the priests and the bishops said, "Now we will cut your beards", and showed their ready dirks. At this meeting, I do not know how deeply Abai and Sergei went on about religion or argued about it. Then we asked Abai, He says, "Sergei said to me that our prayers, devotions, and deeds for the final day are born of fear. Is that so?" I told him One of the powers of our God is Rahman and

Rahim, Most Gracious and Most Merciful. His power is not dark, but like a father's authority and affection for a child. Then he contradicted the Christian belief in the "Trinity" (the three divine attributes of Christ). "Is it permissible for the oneness of God to be threefold, and if those three qualities are from the oneness, isn't it still in the oneness of God?" I countered. Then he talked a little about religion and got into a general scientific conversation. I did not want to raise the issue of religion again (Zhanataiuly, 1995: 211-212). When he went out, the priests and bishops raised their sticks and dirks, and made a noise, trying to win over Abai. Sergei said: "Stop the noise. Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly is not a man you can beat. He was born ahead of his time."

Thus, it was the duty of the Kazakh people to show him eternal adoration and veneration, both because he had been a stronghold of the nation's honour and because he had rebuffed archbishop and saved the nation from mass Baptism.

The treatise Gaqlihat-i Taslihat gave a complete answer to the question of the attributes of Allah raised in this debate. After that, Abai should have got rid of all the accusations and defamation and gained more moral weight before the whole Kazakh community. However, this did not happen. On the contrary, more humiliation, violence, and bitter blows awaited his body and soul.

The "political death", the most meaningless conclusion of Abai's always hoped-for life (Auezov, 1997: 395), the last wrestling field of Abai and Orazbai's escalated struggles, was the elections in Mukyr volost, which took place in June 1898 according to the archives. Orazbai warned Abai in advance: "This time I will move Kokshe tribe to Akshatau and settle my own tribe in their land. Abai better not interfere. If he comes, he will not go back safe. And don't say that I didn't warn you." Saying "Let's figure out all the tricks, all the methods of fighting and hostility" and "Let's settle this with all our possibilities now", he assigned the stubborn and fierce judge Beisenbi from the Zhigitek tribe as the group head. Such a firm preparation used to end with the death of man (Auezov, 1997: 333-336). Despite the fact that Abai said, "I am not in authority anymore", they forced Abai to go against his will (Isakov, 1995: 150-151).

Aben Bitimbayev, a man of lawlessness who noticed that people's attention was drawn by Abai, said, "Come on! Let's go to the yurt built for the elections. The black god has come", and he gathered a group of people. With his whip pointing at Abai, who was holding a meeting in the shade, he shouted:

Hey, Zhigitek and Bokenshi fellows! Abai, who has driven your 17 kins to Siberia, is sitting alone there. Now, if you were really born to Kengirbay, the time has come for you to take revenge. It is up to you if you kill him. Abai's life is probably worth that of ten men. Orazbai will pay with his 3,000 horses. The loss will be ours, now you use your strength.

The gathered men dismounted and ran towards Abai, intending to whip him. Aben also wielded his whip. Kokbai and Uais managed to put their coats on Abai's back and lay down on him, taking the whip strikes with their backs. Kakitai shouted in Russian: "Abai is going to be killed!" At the behest of the governor, the guards fired into the air and dispersed the group. Kokbai and Uais's backs were cut by the whips, and Abai's right forehead was bleeding. When they counted the people,

they couldn't find Kakitai. As a matter of fact, he had immediately left for Semei to file a lawsuit. So, Orazbai achieved what he wanted and Abai returned home with a bloody wound.

This was the last scar on Abai's body from the unbridled revenge and the last blow of that hostility and humiliation that had started from his birth. And it was also the beginning of "peace", which Abai himself initiated and negotiated. Turagul Abaiuly wrote:

My father told those who said, "We will do this and that, we will kill and die, and there is no peace that all evil conceives more evil, but not good..." No matter how poor and declined the Zhigitek tribe is, and even when they are in my mercy, they still have had the power to hit back on me. Know that this is the evil that has come from another evil. It is wrong to say that 'we will die, we will kill, and there is no reconciliation. I don't want to support this disagreement anymore. "In fact, I am a man of peace" he said. In the winter of 1898 to 1899, Orazbai wanted to go to Mecca for pilgrimage and asked for peace and gratitude. He met him in Semei, in the house of the pilgrim Zhakia and expressed his forgiveness and gratitude (Abaiuly, 2018: 200-201).

This was the truth. As a sign of friendship, Abai and Orazbai built an in-law relationship, by engaging Turagul's daughter, Abai's granddaughter Akylyya, born in 1900, to Medeu's son Saniyazbek, Orazbai's grandson. Saniyazbek was shot in 1931. Aunt Akylia was a descendant of the true wise man. Every time we met and talked to her, we were amazed by her appearance and style of speech, as if we saw a vague figure of Abai in her.

Of course, this feud between Abai's and Orazbai's families, which terrified the whole Kazakh steppe, did not end soon. Against Abai's will, the case reached the Senate at St. Petersburg. The district governor and the governor of the region were also investigated. All this ended with a letter from the district governor to the governor-general of the steppe (summarised): "The quarrel between Kunanbaiuly and Akkulov, which was exacerbated in 1898, gradually subsided as both of them grew older. And their sons are trying to reconcile their fathers and resolve the animosity between the two volosts" (Baigaliev, 2001: 117-118).

The quarrels, slanders, and accusations in the country came to an end. And when Abai was just about to straighten his back, he faced a difficult time and misfortune that he could not turn away. And this played his "melody of death".

Death of the Burning Heart

One of the most heartbreaking events of the last years of the poet's life was the search of his house by the Tsar's police and the surveillance of him. In the same year, wise man of the steppe realised that spiritual imprisonment firmly threatened the Kazakh people. The reason for his disappointment was that in 1902, Shaimerden Koshygulov from Kokshetau gained access to a copy of the decree by the Orthodox archbishop, who was going to start the mass Baptism of Kazakhs and sent it to Abai in the Shyngystau mountains. On the basis of this letter, a criminal "case of the reactionary movement of the Muslim clergies" was initiated. During the search, along with a personal letter from Shaimerden Koshygulov, a copy of the "Decree" on the Baptism of Kazakhs was found.

In September 1891, the Religious (archbishop) administration proposed to His Majesty that the Orthodox Church spread the Orthodox religion of Jesus among the Muslims. According to the law passed by His Majesty in March 1902, the Counsellor for State Secrets said, All subjects under the Tsar's authority must convert to one religion... We asked His Majesty to give a command to punish the Kazakhs. After the order is given, the army will be equipped to punish the Kazakhs, and they will march forward holding the cross. It forces all Kazakhs to be baptised and converted to Orthodoxy. And those who do not comply with this requirement must be killed (Bokeikhanov, 1905).

Reading these words was very difficult for Abai. The key lay in the fact that the missionaries tracked down and monitored several generations of baptised people and wrote down on paper how to work with them. Unfortunately, despite fierce opposition, the Russian archbishop's office issued a decree to launch the mass Baptism:

In 1902, according to 61 orders, Kazakh mullahs were expelled from religious affairs in Akmola regional institutions. If the mullahs violate the order, they will be severely punished and sentenced in accordance with Article 79 of the Regulations. The head of the Peasant Department must strictly control this and provide information. Missionaries should be sent after such arrangements. They have to prove that the religion of the Kazakhs is wrong and that they came from Jesus, and that according to the law, the religion of the Tsar's subjects should be the same, and the religion of the Kazakhs is alien to this religion. Then the emperor will tell all the consulates: "The Kazakhs under my jurisdiction were subject to the mufti of Islam, but the Kazakhs do not want to obey the Islamic sharia. In accordance with paragraphs 97 and 98 of the regulations in 1868, they were removed from the subordination of the mufti and each volost elected its own mullah individually to perform religious rituals. The mullahs also had the task of registering and naming their children. In short, they had to carry out all the requirements of the sharia. However, the Kazakhs did not comply with the demands of their mullahs, ignored them, followed their own spiritual traditions, named their children Koilybay, Zhylykbyay, Itayak, and then demanded to open a Russian school for themselves. The school was opened. Now Kazakhs are asking to change their religion (Bokeikhanov, 1905).

A nation that gives itself up as prey won't stay as a nation. And in spite of the hideous fate of the Kazakh nation, it had not reached such a critical level. The fire in the heart was not extinguished. As a person and as a poet, Abai had a reason to grieve. But for the nation, he found healing and comfort in their hearts. He sowed the seeds of spiritual independence. He sang the spirit song of perseverance. He taught the dependent nation how not to be drowned in agony. He himself suffered, struggled with destiny for honour, for the soul, and for the body. The evil eyes stared at him. He was investigated and searched. However, the search ended for Abai in 1903. He was deeply humiliated for being spiritually dead. Abai said:

With a healthy body, I feel like a dead person and do not know what the cause of the devastation of the soul is: whether a vexation for my people, or dissatisfaction with myself, or something else. I'm spiritually dead. I'm angry, but there is no anger in my soul; I laugh, but the heart is not beating with joy; talk, but the words seem to be strangers (Abai, 1961: 446-447).

With that tragedy, he turned his life into a work of art. Every stage of his life was full of contradictions. This gave him spiritual and creative nourishment. However, as a human being, he was mentally frustrated and it shortened his life. He lost hope and comfort. The conclusion of the scholar Alexander Anikst on Goethe's life can also be applied to Abai. He wrote: "The root cause of Goethe's tragedy lies in the contradictions of the socio-political life of Germany during his lifetime" (Anikst, 1986). What made Abai "spiritually dead" was the disease of the society, the oppressed people, among whom Abai lived.

The intellect that is nowhere to be used, the thought that is not to be considered, and the conscience that is not appreciated are like the poison that has spread to your whole body. Another death penalty, which aggravated his mental anguish, finally "buried" Abai once and for all. Now destiny deprived him of his other son, Magauia. Abai wrote, "He freed my back from the burden, behold, He freed my mouth from the word, my dear. He freed me from bother of the men, my dear, Farewell, Magash, my dear" (Abai, 1961: 54). He saw his son off with this poem.

Abai reckoned that "death of Magauia is the test that measures courage and cowardice". And now both Abai's body and soul were tired of this false world. Forty days after Magauia's death, he lay down and turned his face away, without saying a single word to anybody. "Ah, here it is!" He sighed as if he was glad that death had, at last, come, and as if he was asking his people, who "didn't follow, didn't abide, but humiliated him" to care for him, let him sleep in peace, allow him! And all the inner flame of his soul, poisoned by his life, came out at once: The promised time that people talk a lot has come, and I, too, am a mere man, will helplessly abide. My wonderfully joyful friend. You are dead, I must die too! (Abai, 1961: 414). And he reached his promised time.

Thus, the "burning heart of love!..." stopped. This was June 23, 1904, of the old civil calendar (Isakov, 1995: 167). Finally, the damp earth enclosed his clay. He was not buried in a separate cemetery but in his younger brother Ospan's cemetery. Forty days later his death, his first son, Akylbay, died.

Conclusion

Abai was a lonely man on the intellectual front. He was saddened by that loneliness. He explained, "Loneliness is a death for a man. All the troubles fall on his head!" (Abai, 1967: 454). The man ahead of his time poisoned by his own mind, had thus ceased to exist, and that "riddle soul" has remained unknown forever.

Unfortunately, Kengirbay (Abai's great-great-grandfather) biy's hint of "nine-nine!", when he was blessing good fortune and wisdom for this noble person, had somehow come true. The ninth generation in Abai's family, hinted at in that blessing, was Aubakir Akylbaiuly, who mourned: "When we have nine generations, the family will disintegrate." Their "sultan of tyranny" became the Soviet governors. Aubakir died of starvation. Turagul was deported. Mekail was shot in 1931. Abai's other descendants were also lost. The rest died in the Second World War. The district governor once made a reference that "Abai had 20 (Kazakhs usually also include grandchildren) children". And now there is only one male offspring left from that huge family.

And we still feel blessed for that.

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CHAPTER – II

ABAI AND HIS FAMILY

Ekrem AYAN

In the era when the oppression and invasion of Tsarist Russia increased in the Kazakh steppe and when the Russians dominated the majority of Kazakhstan territory, Kazakh poets, intellectuals, and philosophers carried out works to call for the people to stand against this cruelty. They clamped the people socially, economically, religiously, and culturally in the Kazakh steppe where the expansionist Russian policy was dominant. They pursued policies aimed at turning the people away from their religious and national values, and for this, economic sanctions were imposed on them by the Russians. Nevertheless, the Kazakh people were struggling for life under very harsh circumstances. It was an era when the leaders of the people who tried to keep the people safe and sound and together, and warned them to safeguard the national and moral values and called the people for rebellion and unity against the Russian oppression were also arrested and their activities were prohibited. It was a period when the rebellions were suppressed and Russia accomplished its military goals. It was a process where Russian peasants were settled among the Kazakh people whose only source of livelihood was livestock and agriculture, and both their pastures were reduced and their goods were taken away from their hands. Abai Kunanbaiuly was born into this period.

The common objective of almost all writers and poets who studied, on the one hand, in madrasas divided into two as “ancient” and “Jadidist” and, on the other hand, who studied Russian language and the modern sciences in new schools at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was to awaken the people and save them from ignorance (Söylemez, 2002: 126). Abai was the first realist Kazakh poet. He is considered to be the founder of modern

poetry. During his lifetime, he influenced the men of letters around him and contributed to young nationalist poets being raised after him. He especially used literature as a tool to educate the people, and served as a bridge in their transition from steppe life to a settled life with his poems that praised the love of humankind and nature, science, progress and civilisation, and talked about the traditions and customs of Kazakh Turks (Aşa, 1997a: 227).

Shokan Valikhanov, Ibrai Altynsarin, and Abai Kunanbaiuly were pioneers related to the education of Kazakh people in the nineteenth century. They served greatly both with their works and with respect to opening the required schools for education and writing the books to be studied at these schools (Ayan, 2017: 22).

Abai Kunanbaiuly, who is especially known for marking a new era in Kazakh literature, became known in global culture, not just Kazakh culture. Abai Kunanbaiuly, who is one of the rare poets and writers who can reflect his own people in his works in all their aspects, and with positive and negative criticisms, is known for the richness of meaning in his works and his skill in using the language. In this respect, the works of Abai have been compared with the works of many world poets. Mostly the poet and writer character of Abai has come to the fore in Kazakh literature. In academic studies performed recently, Abai has also been examined by philosophers, political scientists, pedagogues, sociologists, and theologists. In fact, these aspects of Abai have been among the most significant research subjects of recent times, because Abai was a philosopher, sociologist, statesman, educator, and orator who taught how to understand and interpret religious issues correctly as well as being a poet and a writer.

His Biography

Abai was born in Karauly near the Genghis volost of Semipalatinsk in the region of East Kazakhstan in August 1845¹ (Nurgali et al., 1995: 120). The lineage of Abai Kunanbaiuly, the modern, realist, and innovative face of Kazakh literature, comes from Oljay Batyr of the Argyn clan in the Central Zhuz Tobyqty (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 47). When Abai was born, his father, Kunanbai, was 41 years of age. Kunanbai had four wives, and Abai was born from Ulzhan who was engaged to Abai's uncle, Kuttimuhambet, but had to marry Kunanbai because Kuttimuhambet died (Auezov, 1995c: 30). This tradition was performed according to the proverb "*Ağa ölse jenge mura, ini ölse kelin mura*" (If big brother dies, sister-in-law is inherited, if little brother dies, the bride is inherited) (Muhamedkhanuly, 1994: 7). Abai was raised alone together with the third wife of his father, Aygiz, and his own mother, Ulzhan. Because, Ospan, who was born from his own mother, and Smagul, who was born from his stepmother, Aygiz, were far younger than Abai. The elder son of his stepmother, Aygiz, Halilulla was studying in the city. Therefore, Abai, who was raised as a child to two mothers, was called by his elders "Telğara" (Auezov, 1995c: 30).

1 It is commonly agreed in several sources that his date of birth was in August. However, there are different data regarding on which day of August he was born.

The sources of the manners that Abai learned within the family were his mild-mannered and merciful mother, Ulzhan, and his grandmother, Zere. Abai, who had been into poetry and stories since his youth, listened with great joy to the stories and fairytales told by his grandmother and mother. Among his brothers, Abai attracted the attention of his father with his talents, brains, and wisdom and his father started to prepare him for the future (Nurgali et al., 1995: 120).

Abai, when he reached the age to start to read, learned how to read and write with the village mulla and in his own home. In addition to this, the basis of his artistic senses and his interest in these traditions were constituted by the skillful tongues of orators, their stories with allusion, raids (attacks to other communities for spoils), and the words of narrators of epics and storytellers in the childhood period of Abai (Süyinşaliyev, 1986: 191). Abai, when he reached the age of eight, attracted the attention of his father, Kunanbai, with his smartness and talents and Kunanbai decided that his son, Abai, had the capability to follow his occupation and tradition and took him to Semipalatinsk and entrusted him to Mulla Gabduljappar. Abai studied with this mulla for almost two years and learned the rules of the religion of Islam. When he reached the age of ten, Abai resumed his education with the master of the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa, near the masjid (Auezov, 1995c: 32). Passing through the training of mullas, Abai met with the works of the great poets of the Central Asian, Tajik, and Persian people, Nava'i, Nizami, and Firdausi. These works were effective in forming the mindset of Abai with the realist patterns of humanity (Süyinşaliyev, 1986: 191). Through madrasas, Abai not only improved his knowledge about religion, but he also learned the Arab, Persian, and Turkic languages and read the classics of the East. Therefore, Abai, who learned and improved Islam freely by reading, now intended to learn the Russian language. And he made apparent this intention of his by transferring to "Prihodskaya Shkola" (Church School) in Semipalatinsk when it was his last year in the madrasa. He studied the Russian language here for three months and improved his skill in Russian significantly by reading works in the Russian language. When we consider the circumstances of that period, this was a very advanced level of education for life in the steppe (Nurgali et al., 1995: 121). At those times when he was studying in the city, Abai saw the great difference between rural life and urban life and understood that urban life provided much more knowledge and many more skills to a person and he gave priority to education through his lifetime. While Abai was improving his knowledge and education through his life in the city, unfortunately, his father, Kunanbai, brought him back home to his side and wanted him to focus on the administrative work that was his occupation and to improve him in this direction.

Kunanbai made Abai complete his education at the age of 13 and directed him towards administrative work so that he would be an administrator in the future. He took him to look around beside him and made him witness the issues and discussions of the people. He made Abai listen to the words of widely known orators, and made him experience and absorb their artistic discourses and language skills. Therefore, he made it possible for the moral and artistic world of Abai to improve (Nurgali et al., 1995: 121). Kunanbai, who treated all his children toughly, was more merciful to Abai, and because he wanted him to replace him as

an administrator, he took him to look around together and made him face several aspects of social life (Auezov, 1995c: 34).

During this period, Abai, who started to engage with administrative work alongside his father, dealt with cases between Kazakh clans, conflicts among the people, and issues related to dissensions. This was a period when Abai faced real life and witnessed the situations that people were in (Süyinşaliyev, 1986: 192). Abai, who focused in particular on the issues that caused dissensions among the Kazakh clans, ended the conflicts between these clans and proved himself as an administrator (Bokeikhanov, 1993: 14). These conflicts, which seemed to be impossible to solve and weakened the people in every aspect, both materially and morally, started to be resolved under the leadership of Abai and this situation became an example for the people and clans in other regions.

However, Abai witnessed some weaknesses on the part of his father, Kunanbai, in the administration within this period. Abai was displeased that, especially regarding the cases between the clans, Kunanbai was giving his verdict in favour of the clans who supported him, and he was solving the issues according to his own opinion regardless of who was right. As a matter of fact, most of the clans under the administration of Kunanbai were not pleased with the administration. Thus, Abai could not stand these selfish actions by his father and started to criticise him (Süyinşaliyev, 1986: 193).

Abai started to write satirical poems from the age of 14. Even though these poems became widespread among young people, Abai never gave importance to these kinds of poems (Bokeikhanov, 1993: 14). So, few of these poems that Abai wrote in his early period were preserved. The reason for this is that Abai was known as an administrator in his early times, he was not valued as a poet. And one other reason is that the administrative class looked down on poets and the tradition of poetry was not adopted (Karatayev, 1958: 125). Abai started to write poems by imitating the poems of the Arabian, Persian, and Turkish poets and wrote his poems titled “Fuzuli, Shamsi, Shakhali” and “Jüzi Ravşan” in this way. Abai wrote few poems in his younger days. In 1864, when he was 19 years of age, he wrote the poem “Elif Bi”. He started writing poems again in 1870. In the manuscripts of Murseit, who redacted and copied the poems of Abai by hand, and in other sources, there are no details regarding the poems of Abai that he wrote between the years 1870 and 1876. There is no information regarding his poems that he wrote as of the year 1884. The years when Abai wrote the majority of his poems were 1886, 1889, and 1895. He wrote 117 poems in 1886, 27 poems in 1889 (eight of which were translated from Russian), and 13 poems in 1895 (Jumaliyev, 1960: 75). Although the works of several writers and poets were banned in the era of the Soviet Union, Abai was excluded from this ban, and therefore he gained an important place in Kazakh literature and became one of the most researched literary personages (Kalkan, 2002a: 374).

As well as being a great poet, Abai was also a significant researcher who performed scientific researches regarding the social and literary structure of Kazakhstan. He fought for justice, humanity, art, and science and emphasised the role of women in the society and their freedom and the value of poetry and all other

artistic works. Abai showed in his works his power of interpreting and uttering contemporary opinion. His success in combining the old and the new in his poems and ornamenting these with unique elements of the Kazakh traditional lifestyle took Abai beyond national to universal renown. The fact that he guided the Kazakh people is one of his most significant features that makes him valuable. He always calls the people to work, the intellectuals to do research, to realise the ideals of humanity and to make efforts on this path (Çınar, 1997: 119). Abai devoted his work to raising awareness of his people, and by showing their flaws, he called on them to purify these flaws. He described his people, his motherland, and nature, felt sorrow for the situation the people were in during his lifetime, and he simply lived this sorrow. He invited the people to be prepared for the future, education, and science. He called on the Kazakh youngsters, and the Kazakh people in general, to love their motherland, to know their nation, and to serve their nation (Kıdıralı, 2013: 81). Abai did not just love his people, he was a man of effort regarding advancing further the social improvement of his people, developing their mindset, glorifying their national opinions and senses, and developing the national culture, especially the national literature (Uygur, 1997: 1).

The actual treasure of Abai is a national culture, and especially the oral literature of Kazakhs that he was raised in. He adopted the grace, enthusiasm and wisdom in the spirit of poets and bards of the folk literature into his own patterns (Aşa, 1997b: 55). Abai, who learned the Russian language, opened the doors of the wide world for himself and reached out to its abundant treasures. Abai, who constantly went to the library to read, had conversations with people he met there and illuminated his heart and mind. A child of the people of the steppe coming to the library to read was not something one would see every day. For this reason, some readers, experienced elders, and intellectuals had conversations with Abai and valued him. Therefore, they provided Abai with books and manuscripts that not everyone was allowed to see, and even books of their own so that he would read them (Süyinşaliyev, 1997: 869-870). In the 80s, Abai met Michaelis, who had moved to Semei, who was conducting research in the region to write the book "The Traditions and Customs of Kazakhs" (Kakitai, 1993: 43). Again, during the same period, he met Milinshuk, who came from Tbilisi, and the journalist writer Adam Byalovskiy, who came from Poltava, and the doctor Nifont Dolgopolov, who had been sent into exile (Kennan, 1993: 23-24). It is understood that through these Russian intellectuals whom Abai especially met in his younger days, he followed Russian literature and therefore European literature. It is a known fact that he enjoyed the works of classic Russian writers such as Tolstoy, Pushkin, Lermontov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, and Nekrasov, and also the works of European writers such as Goethe, Byron, Spencer, Spinoza, Darwin, etc. (Öner, 1996: 90). We learn all this information from the notes of Kakitai (English version), who was the nephew of Abai. There are no details regarding this in other sources (Muhamedkhanuly, 1994: 13).

Reading the Russian classics, Abai started to see in a different light the essence of life and social values. Abai, who had previously listened to the mullas saying that situations such as good and bad, and richness and poverty, came only from Allah, started to have opinions that were logical and suitable to life regarding life and

the social instability within it. He understood that the mindset of the people was also significant in terms of richness and poverty, and good and bad. The sincere commitment, effort, and desire, his progressive thinking at those times, and the understanding of education and humanism of Abai developed and changed (Süyinşaliyev, 1986: 192). Abai not only read the Russian classics, but he also translated some of these into the Kazakh language. Thus, not only he himself but also his people enabled him to meet developed civilisations (Qazaq Prozası, 2001: 158). Abai did not just translate the Russian classics, he also translated them into the Kazakh language the poems of European poets such as Byron, Goethe, etc. from the Russian translations thereof by Lermontov. Abai translated some fables by Krylov, sections of “Eugene Onegin” by Pushkin, and works by Lermontov. In addition, he translated just one poem by Bunin. Some of the latest researchers have stated the view that Abai had poems close to some of the poems by Mickiewicz with respect to meaning. Among the works of Abai, 40 were translated (Auezov, 1967a: 184-185). The fact that the poems of Abai became widely known and memorised by heart was pioneered by poets who came from regions such as Akmola and Jetisu, memorised his poems, took them to their own respective regions and delivered them in the form of informative and advisory discourses and composed them as song lyrics as well as the poets (Auezov, 1995c: 17). As known, the works of Abai were not gathered and published when he was still alive. Much later, the works of Abai were gathered together and published in the form of a book by his own disciplines, those who resumed his poetry tradition, and people who tried to gather his works by memorising them by heart. These people were Kokbai, Akylbai, Magauia, and Kakitai from his own family. Apart from these people, the educated people from the village of Abai and from other neighbouring villages also contributed so that the works of Abai were gathered and published. Abai did not gather and organise his own works. According to Magauia, Kakitai, and Kokbai, Abai decided to gather his own works only from 1896. The manuscripts of Murseit, who gathered and multiplied the works of Abai in his period, are considered as most valid written sources (Auezov, 1967a: 27-28).

Researchers of Kazakh literature divide the works of Abai into three groups: poems, written in Kazakh language; poems he translated from Russian into Kazakh language; *The Book of Words*, three articles and one letter in the form of prose. These works by Abai were published in various forms and often collectively after the death of the poet between the years 1907 and 1995. His poems were collectively published in 1907 for the first time. This work, titled “*Murseit Koljazbası*”, was followed by “*Kakitai Jıynaǵı*” in 1909 and “*Taşkent Jıynaǵı*” in 1922. After these editions, “*Tolık Jıynak*” was published several times in 1933, 1940, 1945, 1957, 1961, and 1995 (Aşa, 1997b: 48-49). The poems of Abai were gathered in his poetry books called Iskandar, Masgut, and Azim. His prose works were published under the name of *The Book of Words*. Translated poems were published under the name of Vadim (Akhmetbekov, 2011: 54).

In his article published in the 67th issue of the Kazakh newspaper dated 23rd July 1914 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the death of Abai, Mirjaqyp Dulatuli stated that Abai still did not find his true value in the eyes of the people with the following words:

Today, it is exactly the tenth year after the death of the famous poet Abai Kunanbaiuly. If Abai were a poet of other people than Kazakhs, he would be a poet known by everyone from the eight-year-old to the 80-year-old who read his poems. On the 10th, 25th, 50th, and 100th anniversary of his death, his reputation would increase and spread throughout the country as an even greater poet (Dulatov, 1993: 69).

May the heart of Mirjaqyp Dulatuli, who was one of the greatest representatives of Kazakh literature and one of the leaders of the Alash Orda movement, rest in peace in the knowledge that today, Abai Kunanbaiuly has both enshrined the people's memory and has given his name to many educational institutions and other organisations in Kazakhstan. Because the needs might have been different in the periods when the oppression of the Soviet regime peaked, the people were exposed to hunger and poverty, their language, religion and culture were attempted to be changed, and even if the value of Abai was understood, it might be that the people did not care. Today, the real value of Abai is conserved in the highest place before the eyes of the people and the state.

Abai, who was born in the year of the snake, 1845, died at the age of 59 on 23rd June (Jumaliyev, 1960: 79) of the year of the rabbit, 1904 (Bokeikhanov, 1993: 12).

Muhametkerim, also known as Little Mulla, who came from Kazan to Semei, married and settled there, gathered the works of Abai, and was the imam of the village of Abai, recited the Qur'an at the funeral of Abai and proposed the idea that the body of Abai should be buried in Zhidebai (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 421).

His Family

The lineage of Abai Kunanbaiuly comes from Oljay Batyr of the Argyn clan in the Middle Zhuz Tobyqty. Three generations were born from Oljay Batyr, named Aydos, Kaydos, and Jigitek, and each of these then resumed as a clan. Aydos had four sons who were named Irgyzbai, Kotibak, Topay, and Torgay from his wife, Aypara. Among them, Irgyzbai resumed the administrative position of his father. Irgyzbai had 4 children: Urker, Mirzatay, Jortar, and Oskenbai. Among them, Oskenbai was known as the master of livelihood and a fair man in administration. Therefore, the saying was spread among the people: "If you are right, go to Oskenbai, if you are wrong, go to Eraly". Oskenbai had three children from his first wife, Zere, who were called Kuttimuhambet, Kunanbai, and Taybala. Kuttimuhambet died when he was young. Oskenbai, who had four more wives after Zere, had nine more sons (Auezov, 1995a: 47).

The great grandfather of Abai, Irgyzbai, his grandfather, Oskenbai, and his father, Kunanbai, were famous people of their time and administrators of the Tobyqty people. His father, Kunanbai, served as an administrator for a longer period than his ancestor fathers (Nurgali et al., 1995: 120). The administration that started from the grandfather of Abai, Oskenbai, was resumed for 150 years by his generation and ended with the Soviet government seizing power. Kunanbai was first the administrator of Şağın village and then of Tobyqty county. Kunanbai, who was promoted even higher in administration, reached the level of the administrator of the region and became one of the most significant and well-known administrators

of the region (Beysenbayev, 1995a: 371). Kunanbai had four wives and several children, named Kudayberdi from his first wife, Ayböbek, and Tenirberdi, Ibrahim (Abai²), Iskak, and Ospan from his second wife, Ulzhan, and Halilulla, Ismagul, and Kemshat from his third wife, Ayğız. He had no child from his fourth wife, Nurganym. Abai was born when Kunanbai was 40 years of age³ (Beysenbayev, 1995a: 371).

Abai was a person who was sensitive to his past and who knew his seven ancestors and mentioned them in his poems. Here we shall introduce those whom we have found among the ancestors of Abai and we have given both the ancestors of Abai and the descendants of Abai as the family tree in the annex.

His Ancestors

Kunanbai Oskembaiuly (1804-1886) was father of Abai, and leader and administrator of the people. His father, Irgyzbai, was a well-known person who administered the people of Tobyqty. This administration was resumed by the great grandfathers of Abai (for 150 years) until the Russian government seized power. The administration of Abai's ancestors continued after the Russian occupation (Beysenbayev, 1995a: 370).

In the year 1822, the Kazakh steppe were divided into administrative regions with the Russian government introducing a special law for the Siberian Kazakhs, and Kunanbai was appointed as the administrator of the Karauyl region (Jumaliyev, 1960: 74). Kunanbai first administered Şağın village, and then he was promoted in the administration and administered the people of Tobyqty (Beysenbayev, 1995a: 370). The neighbouring cities of Semei where Abai was born were Akmola, Torgay, and Oral. In the later periods, after the Russians became dominant across the entire geography of Turkestan, the Kazakh motherland was divided into six major administrative districts together with the cities of Zhetysu and Syr Darya. The Semipalatinsk region was also divided into five administrative counties, namely Semipalatinsk, Karauyl, Pavlodar, Oskemen, and Zaysan (Auezov, 1995c: 7).

Kunanbai, who had an important place among Kazakh clans, was elected as “*agha sultan*” by other Kazakh clans even though he was not of the sultan's generation (Aşa, 1997b: 47). The father of Abai, Kunanbai, who is portrayed as an evil, merciless, reactionist, rude, and ignorant person in the source books from the Soviet era, was a pilgrim and one of the most respected masters of the era. In an epicede that he wrote due to the death of his son, Abdurakhman, Abai said about his father, Kunanbai: “He is a man of mercy who protects the poor, never tolerates injustice, is fair, regularly delivers his zakat to the poor, and who built a house for

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- 2 The name of Abai comes from the expression of endearment “*abayım, abayjanım* (my abai, my abaijan)” that the mother of Abai, Ulzhan, used toward her son while she was caressing him. Later, instead of his name, Ibrahim, the name Abai became widely known and then it became the nickname of the poet (see Aşa, E.; İbrahim Abai Kunanbayoğlu'nun Edebî Çehresi (The Literary Face of Ibrahim Abai Kunanbaiuly), *Journal of Turkish Language and Literature*, V. 27, p. 48).
 - 3 In regard to this matter, in the work “*Abai Kunanbaiuly- Monografiyalıq Zertteveler men Maqalalar*” 1995 Almaty by Mukhtar Auezov, it is stated that the father, Kunanbai, was 41 years of age when Abai was born.

charity in Mecca.” At the end of the poem, Abai prayed for his father: “Let him taste the sherbet in heaven” (Ibragim, 2012: 455). Kunanbai went on a hajj at the age of 70 and this hajj continued for almost three and a half years. Kunanbai was the first person who went on a hajj among the Kazakhs in the Arka region (Auezov, 1988: 173).

However, there were those who criticised the administration of Kunanbai. Jumaliyev evaluated the administration of Kunanbai in his work as follows: Kunanbai, who mostly used the position of administration for his own needs, did not have many practices regarding the welfare of the people. He gave so many positions to the religious officials and men of religion. The only difference from previous administrators was that he gave more importance to religious issues, built a masjid in Karauly, and constructed a house at the service of pilgrims from Kazakhstan when he went to Mecca (1960: 74).

Ulzhan (1817-1887) is the mother of Abai. Ulzhan comes from the famous Shanshar clan of Bertis’ (Bokeikhanov, 1993: 11). Bertis Biy had grandchildren who were named Möške, Biten, and Şiten. Biten had children who were named Kantay, Tontay, and Turpan. Among these, Turpan was the father of Ulzhan. Ulzhan, who married Kunanbai, gave birth to Tenirberdi, Ibrahim (Abai), Iskak, and Ospan. She was a patient and mild-tempered woman, a master of words, and intelligent. Abai took these characteristics of her mother as an example for him through his childhood. In the novel *The Path of Abai* by M. Auezov, the physical appearance and behaviours of Ulzhan are well portrayed (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 572). Ulzhan was the niece of Kontai and Tontai, who were very famous among Kazakh people for their humor and jokes. The general characteristic of the Shanshar clan to which they belonged was that they were people with humor and loved to laugh (Auezov, 1995c: 31).

Oskembai Irgyzbaiuly (1778-1850) was the grandfather of Abai. He was the son of Irgyzbai who was one of the well-known masters. Due to the early death of Irgyzbai, Oskembai, who stood out among his other brothers thanks to his intelligence and fairness, took the position of his father in administration (Saparalı, 1995a: 474). The method of Oskembai to improve and develop the people was first to save the people from the trouble of bribery. In this respect, there was a saying among the people that “if you are right, go to Oskembai, if you are wrong, go to Eraly”. When Oskembai was middle-aged, his son, Kunanbai, started to help him in the administration (Auezov, 1967b: 34). The wife of Oskembai, Zere, raised Abai together with his mother, Ulzhan.

Zere (1785-1873) was the grandmother of Abai. She was the wife of Oskembai and the mother of Kunanbai. The name given to her by reciting adhan to her was Tokbala. She made a great effort regarding raising Abai. She raised Abai as her own child. The gentle character of Zere, which respected the elderly and loved young, provided Abai with a happy childhood (Saparalı, 1995b: 265).

Irgyzbai Aydosuly (1744-1785) was the great grandfather of Abai. He was born near the River Irgiz during the migration from Tobyqty to Sr. Therefore, he was named after this river. His wife was Ermek who was the daughter of Er Jenibek Batyr. Öser, Mirzatay, Jortar, and Oskembai were born to Ermek. Irgyzbai was one of

the masters who made the people of Tobyqty migrate to Genghis volost and settle there (Saparalı, 1995a: 612). Kengirbay, who was the biy of the clan at that time, observed that Irgyzbai was a person with talent and intelligence and gave him a position in the administration. Irgyzbai was also a very good wrestler. He wrestled with the most famous wrestlers of the time. In a group consisting of Kokand people, Irgyzbai defeated a chief wrestler who was known as the “Wrestler with Fame” (Auezov, 1995c: 25).

For *Aydos Oljayuly*, there is no information about his date of birth and death. He was the great great grandfather of Abai. Aydos had children who were named Topay, Torgay, Irgyzbai, and Kotibak from his wife, Aypara. Aypara was a talented orator and a local physician (Auezov, 1967b: 33). After the “Aktaban şubırındı”, Aydos led the Tobyqty people to migrate and settle in Genghis volost along with Mamay Batyr (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 63).

Oljay Aytekeuly was the great great great grandfather of Abai. It is known that he lived through the second half of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Oljay was the father of Aydos, Kaydos, and Jigitek who were known by the Kazakh people as war heroes, poets, and orators. The Kazakh people gave them special importance as the “Generation of Oljay”. Kalkaman, in the epic “Kalkaman-Mamır”, was the younger brother of Oljay (Saparalı, 1995c: 444).

When we look at the tree of Abai’s family prior to Oljay Aytekuly, we can list his ancestors in order as follows: Aytek, Kişik, Sarı, Süyirbas, Musabai, Irıspetek, Tobyqty, Kenjesopı, Karakoja, Akjol, and his first ancestor known as Argyn (Abaydı Oqı, Tañırqa, 1993: 1).

His Wives and Children

Abai had three wives. His first wife was Dilda, who was called Beybişe in Kazakh language. His second wife was Aigerim, and his third wife was Erkejan. Abai had six children from Dilda and four from Aigerim. He did not have any children from Erkejan.

Dilda Alshynbaikyzy (1843-1924) was the first wife of Abai. When they got married, Abai was 15 and Dilda was 17 years of age. Abai had six children, whose name were Akylbai, Akimbai, Abdurakhman, Magauia, Külbadan, and Rayhan from Dilda. She lived in Akshoky between the years 1860 and 1923. However, in the period when the oppression of the Soviet government became harsher, she had to emigrate from Akshoky and left behind some of her belongings (Saparalı, 1995d: 218). The people described below were the children of Abai who were born to Dilda.

Akylbai Abaiuly (1861-1904) was the first child of Abai who was born to his first wife, Dilda. Nurgany, who was the last wife of the father of Abai, Kunanbai, raised Akylbai as her own child because she had no children. Taking advantage of the fact that he grew up away from his father, Abai, the enemies of Abai wanted to create an enmity between father and son. Akylbai was one of the most talented persons around Abai and he wrote and composed poems about youth and love. He also wrote epicedes for his brother, Abdurakhman, who died in 1895, and his other

brother, Magauia, who died in 1904. Akylbai's fame was mostly due to the epics he wrote (Muhamethanov, 1995: 69). He wrote three epics: 1. Dagestan (Käri Jusip "The Elder Yusuf"); 2. Zulis (a romantic epic on the Zulu tribes in Africa); and 3. Jarrah Batyr. The last one could not be preserved unfortunately (Auezov, 1988: 92). He spent his last days with his father being engaged in educational affairs in the Semipalatinsk region. As a result of these studies, he was elected to the Semipalatinsk commission of primary education. The grave of Akylbai is located near Tishkan spring in the Abai district of Semei. At the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of Abai's birth, his grave was restored and turned into a mausoleum (Muhametkhanov, 1995: 68-69). As well as being the son of Abai, Akylbai was one of the poets who gathered the works of Abai and resumed his artistic tradition. Magauia was also one of his poet sons who resumed the art of Abai.

Akimbai Abaiuly (1866-1873) was the son of Abai and died when he was seven years of age. It is thought that the poem published under the title "Akimbai Ölgende" (When Akimbai Died) in some editions of the works of Abai was not related to Akimbai, because the poem was published in 1895, which was 22 years later than the death of Akimbai (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 117).

Abdurakhman (Abish) Abaiuly (1869-1895) was the son of Abai. His father, Abai, registered him in the school in Semipalatinsk in 1882, in Alexandrov high school in Tyumen between the years 1886 and 1889, and in Mikhailovsky School of Artillery in St. Petersburg between the years 1889 and 1892. After the completion of his education with a good achievement, Abdurakhman graduated in 1892 and was deployed to service in the city garrison in Tashkent. He married a girl called Magripa in the same year. He had a daughter, who was named Rahila. Having valued the mindset, worldview, and poetic talent of Abdurakhman, Abai shared secrets and exchanged ideas with him. Abdurakhman died in Tashkent on 15th November 1895 and his body was buried in Akmola. Upon the loss of his son, Abdurakhman, Abai wrote poems and epicedes such as "Allanıñ Rahmatına..." (For the Blessing of Allah) and "Orınsızdı Aytpağan (Who Did Not Speak Meaningless) (Beysenbayev, 1995b: 114).

Abai wrote more than 10 poems at times of sickness and death and the periods after the death of his son, Abdurakhman. Abai wrote poems for his other children, however it is known that Abdurakhman had a special position among them.

After Abdurakhman completed his education in his city, his father, Abai, registered him in the state high school for a fee of 100 Som. Abai was one of the first Kazakhs who spent money on education. Abdurakhman was deployed to the Technical School in St. Petersburg after completing his education in this high school. And he was transferred to the Mikhaylovsky Artillery Academy in his hometown thanks to an acquaintance of his there. When he started to be prepared for the migration so that he would serve his people and be useful to them, unfortunately, he became sick in his lungs and died in the year 1895 (Bokeikhanov, 1993: 17).

Magauia Abaiuly (1870-1904) was the youngest son of Abai and was born when Abai was 25 years of age. After Magauia received his religious education where he was born, his father, Abai, registered him at the Russian school in Semipalatinsk. He studied together with his sister, Külbadan, in this school. After two or three

years, Magauia fell ill and became extremely weak, therefore, Abai had to take back his son from high school as his sickness worsened. He encouraged the educational affairs together with his father. He resumed the tradition of poetry that he observed from his father and improved himself in poetry like his brothers, Akylbai and Kokbai (Auezov, 1995b, p. 391). Abai gave special assignments to Magauia and Akylbai, who were both his children and students and made them do research on “Medgat-Kasym” and “Qıssa-i Yosıf” (Tale of Yusuf), which were epics of love (Jumaliyev, 1960: 112-113). On 14th May 1904, the youngest son of Abai, Magauia, died. Abai was deeply affected by this loss and did not talk to anyone for a very long time and always preferred to stay away from crowds. Forty days after the loss of Magauia, Abai, himself, closed his eyes to this world (Bokeikhanov, 1993: 18).

Rayhan Abaikyzy (1871-1896) was the daughter of Abai and was born to his first wife, Dilda. She became a bride of the Nayman clan. According to the memoirs of Rayhan, Abai often came here and visited his daughter. When he visited, he would play draughts, and when he won, he would say “intelligence won”, and when he lost, he would say “the regards won” and make people around laugh. The memoirs of Rayhan regarding her father are preserved in the Abai Museum (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 493).

Külbadan Abaikyzy (1862-1932) was the daughter of Abai and was born to his first wife, Dilda. She studied in the Russian school in Semipalatinsk. Külbadan married a man called Düyseke and when her husband died, she was made to marry his brother, Dütbai, by levirate⁴. Külbadan had a child from Düyseke called Hamza, and children from Dütbai called Müken, Mukhtar, Muştar, Maken, and Kadişa. Information regarding Külbadan is preserved in the Abai Museum in Semipalatinsk (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 294).

Turagul Abaiuly (1876-1934) was the son of Abai and was born to his second wife, Aigerim. He was a poet and translator. He spoke Russian and Arabian. He was with Abai until his death and provided information about which poems Abai wrote, where, why, and to whom. Together with his cousin, Kakitai, he gathered the poems of his father and published them in St. Petersburg in 1909 (Bayğaliyev, 1995: 555). They made a great contribution to the recognition of Abai throughout the Kazakh steppe. The source of the majority of the current information about the life and works of Abai was the son of Abai, Turagul, and his nephew, Kakitai. He translated the story of Gorky titled “Chelkash” and the work titled “Story About Childhood” by Jack London, and a booklet called “What A Mother of Child Needs To Know”, which was on health issues, into the Kazakh language. He provided Mukhtar Auezov with his memoirs in a large volume called “About My Father” (Bayğaliyev, 1995: 555).

Mikail Abaiuly (1884-1931) was the son of Abai and was born to Aigerim. He spoke Russian and Arabic fluently. He knew by heart the poems of his father, Abai. His

4 Levirate is the tradition that in ancient Turkic society, a woman whose husband had died was married to the brother of her late husband so that the children from her late husband would not be left to a stepfather and the properties would stay within the family.

children, Kuzeyir and Alisher, died in World War II (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 404). He contributed greatly to conserving and redacting the works of Abai.

Izkaıyl Abaiuly (1895-1929) was the son of Abai and was born to Aigerim. He was a master of the violin and dombra and performed the art of singing. He played the role of Abyz in a theatrical play by Mukhtar Auezov titled "Enlik-Kebek" (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 614).

Kenje Abaiyzy (1901-1932) was the daughter of Abai and was born to Aigerim. From her childhood, she memorised the poems of her father and performed them in the form of songs. She married Avbekir, the brother of Musabai, in 1914. After the early death of Avbekir, she married the grandson of Gabitkhan mulla, Salimgazi. She passed away in Tokmak in 1932 (Abai Encyclopedia, 1995: 276).

Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly (1858-1931) was one of those who belonged to the family of Abai and someone we need to mention in particular. His father, Kudaiberdy, was the brother of the father of Abai Kunanbaiuly, a Kazakh poet and philosopher. Because Kudaiberdy was raised by his uncle when his father passed away when he was only seven years of age, Abai had a great effect on his literary personage and art (Kalkan, 2002b: 313). Shakarim developed the advice to humanity and the application of the fundamental social rules of Abai with his own opinions and criticised the negativities of the society of the time that he lived in the same way as Abai with a harsh discourse. He published these opinions of his in the journal of Aykap and the gazette of Dala Valayatınıñ Gazeti (Qudayberdiuli, 1988; Sahipova, 2005: 152).

Shakarim was one of the best known and most loved people after Abai among the Kazakh people. Because his name was banned, it could not be seen or mentioned in works for a long time. His poems became known among the people with his manuscripts and his name became a legend. He was known not only for his lyrical and epic poems, but also as a master translator who made the Kazakh reader meet the Russian and Eastern classics, and a musician. Shakarim, who was respected among the people, was known as the second Abai. The realist line of Abai can also be seen in Shakarim (Biray, 2018: 113-114). Shakarim was a man of religion who was an opinion leader among the Kazakh people. In addition to this, Shakarim was one of the Kazakh intellectuals and made the first attempt at making a catechism.

In this study on the life of Abai, it would be impossible to move on without providing information about Kakitai Iskakuly, who gave a wide range of information on the life of Abai Kunanbaiuly, his works, and family, and who was the son of his brother, Iskak, and his nephew.

Kakitai Iskakuly's (1869-1915) real name was Gabdulhakim, and he was known by the name of Kakitai, which his mother used to pamper him while she caressed her son (Muhammedkhanuly, 1994: 5). Kakitai had a very significant place in the life of Abai. In addition to being the nephew of Abai, we can say that he was also his first student. He was born in the same year as the son of Abai, Magauia. Abai sent his son, Magauia, to study in the city, however he saw that Kakitai was very sad when his father did not send him to study in the city, and Abai took Kakitai with him with the consent of his father, Iskak. Therefore, Kakitai became the first student of Abai. His beloved cousin, Magauia, became ill in his lungs while studying in the

city and had to return to the village. Thus, Kakitai resumed his education together with his beloved friend, Magauia, and his uncle, Abai (Muhamedkhanuly, 1994: 6). Kakitai said: "Through the 24 years when I stayed with my uncle, Abai, there is nothing I have yet to learn from him. I have a great debt to him and my goal, now, is to gather his works which are his great treasure and make available them to the next generations." And he gathered first the works of Abai and made them ready for publication with the son of Abai, Turagul (Qorabayev, 1995: 272). Thus, we understand that Kakitai paid his debt by gathering the works of Abai and preparing them for publication in return for his educational services, as he owed a great debt to Abai. Kakitai, who paid his debt of loyalty, had a very significant role in researches on Abai. We can learn many things about Abai through the notes of Kakitai.

Alikhan Bokeikhanov, who was one of the leaders of the Alash Orda movement and who wrote an article on the death of Abai in the newspaper titled "*Semipalatinskiy Listok*" published in Semei in 1905 regarding the matter, stated that he was given the information for the article he wrote by Kakitai. Kakitai was the first person to print a book about Abai by making an agreement with the St. Petersburg printing house. The title of the work was "Qazaq Aqını İbrahim Qunanbayuliniñ Öleni" (The Poems of Kazakh Poet Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly). Those who prepared the book for publication are written in the book as "Kakitai, Turağul Qunanbay Uğılandarı" (his sons, Kakitai and Turagul Kunanbai) (Qorabayev, 1995: 272-273). Since Kakitai is a key figure in the researches on Abai, the life and works of Kakitai are also a significant subject that need to be studied.

Conclusion

Abai, who we found out that he focused on the issue of education and art throughout his life, portrayed this in his life both within his family and the society, and displayed exemplary behaviours. Such an exemplary life, which guided both its period and the future generations, is, even today, a guide for the Kazakh people. Abai, who was occupied with the education of both his own children in the family and the children of his relatives, played a significant role regarding becoming a modern society. There are people who guide and have the role of saving the society in the history of every nation. These people can be a statesman, an artist, a literary figure, a sociologist, etc. We can consider the Kazakh people as lucky in this matter since Abai Kunanbaiuly, who illuminated the Kazakh people, was a statesman, a philosopher, an artist, and a writer at the same time. As a matter of fact, there were other poets and writers at the same time as Abai, however, what makes Abai different from them is the content of his works and the fact that he analysed the social issues as well as the innovations he presented to the Kazakh literature and the richness of vocabulary and style of the language he used in his works. In his works, Abai detected the negativities in social issues such as education, religion, ethics, lying, and bribery and simply wrote a prescription for them. He not only criticised such matters but also offered solutions.

The administrative works that came from the ancestral lineage of Abai's family and continued with his own generation were the greatest tool for Abai to understand

the troubles of the people. Since his administration period coincided with his younger times, the loving words of his mother, Ulzhan, and his grandmother, Zere, still sounded in his ears and he simply advised his people with the advice of his mother and grandmother. The most essential issue for Abai was being a human. He believed that by being a human in the real meaning, all issues would be solved. His advice in his *The Book of Words* and teachings in his poems are based completely on “being a human”.

We know that after Abai’s death, his poems were recorded and preserved until today. In this respect, we witness that the family members in particular contributed a great deal on the matter. Again, we witness that he educated those who did not have the opportunity to have education in the family by taking them under his own wing and that these people learned by heart the poems and *The Book of Words* by Abai and wrote them as a book after his death, and accordingly, by spreading the teachings of Abai to the whole Kazakh steppe, they did the greatest service to Abai. These people are the son of Abai, Turagul, and his nephew, Kakitai. Furthermore, Alikhan Bokeikhanov and Mirjaqyp Dulatuli, who lived in the same period as Abai, gave Abai the biggest value by writing articles about him. Mukhtar Auezov, who again conducted the most valuable studies on Abai and was the writer of the novel *The Path of Abai*, which is the greatest work of Kazakh literature, gave Abai an international reputation, and now Abai is known in world literature both for his works and for the novel *The Path of Abai*.

Figure 1. The Ancestors from the Paternal Side of Abai Kunanbaiuly

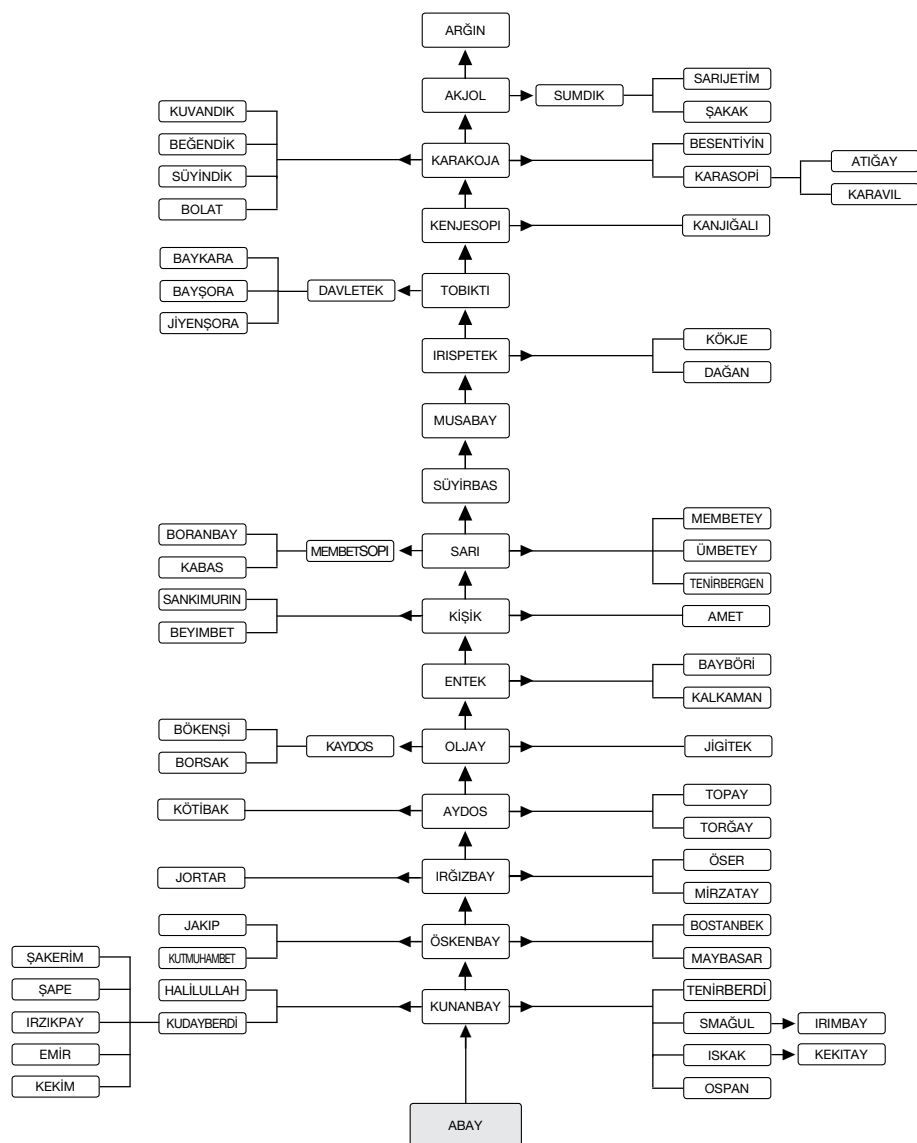
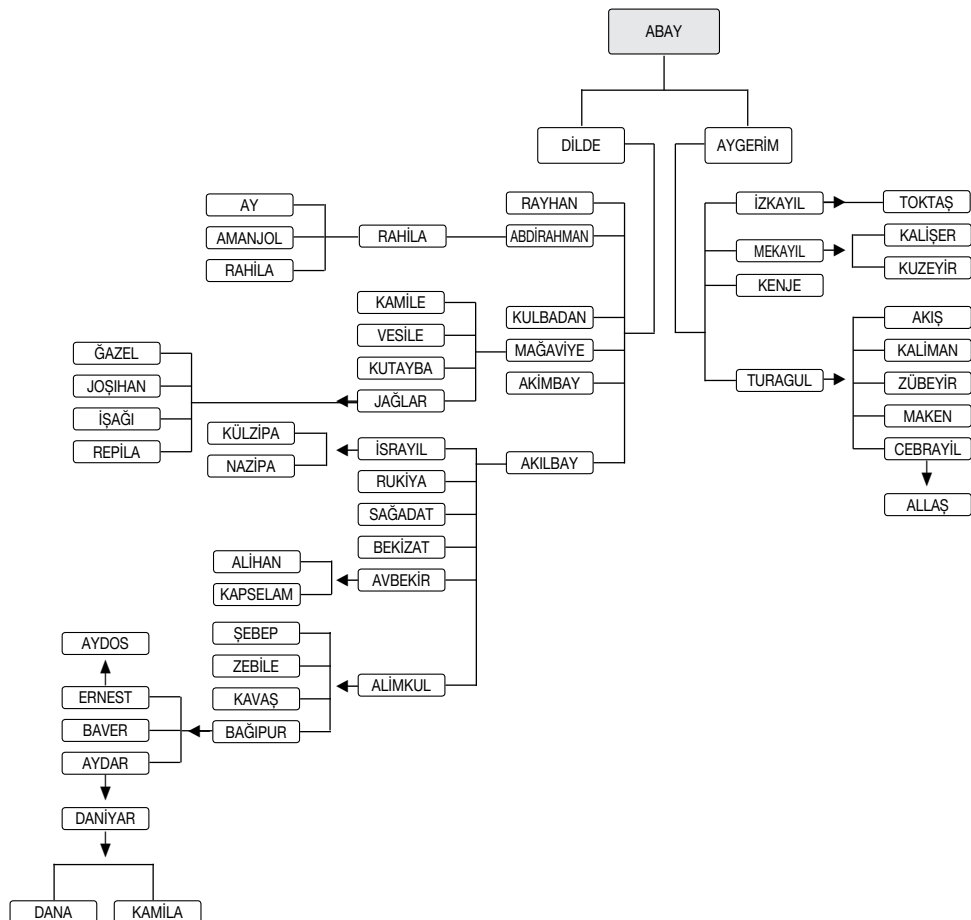


Figure 2. The Generation after Abai Kunanbaiuly



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CHAPTER – III

ABAI AND INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 19th-20th CENTURIES

Uli SCHAMILOGLU

Abai Kunanbaiuly (1845-1904) was an intellectual of extraordinary breadth, which was all the more remarkable given his background. Placing him within the context of world intellectual movements means, actually, beginning from the time of Socrates (circa 470 – 399 BCE) through to our present day (Qara Söz 27). As for the breadth of his vision, it embraces European thought while being firmly grounded more generally in Islamic culture and specifically in Kazakh culture. This is no doubt very much a result of the fact that he was a gifted young man when he began a three-year period of study at the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa in Semei at the age of 10 (circa 1855-1858). In addition to studying works related to Islamic sciences in Arabic and Persian, he also became familiar with classics of Arabic, Persian, and Chagatay literature (Nizami, Nava'i, Sa'di, Hafiz, and Fuzuli, among others). Towards the end of his studies at the madrasa he also enrolled in a Russian parochial school (*prihodskaya škola*) in Semei, where he pursued supplementary courses for a period of time in Russian. Apparently, this was all the formal education he received. In the end, however, we see the rise of an intellectual whose thought and works laid the foundation for a Kazakh national culture that serves as a bridge drawing on the classics of the “East” and “West”, so to speak (I do not use such terms in my own work, but it is unavoidable in describing how Abai is viewed by his cultural heirs in today's Kazakhstan).

In this essay, I would like to contextualise Abai within that moment in time in which he received his formal education, but also briefly reflect upon that against the rich tapestry of intellectual movements that were taking shape or would develop over the course of his lifetime in the Russian Empire, eventually reaching

the Kazakh steppe as well. Finally, it also needs to be stated, based upon his *Words* (Qara Sözder), which will be the basis of my study that he did not participate in all those movements.

Brief Overview of the Time in which Abai Lived

I would like to offer first a brief overview of the main issues that are relevant for understanding Abai's time as it helped to frame his worldview. The first important factor is that he was a member of the Kazakh ethnic group and his views of his fellow Kazakhs feature prominently in the Qara Sözder. The second is the fact that as a Muslim Kazakh, he is tied into a 1200+ year history of Islamic civilisation, even though Kazakhs may not have become Muslims until much later. He refers to other Muslim Turkic peoples such as the Sarts (the sedentary Uzbeks and/or Tajik Muslims) and the Nogays (the people we today call the Kazan Tatars), but he does not identify particularly closely with them (Qara Söz 2).

I would say the most important factor affecting Abai's worldview was the post-colonial situation in which he lived. His birthplace was near Qarqaralı, approximately 450 km from Semei (Semipalatinsk), where the first Russian settlers appeared in 1718 and where a fortress was built in 1778. In 1854 it was named the capital of the Semipalatinsk oblast. With the encroachment of the Russian Empire into the Kazakh steppe beginning in the first half of the 19th century, nomad Kazakhs began to be displaced from their traditional nomadic pasturages. For example, displaced Kazakhs began to appear in Vernıy (present-day Almaty) in 1855, and in the following year Russian peasants began to move there. Fort Vernıy was established in 1867. With the establishment of Russian rule and elements of Kazakh self-rule at the lower local levels, the nature of traditional Kazakh society underwent profound transformations. These post-colonial conditions, including the internalisation of Russian views concerning Kazakhs among Russian-educated Kazakhs, are clearly reflected in Abai's Words.

Elsewhere across the Russian Empire we see other profound changes over the course of the 19th century. What began as criticism of traditional madrasa education in Bukhara and elsewhere among Tatar students in the late 18th-early 19th century led to works arguing for renewing personal interpretation of the Qur'an (*ictihad*), but based upon strictly classical argumentation. As the 19th century progressed, figures emerged calling for the introduction of non-Islamic subjects into the *mektep* and *madrasa* curriculum, or even for the desacralisation of madrasa education. This was primarily among Tatars, the students of whose madrasas often spent the summers in the Kazakh steppe as tutors or otherwise in the employ of wealthy Kazakh families. Others, such as Abai, attended madrasas set up in the Kazakh regions by graduates of Tatar madrasas. This vector for the transmission of ideas was very important for later developments in the Kazakh steppe.

As we will see, Abai was under the influence of the earlier evolutionary form of this educational trend. As these trends continued, they led to the form of Islamic modernism among the Muslim Turks of the Russian Empire that we term "Jadidism" (though local intellectuals of the time used other terms as well). Actually, this

binary opposition of “Jadidism” (< Arabic *cadīd* “new”) versus “Qadimism” (< Arabic *qadīm* “old”) is very unhelpful and has led to some unfortunate academic criticism of Muslim Turkic modernity in the Russian Empire. (I hope to turn to this question in the near future.) What these scholars – who may perhaps be termed “Orientalist” for reifying the classical at the expense of the modern among Muslims – do not realise (or conveniently ignore) is that this binary is, in fact, quite misleading. As I have argued elsewhere, what is missed when one uses the term “Jadidism” is that it masks a wide range of innovation in religion, curriculum, educational institutions, political thought, and even modern secular identity through the rise of “imagined communities” enabled on the basis of print capitalism (including nationalism among the Tatars and others, including later Kazakhs). While I will refer briefly to all of this at the end of my study, I hasten to add that Abai does not appear in his *Qara Sözder* to have been involved in these movements, nor do I know what his views on all these later movements might have been.

Background of Religious and Educational Reforms in the Russian Empire

The story of Islamic modernism in the Russian Empire must begin with the contributions of Abu Nasr Qursavi (1776-1812). The study of Qursavi was somehow neglected because of his early death and the interruption of the trajectory of Tatar culture by the Russian Revolution (1917). The excellent study of Qursavi by Spannaus places Qursavi against the backdrop of 18th-century neo-Orthodox Islamic movements studied by John Voll and others (Spannaus, 2019). Qursavi’s views on topics such as *ictihad*, law, and philosophy allow us to view Qursavi against the backdrop of the greater Islamic world of the late 18th-early 19th centuries. Qursavi is best known for arguing for the “reopening of the gate of *ictihad*” (or personal interpretation of the Qur’an) in his famous work *Alirşād lil’ibād* (in Arabic). But Qursavi was controversial for many reasons during his short life, which was ended by cholera while he was travelling to Mecca. He was critical of the ‘*ulamā*’ and education in Bukhara, of *kalam* (because it was based on Greek philosophy rather than the *Qur’an* and the *Sunna*), and other important points in Islamic theology. Later, on a return trip to Bukhara in 1807, he earned the enmity of both the religious scholars and the emir such that he was forced to leave Bukhara. Qursavi did not have a direct influence on Abai, but he did have a great influence on the career and views of Şehabeddin Mercani, who considered Qursavi the kind of scholar who comes around only once every 500 years. While Qursavi followed classical Islamic methods in his argumentation, Mercani would go beyond the bounds that Qursavi respected to open the door for Muslims in the Russian Empire to embrace modernism.

Şehabeddin Mercani (1818-1889) was a pivotal figure who influenced Abai’s teachers (see below). He was born not far from Kazan in the village of Yabıncı. Later he studied Arabic, Persian, theology (*kalam*), logic (*mantıq*), and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in his father’s madrasa in Taşkıçü. In 1838 Mercani set out for Turkestan to pursue an advanced religious education in Bukhara and Samarkand. During his trip to Central Asia he first became acquainted with the works of Qursavi during a stopover in Troitsk. While he disagreed with the views of Qursavi at first,

later he would become the greatest champion of Qursavi's views, especially the importance of *ictihad*. Upon returning to Kazan in 1849, Mercani was appointed *imam-xatib* and teacher in the 1st District Mosque. His reputation continued to grow once people understood that his knowledge of theology (*kalam*), logic (*mantiq*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) exceeded even that of his examiners (Kanlıdere, 2004; Şārāf, 2010; Schamiloglu, 2018). Mercani endured various conflicts with a wealthy local patron of the mosque over his scholarly views and with some of the local religious officials because of their jealousy. He served in the same mosque (known today as the Mercani Mosque) for a total of 22 years. After moving to a new madrasa in 1871, he began teaching Islamic sciences at the Tatar Teachers' School as well in 1876. Mercani also cultivated a relationship with leading Kazan Orientalists of the day and was responsible for the introduction of Russian language classes into Muslim schools. At the end of his career, he would teach at the madrasa built for him, the Madrasa-i Aliye, from 1881 until 1884. Mercani enjoyed a reputation at the height of his career as the greatest Islamic scholar in the Russian Empire, and the centenary of his birth was marked by a celebratory volume with the reminiscences of his students, colleagues, and admirers.

One of the most important areas in which Mercani left his mark is the question of education among the Muslim Turks of the Russian Empire. Mercani's program for educational reform included both a rejection of traditional approaches in the madrasas of Central Asia and a call for the introduction of new subjects (Carrère d'Encausse, 1988: 59-60; Schamiloglu, 2001):

1. Freedom of *ictihad* or interpretation of religious law; individuals must make their own responses to every question, based on their own understanding of the Qur'an.
2. Abandonment of blind submission to the traditional authorities (*taqlid*).
3. Rejection by the *madrasas* of books of scholastic, conservative philosophy.
4. Introduction into the *madrasas* of teaching of the Qur'an, the Hadith and the history of Islam.
5. Introduction into the *madrasas* of teaching of science and Russian language.
6. Return to Islamic culture and the purity of early Islam.

In other words, Mercani advocated that one should study the Qur'an; not make judgements based solely upon the views of earlier scholars; learn about Islam not through later commentaries but by studying the prime sources directly (i.e. the Qur'an and the Ḥadith); learn modern science and the Russian language (which had been considered to be a subject Muslims should not study); and return to the purity of early Islam (i.e. without many of the later developments that distorted Islam). Through his advocacy of these points, Mercani laid the foundation for the later establishment of "New Method" schools by Ismail Gasprali (Gasprinskiy), who, after consulting with Mercani about these issues, would later make a great contribution to the cause of the education of the Muslim Turks of the Russian Empire (Kırımlı, 1996: 45-52).

What do we know, however, about the program of study in the madrasas in which Mercani taught? In the same year that he arrived in Kazan he also began giving courses in Islamic studies to students in the madrasa attached to this mosque. The curriculum of his program consisted exclusively of religious treatises, as far as I can tell. From the two programs of study described in his biography, the earlier curriculum consisted of lessons (reflecting the number of lessons for each individual work taught) in: grammar (2+2), rhetoric (1), logic (2+2+2), ancient knowledge (1), creed (2+2+1), *usul-i fiqh* (2), *fiqh* (1+1+1+1), morals (2 books in 1 lesson), and *hadith* (1). The later curriculum consisted of lessons in: grammar (2+1), rhetoric (1), logic (2+1+2+3), creed (1+3+2+2+2), ancient knowledge (1), creed (2+2+1), *usul-i fiqh* (3), and *fiqh* (1+1+1+1). His views on the importance of logic are reflected in the later curriculum. At the same time, he was frustrated that while he was critical of the madrasa curriculum in Bukhara, he was not able to implement the reforms that he thought were necessary. During lessons he would often go into discourses on Islamic history, the importance of which he liked to stress (Şäräf, 2010: 111-116).

In discussing his employment at the *Dar ül-muʿallimin* (modern Kazan Tatar: *darelmögallimin*) or Teachers' School (established in Kazan in 1876), where instruction was both in Russian and Tatar, his biographer notes that he was not opposed at all to instruction in Russian. At that school Mercani taught *fiqh*, creed, *usul-i fiqh*, and *faraiz* or Islamic law on inheritance (Bardakoğlu, 1995). The last subject has also been interpreted as "mathematics" (Murzakhodzhayev and Tulibayeva, 2018: 1687), perhaps because knowledge of fractions was important for determining inheritance under Islamic family. He would like to talk about history in that school, too, especially Islamic history in the time of the Abbasid Caliphate, and would write notes on history in students' notebooks. He would also give students problems in algebra, which he probably solved on the basis of treatises on Arabic mathematics that he had studied (Şäräf, 2010: 134-135; Tuna, 2019). It would make sense that Mercani might ask questions in class regarding how to calculate inheritance.

In other words, there is little to suggest that the program of instruction in Mercani's madrasa or his teaching at the Teachers' School included secular subjects, with the possible exception of history and algebra, both of which were apparently taught on the basis of Islamic texts. By this period, however, Mercani had just begun to write his most important historical treatises. In 1877 he wrote his earliest outline of the history of the Tatars, *ʿİlalät üz-zäman fi tarix Bulğar vā-Qazan* (in Tatar). This was presented at the 4th Russian Archeological Congress in Kazan (1877) in Tatar along with Wilhelm Radloff's translation of this treatise into Russian and published a number of years later (Marjani, 1884; Schamiloglu, 2018).

How can we compare Mercani's program of instruction with Gaspraly's later contribution? In contrast to the system of Muslim confessional schools, Gaspraly advocated a system of independent "New Method" (*usul-i jadid*) schools supported by the public. These are the schools that some of the historiography also refers to as "Jadid schools". The cornerstone of his approach was the phonetic method (*usul-i savtiye*) for teaching literacy in the Arabic alphabet in 40 days by teaching

the phonetic value of characters in order to read the student's native Turkic language as opposed to rote memorisation of the alphabet in order to study the Qur'an and other religious texts in Arabic. Gaspraly also introduced the modern classroom to the school (*mektep*), with modern facilities, standardised class times (45 minutes per class, maximum five courses per day, six days per week), regular examinations, and updated textbooks, including Gaspraly's own *Hoca-i sibyan* introducing the Arabic alphabet and short stories and poems including the themes of Islamic, Crimean, and Russian history and geography.

Although Gaspraly was hoping for public support for his schools, the first New Method school opened in 1884 with only 12 students enrolled. He began a steady effort to publicise the success of these schools in teaching literacy and modern subjects. The fame of his schools spread over time and they began attracting numerous candidates for teaching at the schools. Slowly the curriculum in the schools expanded to include a wider variety of subjects (including modern sciences) taught on the basis of original textbooks or textbooks used in the Ottoman Empire. With support from wealthy Tatar sponsors, by 1895 there were 100 "New Method" schools across the Russian Empire and an amazing 5,000 of them by the time of his death in 1914. By this time in European Russia, even the notion of what a madrasa should be had acquired a whole new spectrum of meaning, from a conservative religious institution to a European-style gymnasium incorporating arts (Tuna, 2011). "New Method" schools were also introduced in Turkestan and the Kazakh steppe towards the end of the 19th century (Murzakhodzhayev and Tulibayeva, 2018). These schools, however, were opened much later than the time at which Abai received his education as a youth in the late 1850s.

The Ahmet Rıza Madrasa

As is well known, Abai attended the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa (i.e., mosque and madrasa complex) in Semei from the age of 10 for about three years, so circa 1855-1858. Aqjan Maşanov offers important details informing us about Abai's intellectual pedigree going back to Mercani through the former's education (Maşanov, 1994: 80-92; Qıdıräli, 2020). As Maşanov notes, Abai's father Kunanbai had built three mosques: one in Qarqaralı, another in Semei, and one in Mecca. In the early years the imams of the mosques in Qarqaralı and Semei were Tatars from Kazan, whose madrasas (but especially the one where Mercani taught from 1849) had a leading reputation throughout the Russian Empire at the time. One of Mercani's students, Kâşşafeddin b. Şahimârdan, served for a long time as imam in Qarqaralı (Maşanov, 1994: 81-82; Şäräf, 2010: 129). In Semei, Abai studied with another madrasa graduate from Kazan named Ahmet Rıza. If we accept the assertion in Maşanov (we do not have a basis to reject it, though I am not aware of additional supporting evidence either), Ahmet Rıza himself was also a student of Mercani (Maşanov, 1994: 81-85). Of course, we need to remember that Mercani was not the only Islamic scholar teaching madrasa students in Kazan at the time (Şäräf, 2010: 93-94). For the purposes of our discussion, however, whether or not Ahmet Rıza was a student of Mercani or not is not critical, since it does not undermine my argument or conclusions (below).

Next, I would like to offer in English the basic information contained in two standard sources on this madrasa available to me in Kazakh sources. (As this article was written under quarantine during the 2020 coronavirus crisis, I was unable to consult printed sources in libraries. I assume that these articles represent a consensus view of at least some Kazakhstani scholars.) The following does not represent my own views, it repeats the information contained in two sources, followed by my own analysis,

According to the article “Ahmet Rıza Madrasa” in the *Abai Encyclopedia*:

... The madrasa was founded by an imam named Ahmet Rıza. Students had religion lessons alongside which they studied “Oriental” classics, the works of Qazaq bards (aqıns), and became acquainted with Arabic and Persian languages. They also studied arithmetic, geography, and history. The Ahmet Rıza Madrasa was considered to be considerably more advanced than other religious schools of the time. Abai learned Turkic, Arabic, and Persian languages there and became acquainted with the poetry and philosophy of all the “Oriental” classics. For this reason, his first poems were written under the influence of “Oriental” poets following the model of Chagatay literature and the influence of “Oriental” poets can be felt throughout his long career as a poet. While he studied in Semei Abai visited the library and museum there. He also studied Russian language and became acquainted with forward-thinking Russian democrats. The madrasa was not in existence for very many years (Abai Encyclopedia, 111).

According to the article “Ahmet Rıza Madrasa” in the *Mukhtar Auezov Encyclopedia*:

The madrasa was opened in the 1850s in the town of Semei. The madrasa’s imam was a learned individual by the name of Ahmet Rıza who had studied at the “Mercani” madrasa in Kazan. He opened a residential madrasa for students attached to the mosque. The distinguishing feature of this madrasa compared to other religious schools of the time was that it embraced the approach of enlightenment of the great scholar Şehabeddin Mercani, who had established the very great reformist-Jadidist doctrine in the Muslim and Turkic scholarly world. Imam Ahmet Rıza taught in depth three historical, philosophical, sociological subjects called “Şarığat”, “Tarixat” [sic!, see below], and “Mağrifat”. Türki, Arabic, and Persian languages, the rules of “Oriental” poetry and rhetoric, mathematics, geography, and natural science were taught as the basic subjects there. He introduced a curriculum based on the principle that “one must learn Allah through science and reason”. At first, Kunanbai had entrusted Abai’s education to an imam named Ğabdulcappar, but the fact that he later changed Abai school to the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa must be because he understood that they were teaching the way of knowledge more deeply there. What is more, Kunanbai deeply respected the religious teachings of Sufi Allayar and taught them to his children. As for Mercani, he was a scholar who tried to develop Allayar’s doctrine even further. Abai studied at this madrasa from approximately 1855 until 1858. The influence of the Jadid approach was such that in these three years Abai mastered “Oriental” history and philosophy, language, and poetry. He reached in Persian language the level of being able to write poetry. The views of this Ahmet Rıza Madrasa student who had received

the correct academic direction developed in this Jadidist direction and laid the foundation for his scholarly understanding. Abai especially acknowledged this himself. The fact that he was allowed full freedom to quench his thirst with knowledge is understood from the fact that he was offered the opportunity to take supplementary classes from a Russian school. Abai never forgot the knowledge he gained from the madrasa, and later he would tell his own students and children what was written on such and such page of such and such book. The remainder of this encyclopedia article is based upon content in the novel Abai written by Auezov (Mukhtar Auezov Encyclopedia; cited in Kazakh Wikipedia).

These two influential descriptions raise many important questions. Both the *Abai Encyclopedia* and the *Mukhtar Auezov Encyclopedia* state that the students studied arithmetic/mathematics, geography, and history or natural science at the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa. This is probably based on the assumption that it was a Jadid school, since Ahmet Rıza had studied under Mercani, whose madrasa was also assumed (wrongly) to be a Jadid school. The assumption has been that since Abai studied in the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa, he would have had a modern education there. I find this most unlikely. If the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa was “more advanced” in any way, it might have been in the modified madrasa curriculum that Mercani advocated, but even this is problematic.

The claims about Mercani’s program for educational reform that I usually cite (above) is a classic later formulation whose ultimate source still eludes me (Schamiloglu, 2001).

It is a reasonable description, but it may also be misleading. Does it reflect the curriculum that was taught in Mercani’s own madrasa program? The summary of the curriculum in his own madrasa that I presented (above) suggests that his program included only religious subjects (though his biography states that he would often teach other books and subjects not included in the curriculum). While Mercani made some attempts at reforming the madrasa curriculum compared to what was taught in Bukhara, it appears that he was frustrated that he fell short in these efforts for various reasons (We may assume that the other madrasas in Kazan probably saw the curriculum in Bukhara as something to be admired rather than something to be criticised and reformed). Even though Mercani emphasised the importance of Islamic history (which he taught as asides, not as a separate course) while teaching in the madrasas and the Teachers’ School, it is only later (when he is teaching religious subjects in the Teachers’ School) that we have information that Mercani posed algebra problems to students. I am not familiar with any information suggesting that arithmetic or mathematics was being taught in Mercani’s madrasa in any form, either as a separate class or during class.

Another issue with regard to the assertions made in these two encyclopedia articles (no sources are listed for either article, but the information contained in them seems to be repeated ubiquitously in Kazakhstan) to the effect that the Mercani madrasa was “Jadidist” is the chronological basis for such a claim. In the first half of the 1850s – when Ahmet Rıza would have been his student – Mercani was still a young man who had returned to Kazan from Bukhara only recently. While he might

have had serious ideas about how to change the madrasa curriculum, these fell far short of the program Ismail Gaspraly would introduce following consultation with Mercani. Gaspraly opened his first “New Method” school only in 1884. Thus, the introduction of the first New Method school began a full 25-30 years after the time Ahmet Rıza might have been a madrasa student under Mercani.

For all these reasons I think the evidence suggests that it is highly unlikely that sometime between 1849 and 1855 Ahmet Rıza might have had a “modern” education as a student of Mercani. (If he had actually studied at another madrasa, it would have been even less likely.) It is only those madrasas that would open in the Kazakh steppe in later decades that might have been under the influence of Jadidism, but not the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa in the 1850s, which was several decades too early for such an educational institution (Assanova, 1994; Murzakhodzhayev and Tulibayeva, 2018).

If we reject the notion that the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa was a “Jadid” school embracing “the approach of enlightenment of the great scholar Şehabeddin Mercani who had established the very great reformist-Jadidist doctrine in the Muslim and Turkic scholarly world”, which was “considerably more advanced than other religious schools of the time”, then what was it? The *Mukhtar Auezov Encyclopedia* offers an important clue: Imam Ahmet Rıza taught in depth three “historical, philosophical, sociological subjects” called *Şariğat*, *Tarixat*, and *Mağrifat*. *Tarixat* [sic] does not exist as a subject or even as a word. I propose that *Tarixat* here is a hypercorrect reading of *Tariqat*. As is well known, modern Kazakh often renders Arabic /ħ, x/ as [q] as in the Arabic *rahma* “pity, compassion; human understanding, sympathy, kindness; mercy” (Cowan and Milton, 1976: 332) > Kazakh *rahmet* ~ *raqmet* “thanks”, or the Arabic *xabar* “news; information, intelligence; report, communication, message; notification; rumour; story; matter, affair” (Cowan and Milton, 1976: 225) > Kazakh *xabar* ~ *qabar* “news”, *xabarlasu-* ~ *qabarlasu-* “to exchange news, information”. This should not be a controversial correction.

Thus, we can restate that what Imam Ahmet Rıza taught was actually *Şariğat*, *Tariqat*, and *Mağrifat* (Arabic: *şarīʿa*, *ṭarīqa*, and *maʿrifa*). To say that this is not a modern curriculum would be understatement! These subjects are very revealing. Separately, *şariğat* may be understood as the “path” referring to all religious, moral, and legal judgements related to Islam (Türçan, 2010); *tariqat* as the Sufi “path” leading to Allah (Öngören, 2011); and *mağrifat* as the (Sufi) knowledge of Allah and his attributes, actions, names, and transfigurations (Uludağ, 2003). I might add that one of the courses Mercani taught in the earlier curriculum cited was entitled *Tariqat-i Muhammadiya* (in modern Kazan Tatar: *Tarikate Möxämmädiyä*) (Şäräf, 2010: 112).

We may go one-step further: if we consider *xaqiqat* “truth” (Arabic: *ḥaqīqa*) (Çağrıci and Demirci, 1997) together with *şariğat*, *tariqat*, and *mağrifat*, we suddenly find ourselves in a different world, that of Akhmed Yasawi (12th century), Yunus Emre (13th century), etc. (Eraslan, 1989; Tatçı, 2013). According to Küçükçaya, Akhmed Yasawi describes these as principles that can be reached via the first door of Islam:

Şeriatın işlerini tamam eylemeyince,
Tarikatın meydanına girse olmaz.

Şerîattır âşıkların efsanesi;
Arif olan âşık tarikatın incisidir.

Until the affairs of şeriat are complete,
One cannot enter the square of tarikat.
The legend of the lovers is şeriat,
The knowledgeable lover is the pearl of tarikat (Küçükkaya, 2018: 151).

Another well-known couplet, this time by Yunus Emre, reads as follows:

Şeriat tarikat yoldur varana,
Hakikat marifet andan içeri.

For the traveller şeriat and tarikat are the path,
Through it one reaches hakikat and marifet (Emre, 2018: 190).

Özköse also notes that Akhmed Yasawi states in the *Faqrname* that in order to improve his state, the dervish must know the doors of *şeriat*, *tariqat*, *marifet*, and *haqiqat* (2017: 101).

I do not wish to dive more deeply into this matter here. My main concern is to offer a correction to the notion that Ahmet Rıza Madrasa was a reform or Jadid madrasa; it was not, nor could it have possibly been. I think it is quite apparent that it was a traditional madrasa, based on the subjects taught, though it is possible that the spirit was tinged with Mercani's reformist ideas, which were far more modest than the plan that Gaspraly introduced in the 1880s. (In the simplest terms, arguably Mercani continued to teach a religious curriculum, while Gaspraly introduced a secular curriculum, albeit with some courses on religion). I think that the reference in the *Mukhtar Auezov Encyclopedia* to Kunanbai's admiration for the 18th century Naqshbandi-Mucaddidi sheik Sufi Allahyar (Tosun, 2016) should be considered consistent with the notion that there was a continuing strong interest in pre-modern Sufi texts in the region in which Abai's father Kunanbai lived in the mid-19th century. This would be another data point suggesting that Semei in the 1850s was not an outpost of secular reformism. Abai himself mentions Sufi Allahyar as well (Qara Söz 38).

Conclusion: What Abai's Thought Was, and What it Was Not?

I do not pretend to be a specialist on Abai, I most certainly am not. But, as a Turkologist and historian who has also worked on Mercani – among many other topics related to my studies of the Golden Horde and other subjects – I at least have some insights into Mercani. After having studied the putative relationship between Mercani and Abai, I would like to offer a few observations on the topic of what Abai might have learned in school in Semei and how this is reflected in his thought. I would also like to offer further a few concluding observations on what is not reflected in Abai's thought.

The first observation requires only one sentence: Abai was not the product of a modernist Jadid school. The second observation then is the question of what, exactly, does Abai seem to have acquired during his education at the Ahmet Rıza Madrasa. It seems to me that everything I have seen on this topic so far has been completely inadequate (though I cannot claim to be familiar with the voluminous

literature on Abai). Let us state the obvious: Abai studied at an Islamic madrasa between circa 1855 and 1858. Tatar madrasas in the Volga-Ural region usually had teachers who had studied in Bukhara, Samarkand, and beyond. Somehow by the turn of the 19th century we begin to see a criticism of these madrasas by young Tatars from the Volga-Ural region, including Qursavi, Mercani, and others (Schamiloglu, 2001). What made Ahmet Rıza special (assuming that his pedigree as a student of Mercani is correct) is that he had a very special teacher who luckily avoided the fate of his intellectual predecessor (Qursavi) and was able to make a name for himself in Kazan and live to see his 80th birthday (unlike Qursavi).

Mercani achieved a legendary reputation in his own lifetime for several reasons. These were a deep knowledge and passion for the Arabic language, his insistence on studying the Qur'an and the early history of Islam, his deep knowledge of a wide range of historical and other subjects, his mastery of classical Islamic sciences, and innovative approaches to the solution of thorny theological problems relating to the attributes of Allah (also discussed in Qara Söz 38). It must have been exciting to be a student of the young Mercani, who no doubt impressed Ahmet Rıza with his erudition and contrarian views. If any of this rubbed off on Ahmet Rıza, he must have been filled with enthusiasm and respect for his charismatic young teacher and for the positions that Mercani advocated. Maybe he instilled the same enthusiasm and respect in his own students in Semei. If nothing else, he must have advocated real first-hand knowledge of Islam through the study of the Qur'an, academic rigour, intellectual honesty, and reason (*mantiq*).

The next important step in Abai's education was his study at a Russian-language school in Semei. I can imagine that the switch from a New Method school to a Russian-language school would not have inspired as great a reaction from Abai as the switch from a neo-traditional madrasa to a secular Russian-language school. How it must have been a shock to attend a Russian school after a madrasa! In this regard, I think his strong advocacy of the Russian language derived not from the influence of Mercani through Ahmet Rıza, but rather from the shock of the new curriculum in the Russian-language school. (I doubt that Mercani was already an advocate of the study of Russian language in the first half of the 1850s, but I may be wrong.) This shock (or trauma) of transition made him a great fan of a Russian education and it seems that as a result he also became a great critic of the madrasa education that he had received. As he himself wrote (I have cited the English translation of *Words* available to me):

Nowadays, the methods of teaching at the madrasa are hopelessly out of date, and have proved to be not only useless but even harmful. Accordingly, new schools have been opened in Türkiye where, along with divinity, military and other sciences are taught. Our youth wastes too many years in empty memorising at the madrasa and come out ignorant, unreasonable, and incapable of working, who will live only by fraud and deception. The teachings of mullahs do nothing but harm (Qara Söz 38).

This also provides further evidence in support of my argument that the madrasa he attended did not teach modern sciences. For additional information on the Russian and Kazakh educational system in the 19th century as well as the educational

background of Kazakh intellectuals in this period, see, for example, the studies by Eklof and Uyama (Eklof, 1986; Uyama, 2000).

Abai is a philosophical universe unto himself, and I cannot do justice to the full range of his thought in this essay. Instead let us consider several examples regarding his position on the Qur'an and religion, reason, and knowledge of Russian language drawn from his *Words*:

The Qur'an abounds in such verses, yet none of us will look deeply into their meaning; we lack both the will and sufficient knowledge to comprehend these truths (Qara Söz 38).

This suggests that he was taught the importance of consulting the Qur'an in the original, something that both Qursavi and Mercani championed. His *Words* also offer abundant evidence that he studied *hadith* and sharia (Qara Söz 36, 38). It also makes sense that he appropriates the Sufi concept of the "complete person" from Ibn Arabi's concept of *insan-ı kamil* (Aydın, 2000), whatever new meaning he might have ascribed to the term (Qara Söz 19).

He is also very passionate about reason in his *Words*, as from the conversation between Socrates and Aristodemos:

Who, do you think, is more worthy of admiration: one who creates a lifeless image of man, or the Most High, who created man endowed with reason and a living soul?

The latter, certainly. But only if his creations are the product of reason, not pure chance (Qara Söz 27).

Or in this example:

If our religion has a flaw, why then forbid a reasonable creature to think about it? What would religion have rested upon if there had been no reason? (Qara Söz 28).

He is most adamant, perhaps, in his advocacy of the study of Russian:

One should learn to read and write Russian. The Russian language is a key to spiritual riches and knowledge, the arts, and many other treasures. If we wish to avoid the vices of the Russians while adopting their achievements, we should learn their language and study their scholarship and science, for it was by learning foreign tongues and assimilating world culture that the Russians have become what they are. Russian opens our eyes to the world. By studying the language and culture of other nations, a person becomes their equal and will not need to make humble requests. Enlightenment is useful for religion as well (...).

Russian learning and culture are a key to the world heritage. He who owns this key will acquire the rest without too much effort (Qara Söz 25).

The last point I would like to make here is that we also need to consider Abai a post-colonial writer:

I will not speak of the Russians. We cannot hold a candle even to their servants (Qara Söz 2).

Or:

I wonder whom amongst the Kazakhs of today I could possibly love or respect (Qara Söz 22).

The fact that he has internalised the external Russian view of Kazakhs requires sensitive study of him from the perspective of post-colonial theory as well. There is so much more to say. All I can acknowledge is how inadequate my treatment of his thought is, but I hope that these observations will inspire further studies of his complete works from these new perspectives.

Finally, I would like to conclude by outlining what I believe is missing in Abai's thought. Had he been the product of a modernist Jadid education, there are other currents of thought from the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that should have made their way into his thought. It is true that he is critical of the Naqshbandi sheiks (*işan*), which would be consistent with the approach of the Jadids later on (Qara Söz 38). Otherwise, there are a number of developments that do not seem to find reflection in his words. One is the rise of the idea of a "Tatar" nation with its own distinct territorially based history, spurred by the publication in 1884 of the first volume of Mercani's great historical work, *Müstâfad ül-axbar fi äxval Qazan vâ-Bulğar* (Schamiloglu, 1990, 2018). He does not refer to Tatars, only somewhat disparagingly to the attitudes towards the Kazakhs of the Nogays (Qara Söz 2). He also does not discuss in his *Words* the all-embracing Turkic identity (*Türkçülük*) advocated by Gaspraly, referring only to the success of schools in Türkiye (but – I hasten to add – not the "New Method" schools in the Russian Empire!).

It was only in the early 1900s that Kazakh writers began to call for the use of Kazakh language instead of Tatar, or propose new modes of life to preserve their Kazakh people. These suggest that the rise of a modern Kazakh identity in the early 1900s was in opposition to the Tatars as the "other".

There have been noble attempts to view the thought of Abai in comparison with the thought of European writers in the 19th century and even the 20th century (Amantay, 2020). I think, however, that the real genius of Abai lies in the fact that he became a great writer, poet, songwriter, and philosopher not because he attended a modernist Jadid school (he did not!), but despite the fact that he never had such a background. The genius Abai was even more original and unique than we give him credit for in modern scholarship.

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CHAPTER – IV

ABAI'S LITERARY SCHOOL

Baurzhan ERDEMBEKOV

This work explores the literary environment of Abai, the representatives of the literary school who had direct contact with the poet, the sources of spiritual contact with them, and the role of the literary school formed by the poet in Kazakh science. The role of the poet in the education of successors is shown, and the position of Abai school of poetry in the Kazakh literature is defined. Representatives of Abai school of poetry, their legacy, and their contribution to the continuation of Abai's traditions will also be discussed.

The work analyses the reasons for the exclusion of the concept of "Abai's literary school" in the 50s from the history of literature and the concept of "literary school" in science, and concepts of "Gogol's tradition", etc. are considered.

Abai school of poetry is a unique phenomenon in Kazakh literature that continues the innovative traditions that he brought to later literature and defines the place of developing poets in literature, thereby revealing the teaching side of the genius. In general, the concept of the Abai school can be considered in two senses. One of them is broad, that is, most of the representatives of post-Abai Kazakh poetry are followers of the poet's literary traditions, and therefore followers of poetry. The second is that the concept of school is narrow and clear. From this point of view, it refers to the poet's disciples, who were in daily contact with Abai, who were brought up by him. In general, the main reason for the controversy over the concept of "Abai school of poetry" in the 1950s was political, but another reason for the escalation of the literary dispute was the lack of a clear definition of "Abai school of poetry". More precisely, the distinction between those broad and narrow senses was blurred. It should be noted that another influential factor is the use of the concept of "poetic school" in Western and Russian literature in relation

to Abai and his poet disciples around him. In literary criticism, the concept of a literary school is taken in a general sense, within which the categories of current, direction, organisation, group, and association are considered. Russian researcher V. Kuleshov considers the concepts of “direction”, “current”, and “school” to be a homogeneous concept (Kuleshov, 1982: 224).

There is also the fact that direction and school can be used within the same concept or in synonymous terms. Commenting on the artistic method, L. Timofeev and S. Turaev say:

... We are talking about artistic methods as the most general concept, about the directions and trends as about its various historical and literary manifestations and about schools and groups as the most private encyclopedia of its 90s forms (Timofeev and Turaev, 1978: 90).

Gathering students around Abai is by nature close to literary groups and circles. For example, literary circles are defined as follows: “Literary circles, creative associations of writers on the basis of the unity of views, interests, directions of creativity. They also include literary salons and ‘evenings’...” (Literary encyclopedic dictionary, 1987: 192). It is difficult to say for sure that the representatives of literature, which was still oral, concentrated around the poets of Abai’s time, gave rise to a certain trend. In this regard, M. Auezov said:

Of course, if Kazakh literature had appeared in print that day and reached a place where students could find it, all the poets around Abai, from Abai school, would have shown a great flow of literature following in Abai’s footsteps (Auezov, 1997a: 155-156).

And now, if we look at the world literature, there have been various literary circles, associations, and salon-clubs for a long time, close to the name of the literary school. It is not the purpose of our study to define and dwell on all of them. However, it is worth reviewing a few. For example, the report on the school of poetry of Ashivaghoshi, a great representative of Sanskrit literature in ancient India, brings the history of this phenomenon much deeper. The Shirvani school of Azerbaijani literature of the eleventh century can be named, and one of the first schools of poetry in Italy in the thirteenth century – the “School of Sicily” – was headed by Giacomo de Lentino. Jean Dora (1508-1588), who made a major breakthrough in sixteenth-century French literature, had a school of poetry called the Star. The “Spanish classics” school of the eighteenth century, born from a combination of literature and theatrical art, can be counted. “Gottingen Valley”, “Lake School”, the literary organisation “Arzamas” in Russia, the literary and political circle “Green Lamp”, the organisation of poets “Parnassus” in France, and others – every school and organisation have their own direction and purpose. Each of them was born in different circumstances of the society and fulfilled its duties. Some of them lasted for a long time, but others were dismissed without the support of the society, the people, or for other reasons.

As for the relationship between the real teacher and the student, it is clear that in the history of Kazakh literature, and earlier in Turkic literature in general, there were similar phenomena before Abai. Thinkers like Al-Farabi had disciples gathered around them. Akhmed Yasawi sang praises of his teacher, Arystan Baba, with special reverence, and later Yasawi’s own school of Sufism attracted many students to

him. In later literature, Zhambyl's teacher was Suyunbay, and Akmollla's teacher was Marzhaniya from Bashkortostan. Although we cannot say that every poet is always close to his teacher, it is true that they followed the example of a previous poet. Abai's real poetic height was influenced first of all by his surroundings. He was acquainted with the traditional Kazakh verses through poets such as Dulat, Baikokshe and Shozhe. Later, he gathered and educated talented students to spread the great knowledge and art he had acquired. Unlike before, Abai school was a real school of literature as well as various arts, which brought up young artists. The role of this school in Kazakh literature is huge, and it has a special place in history.

First of all, it should be stated that the point of view that puts the Russians and the West in the center in literary studies causes an unwillingness to accept the existence of the Abai school of poetry. It is a fact that Abai is the representative of such a school. We have a very clear reason for this. Although there are many great poets around the world, very few of these poets have trained students who will continue their school after them. In this context, we can argue that Abai differs greatly from most poets. Because, thanks to the students he trained, he paved the way for the formation of a school that followed him after his death. If we give an example from Russian literature, it is not possible mention about either Pushkin school or Lermontov school. Similarly, it is not possible to talk about a school of N. Gogol who had a great influence on 19th century Russian literature. That is why the "Gogol's tradition", which is widespread in Russian literature, is a school in the broadest sense, as we said at the beginning, that is, something close to the literary tradition. The fact that the poetic school, which was not found in the outstanding poets and writers of the "great" people, was a testament to the direct literary relationship, and the students of the poet belonged to the Kazakh literature, especially Abai, did not reflect the norms of Soviet cognition. Here, the following opinion of the scientist T. Kakishev is very appropriate:

It is not necessary, not even needed, for Kazakh literature to repeat all the phenomena of European and Russian literature, to follow in their footsteps. But we must master the general laws of art and embark on a truly professional path. We must never lose sight of our uniqueness in the study of useful literature, without abandoning the advanced literature (Kakishev, 1997: 55).

It is true that true talent brings its own tradition to literature, although they do not take students with them and teach them how to write in detail. Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol, and our Abai are among such poets. The Russian critic N. Chernyshevsky said: "Gogol is valuable not only for his genius writing, but also for being the father of the literary school – the only school that can be proud of Russian literature" (Chernyshevsky, 1947: 20). The term "Gogol's tradition" was formed in Russian literary criticism, which, unlike the followers of the later Gogol tradition, was born in the 50s of the nineteenth century. It is known that the Russian writer, with his journalistic works, formed a certain school in the national literature, but did not gather other poets, give them a subject, make them write a poem, then analyse or correct what they had written as Abai did. Considering what Auezov said in 1951:

... Considering his works and life, is it possible to doubt that Abai formed a school? In my opinion, it is impossible to doubt. Actually, the question of

his school is now to be only as in school in a narrow sense, and not to be a question of his influence on all subsequent poets and on all subsequent Kazakh literature. This last volume is very wide; the concept is clear and simple. The speech goes about the people who surrounded him were around him directly and in that or that measure were creative personalities. But one thing is a teacher, another is a student. Let them not be as talented as Abai (so he was) (Auezov, 1997: 119).

We can recall that Abai's pedagogical activity is revealed only in the narrow sense of Abai school of poetry.

One of the reasons why the concept of "Abai's literary school" was considered harmful in the 50s and removed from the history of literature is that the concept of "school" is considered in different senses. Not only the topic of K. Mukhamedkhanuly's dissertation but also the general name "Abai School" was radically changed and Abai's pedagogical aspect was obscured. In 1959, a five-day scientific-theoretical conference on the main problems of Kazakh literature was held. Here, if you consider that such a large-scale conference on literature has never taken place before or since, you can see how much attention was paid to the literature of that time.

In a report entitled "On the main trends and directions of Kazakh literature in the 80s-90s of the nineteenth century", M. Silchenko shares following remarks about "Abai School":

The question of the so-called "Abai traditions" in Kazakh literature is still unclear, causing contradictory rumours. In the 1951 discussion, the concept of Abai's poetic school was rejected...

We have difficulties in the interpretation of these issues due to the ambiguity and unsolved problems of tradition and influence, the concepts of schools and trends in all disciplines. There are indisputable facts that, however, are difficult to explain scientifically. There is no question that Abai had many followers, commenting on Abai's students. He mentioned that the creative heritage of the Abai School does not meet the requirements of the Western and Russian literary direction, the requirements for the literary school, and in particular, the definition issued by the "older nation", saying: We need to abandon scholastic talk and controversy on this issue already because in history there has never been such a case that a literary trend or school unites writers or poets completely identical in their socio-aesthetic views and creative manner.

The Soviet system, which practised the general reality, including the literature in a certain way, did not take into account the national features of our literature and the isolated qualities of Abai's talent. Silchenko's assessment on this issue is as follows:

We rejected the term "school of Abai", we introduced the concept of the poetic environment of Abai. It should be said frankly that it does not correspond to the actual state of affairs. Indeed, for the history of literature, it is not passive attitudes that are important, but the creative interaction of poets, writers of the same historical period, of a single trend. Therefore, allow me to propose for discussion a concept adopted in the history of Russian literature – poetry (or poets) of the Abai period (Silchenko, 1961: 128-129).

After this issue, the notion of “school” in relation to the students around Abai was removed, and Abai’s influence on his surroundings, especially the actual educational activities, was obscured.

In 1959, K. Mukhamedkhanuly, who could not defend the legacy of Abai’s students in science due to political pressure, had to change not only the name of his dissertation, but also the idea. The notion of Abai’s disciples was inevitably replaced by the poets around the poet. There are significant differences in the structure of the two dissertations of 1951 and 1959. As a result of political criticism, post-labour was somewhat reduced. Although Turagul’s name was not mentioned in the previous one, several poems and translations were reviewed, but not in the next dissertation. The great poet Kokbai, who had been friends with Abai for 25 years, was not included in his later work, as the biggest dispute of 1951 was related to Kokbai Zhanataiuly and his “famous” epic “Sabalak”. Thus, without Shakarim, Kokbai, and Turagul, and all the poets themselves were known only for their works that fit into the “Soviet circle”, in a word, the Abai School was protected in science, though distortedly. Anyway, it was thanks to the perseverance and endurance of K. Mukhamedkhanuly. It should be noted that the researcher’s multi-volume collection of works, which began to be published in 2005, includes only the second dissertation of the scientist from 1959. The work of 1951 was not included in the collection; only the chapter about Kokbai was added to that of 1959. If the work of 1951, which was not influenced by the Soviet filter and caused great controversy, had been included in the collection, the weight of the multi-volume would have been increased. Along with the Abai School, M. Auezov’s novel “Akyn Aga (Poet Brother)”, published in 1950, was criticised and destroyed before it was published. The vigilant censorship of that time did not miss the fact that the theme of the Abai School was the main theme of the novel “Akyn Aga”. If we look at the commentary on Mukhamedkhanuly’s novel:

... The rest of the researchers trusted him (Auezov) as a connoisseur of Abai, and these data were considered reliable until now... that Abai Kokbai himself gave the topic, etc... he again affirms in the novel Akyn Aga, which has recently been published (Mukhamedkhanuly, 1992: 81).

In S. Mukanov’s article “About Abai’s Disciples”, he wrote as follows:

In the novel “Akyn Aga” these students will be praised again and will continue to develop one of the most important events of the novel. Some of the so-called “disciples of Abai” disguised themselves as Abai’s authoritative names in order to lubricate their visually reactionary writings, saying that “these topics were given to them by Abai and corrected by Abai after they were written” (Shamili, Ablai by Kokbai and others) (Mukanov, 1992: 67).

Thus, the novel “Akyn Aga”, which modelled Abai’s teaching in fine literature, was suffocated by stubborn politics. Surprisingly, for almost half a century, readers had been unable to get hold of the novel, which was once ruthlessly confiscated. Only many years later did “Akyn Aga” enter the 50 volumes of the writer. Probably unknown to the literary community, the research community was reluctant to write about this fateful work. We cannot say that the opinion about the novel “Akyn Aga” that the main purpose of the author’s title of the novel was to portray Abai as a big brother of poets. However, because it was difficult to convey the word

in Russian, the general name of the epic was changed to “Abai Joly” (The Path of Abai) (Sakhiev, 1995: 70) in the encyclopedia “Abai” is logical.

In 1950, it was published as a separate book, “Akyn Aga”, with some changes, which was published under the name of “Akyndar Agasy” (Big Brother of Poets) in 1949, in several issues of the magazine “Literature and Art”. A.Tarazi, who wrote a scientific commentary on the changes and additions between the journal version and the book, says:

Underneath those additions, there were many difficult passes and adventures of repair, renovation, modernisation hiding. From what was hiding, one can imagine the difficult road in which the book was born, and the whole structure and appearance of it (Tarazi, 2007: 406).

The edits and additions made to improve the novel after the first journal edition, in a word, seem to have wasted the writer’s labour. “Akyn Aga” of 1949 was destroyed as a politically harmful work. The whole fault of “Akyn Aga” is that Abai’s teaching power is demonstrated and the image of the poet’s students is described realistically. Although “Akyn Aga” was confiscated, the incompleteness of the great epic was a great tragedy for both M. Auezov and Kazakh literature. M. Auezov had to do it again, to be more precise, to submit to the “socialist realism” approach. Although the fourth book of the recent “The Path of Abai” has been successfully supplemented, the main idea of “Akyn Aga” - Abai school of poetry -has been obscured. For example, the poems of Kokbai and Arip, which are the basis of the novel, were not included (the manuscript heritage of M.O. Auezov). Kokbai’s image especially became a victim. If we compare the two versions to prove our point, in the later version Akylbai replaces Kokbai, who recommended the pattern of the poem created by the four poets at the beginning of the novel. Kokbai, who ruled over Darmen and Shubar, who competed for the song “Enlik-Kebek” in “Akyn Aga”, was later once again replaced by Erbol. If we make a list, we can find many more such substitutions. Apparently, the artist had to keep Kokbai away from Abai. Kokbai was not only kept away from Abai physically, his positive side was removed in accordance with the socialist requirements, and an unpleasant image was created. Erbol, who had not been in “Akyn Aga”, has the following idea in the latter version: “... he had a big protest inwardly against Kokbai next to him. One day, in private, Kokbai spoke coldly about what Abai had just said. ‘One of Abai’s flaws is that he has become very pro-Russian. Do we just have to listen to them?’” (Auezov, 1990: 27). In addition, the fair assessment of Bazaraly as he was released about Kokbai was later also removed.

Furthermore, the fair assessment of Kokbai at the time of Bazaraly’s expulsion was later confirmed. For example, the positive aspects of Kokbai described as “Kokbai is also an inspiring poet... Kokbai sang with a long song, with a wide breath and a loud voice. Good wishes, respect, joyful bowing – all were said with great courtesy and sweetness ...” (Auezov, 2007: 61) – were not included in the later version. Thus, the image of Kokbai, which changed radically, was inevitably distorted and sacrificed even when writing a poem about Ablai in the novel. Kokbai had been thinking of writing a long poem about Ablai for a long time. He used to collect old words about the Kazakh-Kalmyk enmity. In a private conversation with Abai, he told him a lot of what he had collected. At the end of the meeting, Abai also told some interesting

stories. The elder poet used to advise Kokbai to write about Ablai's campaigns. That was the only thing that both of them had in common (Auezov, 2007: 225). M. Auezov, who avoided keeping Abai and Kokbai close, at the same time, prolongs the distance between Abai and Kokbai with the words of Darmen. The noble idea of the poet Kokbai to versify Ablai in accordance with Abai's assignment is recognised as a whimsy and ridiculed by his peers in the latter version. It is not for nothing that the novel "Akyn Aga" ends with a report to the teacher on the most talented poet Kokbai, who read the song "Ablai" with inspiration. The writer was not far from the history of writing the Ablai epic. Although the presentation of the epos "Ablai" in front of Abai was not excluded in the amended version, it was influenced by politics. The evidence is that Kokbai's "Ablai" is slaughtered by Bazaraly:

I told you, Kokbai, you said 'majesty', you said 'noble lady', and you are begging to bag his ghost. You seem to be going to entreat to his offspring, not to mention Ablai. Honestly, I don't like it, Kokbai. Many poets, longing for this khan-sultan, could not have worn it out, Abai!

There is also the fact that Abai nods his head to this (Auezov, 1990: 289). In this way, the truth in the work of art is inevitably distorted, and the hero Bazaraly stands with the Bolsheviks. He made Abai say what he had not said. All of this was the writer's attempt to save the novel. In order to introduce Abai to the world, he sacrificed not only Kunanbai but also Abai's relatives, such as Shakarim and Turagul, whose names are not mentioned in the novel. In the novel "Akyn Aga" M. Auezov's plan to transfer the weight of the main idea of Abai school to Kokbai also failed. Finally, Kokbai, Abai's best friend and student of the poet, came out in the guise of an unpleasant character. Like Kunanbai, Kokbai was at the other end of the scale to Abai. Thus, the helpless writer inevitably added Darmen to Abai, who was left without a disciple. In the next version, Kokbai is pushed aside and Darmen takes his place next to Abai – this is the artist's reckless approach.

The reason why we pay attention to the image of Kokbai in the novel is to explain how the name of Abai's beloved disciple influenced the fate of the whole novel. If he had moulded Kunanbai as a historical figure, we would not have met the first book of the epic. Sacrificing Shakarim and Kokbai, M. Auezov finished "The Path of Abai" with honour. He found the logic to the incompatibles, found a way out of nowhere, and somehow managed to create the best work that would continue the history and future of the nation at a time when the sharp sword of Soviet ideology was swaying.

The idea of Abai school is most clearly embodied in the author's 1944 screenplay "Abai":

It is widely revealed that the creative competition of Abai's students, their common views and feelings of brotherhood originate from the humanistic ideas of the great poet. For example, the poet gives special tasks and analyses the written works, the conditions for sharing interesting topics, etc. (Auezov, 2005: 366-367).

As the vigilant writer took a very careful approach to the criticism of that time, which controlled every word in the writing of a great work, there is no phrase "disciples of Abai" in the large work. Instead, they use the words "Abai's young friends" and "talented youths around Abai".

In fact, Abai's poetic power is valuable because of his influence on his environment. Although Abai was unique, he attracted people who were looking for art and poetry. The poet's disciples are a phenomenon that glorifies Abai. But the writer had no choice but to reveal the great poet's pedagogical activity in this one art of poetry. Roman was born without Abai's students. Evaluating the great work, academician Z. Akhmetov says:

When evaluating a work of art on a historical theme, it is necessary to keep in mind three different amounts of artistic time from the point of view of literary theory. The first is Abai's time depicted in the epic, a historical time; second, the time of writing the epic – the time of M. Auezov; the third is the age of today's readers, critics, the amount of time that determines their position, worldview, point of view (Akhmetov, 1997: 34).

Therefore, in the analysis of the epic, especially when the poet speaks of the image of the disciples, it is necessary to take into account the time of writing, the knowledge of that time, and especially the demands of the art world.

Without Shakarim, Abai's most famous poet student and cousin, writing a novel about Abai was like creating something out of nothing. Shubar, Shakarim, Darmen – this trio was a plot by M. Auezov against political demands. An open-minded reader found Shakarim in Darmen. Moreover, for the need of political knowledge, the prototype of Shubar is Shakarim. M. Auezov had to do it. It is true that one of Kunanbai's relatives was called Shubar. According to the chronicler Abai B. Isabaiev: "Oskenbai's second wife Tansholpan gave birth to Shubar, Eleusiz, Tleuberdy" (Isabaev, 2001: 5). However, it is not this Shubar that M. Auezov moulded. The image of Shubar in the epic is, again, M. Auezov's political shield. Expert on Abai studies M. Myrzakhmetuly said about this:

Auezov couldn't say much. He wasn't allowed to say it in fact. For example, in the novel Shubar is not a very pleasant character. But there is a guy named Darmen, who is sympathetic to Abai and is always with Abai. There had never been such a person. It seems to me that Auezov must have accumulated Shakarim's qualities in the image of this Darmen (Myrzakhmetov, 1996: 165).

This prediction of the scientist is not far from the truth. When analysing the great work, like all the positive characters, the image of Darmen is portrayed as an insignificant character, as an orphan student of Abai.

In the novel, Shubar and Darmen compete with each other in front of Abai to write the poem "Enlik-Kebek". Darmen excelled in art, passed the teacher's test, and won the competition for writing the poem. M. Auezov says as clearly as crystal that "Enlik-Kebek" was written by Shakarim. The author's description of the poets' competition over the topic suggests that Magauia also wrote a poem about the story "Enlik-Kebek". At the end of the novel, we see Darmen from the heights of Abai's poetic legacy, who continues the words and traditions of the great poet.

While the images of Kokbai and Shakarim are involuntarily distorted in the novel, we meet Arip akyn in only one part of the work, when Bazaraly returned from exile. Although he does not appear in the work of art as a disciple of Abai, M. Auezov draws the reader to the real stubborn, straightforward poetic image of Arip. There are still

people who criticise Abai and Arip for “Birzhan-Sara aitysy” and say that “Arip did not see Abai as a teacher”. However, we should bear in mind that M. Auezov was the first to say that Arip was a talented student of the Abai School. In the novel, the images of Abai’s sons Magauiya, Akylbay, and Turagul could not escape political criticism. Two-year-old Turagul, whose name was mentioned only in connection with Aigerim’s mood, was seen as a monster, and the worst criticism of him as a “great feudal lord and enemy of the people, who fought hard against the Soviet regime” completely removed Turagul’s name from “The Path of Abai”. Most importantly, in order to create a great epic through the image of Abai, Auezov sacrificed not only many historical figures but also Abai’s students. Shakarim, Kokbai, and Arip were shown only to the necessary extent of Soviet policy. Nevertheless, the writer was able to avoid political criticism using his skills. Although the novel does not mention Abai school of poetry, if you look at the work, there is the idea of a school of poetry. From this we can see how much the opposition of the Soviet ideology to the Abai School led not only to scientific works, but also M. Auezov’s works of art.

When talking about Abai’s literary environment, we should pay special attention to the following key issues. When the concept of Abai school came to literature in the 40s and 50s of the last century, its perception in a broad sense, within the literary tradition, and in the narrow sense, the study of the poet’s daily upbringing around his students, divided the scientific community. The two ideologies were successfully exploited and exaggerated by the Soviet ideology of the time. The controversy over the concept of the poetic school, which was not methodologically correct, was a major obstacle to the study of Abai’s students. In general, due to the fact that the successors of the Abai tradition in Kazakh literature and the disciples of Abai were not clearly distinguished, the number of school representatives was increased or decreased as determined by the opinion of each researcher. It is difficult to disagree with S. Mukhanov, a critic of the Abai School: “Thus, in 1934, in Auezov’s article, the number of people in the list of ‘disciples of Abai’, consisting of only four people, in 1951 reached 25 to 30” (1992: 59) because the opinions of researchers who consider the issue of Abai school in connection with the students around him could not come to an agreement. M. Auezov mentions Akylbai, Magauiya, Kokbai, Shakarim, Arip, and Aset as Abai’s students. In his dissertations defended in 1951 and 1959, the main researcher of Abai’s students, K. Mukhamedkhanuly, considered 13 people as Abai’s students, including Haliolla, Kakitai, Mukhamedzhan, Beysenbay, Baimagambet, Muka, Almagambet, and Aubakir in addition to Akylbai, Magauiya, Kokbai, Shakarim, Arip, and Aset. It is known that Shakarim and Turagul were “enemies of the people” at that time, and the inclusion of Kokbai in the ranks of disciples was the biggest “political mistake” and ended in a big controversy. In his later book “Disciples of Poet Abai”, K. Mukhamedkhanuly includes such poets as Akylbay, Magauiya, Turagul, Kakitai, Kokbai, Uais, Aset, Arip, Muka, Aubakir, Tair Zhomartbayev, Baimagambet, Imanbazar, and Arkham. Although Shakarim is not included in this book, he is studied in his work of “Abai muragerligi (Abai’s heirs)” as Abai’s disciples. Then, the longest number is 15 disciples. E. Ismailov called Akylbai, Magauiya, Kakitai, Aubakir, Narmanbet, Absalyk, Kokbai, and Arip as Abai’s direct students, and 11 poets, led by Sultanmakhmut, M. Z. Kopeev, and S. Dunentaev, are said to have

learned from Abai (Smailov, 1940: 8). In the article “The genius poet of the Kazakh people”, G. Seraliev was completely wrong to say:

Inspired by his (Abai's) school, poet Azhar, Kempirbai, Mashkhur-Zhusip, Shortanbay, Zhusupbek hodja, singer Aset, Birzhan Sal, poet, dombra player, violinist, musician Akylbai, harmonist, violinist Abdurakhman (Abai's son) – are all students of Abai (Seraliev, 1940).

A. Zhirenshein, a researcher of Abai's heritage, cannot decide on the number of Abai's disciples. In his work in Russian “Abai and his Russian friends” (Zhirenshein, 1949: 100-123), the researcher mentions 18 artists, and six of them are introduced in detail. But in the monograph “Abai Kunanbayev” (Zhirenshein, 1950), published a year later, the number of Abai's disciples reached 21, seven of which are described in more detail. After the attack on Abai's students in 1951, A. Zhirenshein sharply reduced the number of Abai's disciples and wrote in the book “Abai and the Russian Revolutionary Democrats”:

In Abai's time, his children, Magauiya, Akylbai, Aubakir, his contemporaries – Kokbai, Baimagambet, Arip, etc., who were not inferior to Abai in intelligence and art, were nourished by his great river. There were only 15 poets in Abai's hometown (Zhirenshein, 1959: 240).

But this opinion was too general. The scientist's naming of some people, such as Nurlybek, Baikokshe, Toleu, Agashayak, Kiyasbai, Korpebay, and Irsaldy, who have nothing to do with Abai's disciples, stems from the fact that he did not have a clear boundary of Abai's disciples.

Some researchers have divided the artistic group around Abai into poets and non-poets. The latter were considered to be disciples of Abai but did not leave a poetic legacy. Other than poets, Abai was accompanied by people from various professions such as Muka, Amir, Mukhamedzhan (singer), Bitkenbay (musician), Baimagambet Myrzakhanuly (narrator), Korpebay, Kudu (togyzkulaka and checker players), Agashayaktai (circus performer), Kiyasbaydai (comedian) and many others. Rather than calling them Abai's disciples, they seem to be amateurs or artists around Abai. It is not enough to say that the young people around Abai were only taught to write poems. The genius poet loved any kind of art with all his heart and helped to feed and teach talented young people. Let's take Shakarim. Abai paid much attention to the fact that Shakarim was very interested in making knives; Noticing his talent for music, Abai called the famous dombra player Bitkenbai from the Kerei tribe; He introduced Shakarim to the Russian sniper, and taught the secrets of hunting; The Russian engineer taught to measure the ground; He invited Nurpeis, who speaks Russian, and trained Shakarim to speak Russian.

A. Zhirenshein writes that the poet invited a Caucasian to teach a local master to make ornaments from gold and silver and he liked the saddle of Karkaralinsk and made his master make such a saddle.

Apart from writing, Abai also paid attention to Kazakh handicrafts. He also spread many examples of folk ornaments, such as beds made of wood and bone, crockery, silver earrings, bracelets and rings (Zhirenshein, 1959: 76).

Although it seems easy to divide Abai's disciples into two groups – that this is a poet or not a poet, but a master of another art – if you look at each of his students individually, there are several arts in each of them. As for Abai's students, it is very difficult to tell who was a poet and who wasn't. Can we add Kakitai, who has only one or two poems, to the poet students? The comedic Kiyasbai is sort of a poet, and Muka, a singer, also wrote good poems. The same can be said about Kokbai and Shakarim. Do you attribute these to the poet students or to the singer students? Given the issues that do not fit into such a clear reference format, we can conditionally divide Abai's circle into two groups. The first is Abai's students, and the second is the artists and performers around Abai. The students of the poet are the representatives of literature who have a special place in the history of Kazakh literature. They are Abai's own children – Akylbay, Magauiya, and Turagul – his nephew, Shakarim, Kokbai, who was a friend of the poet for 25 years, Aubakir Akylbaiuly and Arkham Iskakov, who were raised up in Abai's family. However, Abai did not have time to make them write great works, giving them a title because Aubakir lost Abai at the age of 23, and Arkham died at the age of 19. Poets such as Uais, Arip, Aset, Muka, Imanbazar, Baimagambet and Aitkozhauly, whom some researchers call the "second group", were also students of Abai. The total number of poets and students is 13. Maybe someone will add or subtract to this list, but the problem is that we only mentioned the great and small poets, who were in the direct spiritual education of Abai, and many of them wrote poems on the assignment of their teacher. It should be noted that the poets in the second group can be evaluated not according to the quality of their poems, but perhaps within their relationships with Abai. At the same time, it should not be understood as a tribal division. In any case, Abai established a school of poetry in his village. Poets from other tribes, such as Arip, Aset, and Uais, visited Abai's village regularly. They became representatives of the Abai school, sometimes staying for months or weeks. However, we cannot say that they were always with Abai. It was like today's distance learning student, who goes to their teacher to take a test and pass the required task, then goes back to the village. That is why these poets are considered by some researchers to be in the "second group" due to the slightly different relationship with the teacher. But this was not a division in terms of poetic level.

Now let me explain why I do not include some representatives of literature who have been recognised by scholars and researchers as students of Abai, and who were directly brought up by Abai. Kakitai Iskakuly, who was called a disciple of the poet by K. Mukhamedkhanuly in the 50s, was not only Abai's closest relative, but also a talented student, but not a poet. K. Mukhamedkhanuly, in his book "Disciples of Poet Abai", published two poems on behalf of Kakitai, beginning with "Let me tell you, my tongue" and "The light of my eye" (Mukhamedkhanuly, 1994: 24-26). In the novel "The Path of Abai", when the students competed to write poems, there is the following conclusion by Kakitai:

One is cold, and one is not, I don't care,
Kakitai is not in the game.

Unfortunately, we do not have another work in this work of art apart from one word, calls Kakitai was a poet. A. Bokeikhanuly, who was very close to Kakitai, does not say

in his article about Kakitai that “Kakitai was a poet”. Of course, it is typical for one or two Kazakhs of that time to sing a couple of oral poems, and we can’t say that Kakitai, who was next to Abai, was far from it. Arkham, the son of Kakitai, says:

In 1919, Kolchak’s troops, fleeing from Soviet rule, burned three books, his writings, and much of Abai’s material in Kakitai’s warehouse. That is why what he wrote about Abai’s life was not published (Iskakov, 1995: 182).

Kakitai’s contribution to Abai is immeasurable. However, science does not support forcing all of Abai’s students to become poets. Considering Kakitai’s two letters to Abish, is he a disciple of Abai? Kakitai is the closest person to Abai’s upbringing, and he made a great contribution to Abai studies. The collection of the poet’s endangered poems and the publication with a significant preface in St. Petersburg make Kakitai the founder of Abai studies. Kakitai does not need a higher price. Almagambet Kapsalamuly, named by K. Mukhamedkhanuly, is not a poet, but a singer, a musician, who later grew up in the hands of Abai, whose father died and later played several musical instruments, and became known as “Abai’s singer”. That is why Kaiym Almagambet was not included in his next book as a poet.

Haliolla Kunanbaiuly was called one of Abai’s disciples by Kaiym in the 50s. It would be an unfair to say that Haliolla was not a poet. He is a tragic person, whose poems are not enough for us. Secondly, even if Haliolla’s poems were found, it would not be possible to consider him as disciples of Abai’s poetry. It would be reasonable to say that Haliolla, who first introduced Abai to Russian and Western literature, is a great representative of Abai’s literary community.

Tair Zhomartbayev is one of the poets who entered the book “Disciples of Abai’s Poetry” and became Abai’s disciple. Rather than calling T. Zhomartbayev a disciple of Abai, it seems logical to call him a poet who follows the traditions of Abai. Abai died when Tair was 20 years old. Let’s take a look at this period. Born in 1884 in the village of Kokbai (along the river Mukyr), Tair studied at the madrasa of Kokbai. Then he went to Semipalatinsk to study. While studying at the village mullah, or at the Kokbai madrasa, he probably went to the village of Abai and met with the poet. However, the fact that a young student sees Abai once or twice or attends a short meeting does not make T. Zhomartbayev a student of Abai. Tair is one of the most famous representatives of Kazakh literature, who included Abai in his poems, adhered to the traditions of the genius poet, and continued his poetry. We will not diminish his image if we see T. Zhomartbayev as a talented poet who learned from Kokbai, not Abai. Again, it is a clear indication that the school of poetry, founded by Abai, is expanding and prospering through the students of Kokbai.

It should be noted here that not all of Abai’s students were poets of the same high level. It is true that they could not reach the level of Abai, but each of them tried to meet the requirements of the teacher, continued the tradition, tried to find and develop an individual path, and thus left their marks on Kazakh literature.

Zhirenshin, a researcher of Abai’s heritage, added another group of amateurs from Abai’s district to the group of student poets. For example, Nurlybek Baimuratovich, a poet born in the today’s Beskaragai district of the East Kazakhstan region, was not close to Abai, although he continued the tradition of Abai. Toleu Kobdikuly was born to Kuandyk Sabyrbakzy, who got along well with Abai. There are poems and memoirs by

him dedicated to the poet, and he saw Abai several times. However, this does not make Toleu akyn a disciple of Abai. Baikokshe Balgynbayevich, named by A. Zhirenshein, was much older than Abai. Abai first heard the rich oral literature of the people, including the song “Kozy Korpesh – Bayan Sulu”, a poet from his village Baikokshe. Abai had a special respect for him from a young age and took Baikokshe with him when he grew up. Abai used to ask Baikokshe to tell the stories and epics of the past, and the fractions of that great heritage are still preserved among people. Therefore, we should recognise Baikokshe as a companion of the poet, rather than a disciple of Abai.

One of Abai’s most talented person was Agashayak. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century there were several people called Agashayak. We are talking about Berikbol Kopenovich, a singer, musician, and poet, who was born in Mukyr volost, Abai’s village. Agashayak was an artist who preferred the art of singing to poetry. He was a master of various circus games, an amateur companion of Abai. Also, one of the amateurs, Shaiky Kiyasbai, who mocked the scandal in the country, was always liked by Abai due to his thoughtful words. But he was not a student of the poet, but rather Abai’s friend, who was able to heal his sad and thoughtful heart with his funny deeds and harsh words. Korpabay Boranbaiuly was Abai’s contemporary, friend, and master togyzkumalak. He had nothing to do with poetry.

Here, we have shared our thoughts overviewing the poet students around Abai, comprised of Abai scholars, literary critics, and ordinary commentators. In conclusion, except for K. Mukhamedkhanuly, who was the forerunner of the study of this topic, the commentator made some deviations in the presentation of the poet’s students. It should be noted that the lack of a clear definition, the lack of familiarity with the topic of Abai, and the lack of boundaries between the poet and the artist are the shortcomings of the researchers.

Abai’s circle was not limited to poets. Abai not only trained young people with poetry skills in general, he also attracted young people with different skills. Learners and performers of music, kusbegi, atbegilik, togyzkumalak, draughts, and wrestlers found their way around Abai. It would be an overestimation of Abai to say that he was a master of all arts. But he taught what he knew, searched for what he did not know, invited a singer, hosted a draughts player for a winter, paid a carpenter for a horse, and seduced those around him. Therefore, it is natural that the number of Abai’s students is much higher than we have listed. These students are students of Abai’s art school.

Whether they are the successors of Abai’s tradition, Abai’s students, or from Abai’s artistic group, all this is evidence of Abai’s formation of a great school of literature. M. Auezov first said about the Abai school:

At the same time, when the results of research and analysis of scientifically accurate and rich data are analysed, perhaps the volume of Abai’s students, Abai school, will expand and increase, and the number of Abai’s students will rise (Auezov, 1997b: 118).

The scope of research on this topic expects great results from us. Thus, the scientific findings and key issues related to the concept of the Abai school allow us to determine its place in Abai studies, focusing on the topicality of the controversies since the 50s of the last century.

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CHAPTER – V

ABAI'S HISTORICAL VIEW

Amantai ISIN

History was one of the interests and pursuits of the great Abai, who “looked around the world for science”. As a young man, he remembered the rich words of the past in the stories of knowledgeable persons from his community and biys, scholars, and bards from faraway lands. With his burgeoning cognition, Abai became acquainted with the spiritual world of his people and that of the East and the West; he learned the complexity of history and rose to the heights of world civilisation.

Abai's Historical Views on the Turkic-Mongol Civilisation

The Contemporary Turkic-Mongol civilisation in the Kazakh steppe belonged to the Turkic period and the “post-Mongol” period. In this civilisation, Islam hadn't yet been completely spread to the region, and the people still held other more ancient religious beliefs (from the first quarter of the 13th century to the 16th century).

The famous Chuvash scientist N. Y. Bichurin's “*Collection of Information on the Peoples of Central Asia in Ancient Times*” (1851), published in St. Petersburg in 1851, was, before Abai, the first ever studied by the young Kazakh scholar Shokan Valikhanov. Although Abai did not go to great lengths to study ancient and medieval Chinese documents, he said, “Kyrgyz were called ‘burut’ by the Chinese, and I have never seen in their history the reason why they called them ‘burut’.” With these notes, he explained his acquaintance with the works of Bichurin (1829a, 1829b, 1834, 1851).

Abylkasym Firdausi, one of the great names adored by young Abai, glorified the pre-Islamic era with his epic masterpieces, raised the patriotic spirit of the Persians and Turks, and left their heroism as an example for future generations.

The poem *Shahname*, which presents history embodied in an epic legend, spread to all Eastern countries, including the Kazakhs. Young Abai was fascinated by this great work, which tells the story of the pre-Islamic heroic legends of Iran and Turan. It contains a wealth of information and historical knowledge about the ancient Turkic history of countries in Eurasia, such as ancient Parthia, the Kushan Empire, Sassanid Iran, Bukhara and Samarkand, Sogdia, and the Qara Khitan Khanate.

In the Karakhanid period, after the rise of Islam in South Kazakhstan and Zhetysu, “the faithless Turks” from the East defeated “the Pillar of Islam”, Sultan Sanzhur, at the Battle of Katauyn (1141). The Qara Khitai period, a period “when Qara Khitai flocked in, the doomsday was here”, as described by Muslims, came.

Abai appreciated the indelible heritage of the Turkic-Mongol civilisation, the Kazakh language, poetry, and music. He reminded us that the Kazakh rituals from the Turkic times (Shildekhana, Kynamende, Betashar) were intertwined with art and song, and the Kazakh funeral customs of mourning and eulogy were also ancient.

Good examples have been left by the good old folks,
Biy's speeches are full of rhymes and proverbs, be attentive.

Abai preferred the blessed life of the old days, the honesty, integrity, and humanity that people inherited from their ancestors, to the deceitfulness of people of his time. There are several plots in his words about this.

In the poem *Oldness Clothes and Other Works*, he cited dozens of ethnographic facts about Kazakhs from ancient times. He set an example for his contemporaries, saying that most of the heritage of the Turkic-Mongol and Khanate times was ethnographic and cognitive. Some Kazakhs understood this, but many did not. They did not realise that they would disappear as time passed. Abai was also engaged in the transfer of centuries-old traditional works of art, created by the folk masters, to the regional museum of local lore in Semei. Among the masses who did not understand the essence of the heritage of the nation, Abai became the only person who appreciated it.

Historically, the loss of peace and prosperity of the Turkic era was associated with the intensification of hostilities. Abai cited the folk legend that 12 biys, led by Maiky biy, went to Genghis Khan, acknowledged his power, and “raised Genghis Khan on a white felt” and elected him as the Khan. The historical basis of this legend, which exists among both Kazakhs and Bashkirs, is that when Genghis Khan's army arrived, most of the steppe people in Arka obeyed without resistance. In 1846, his father, Kunanbai, according to local legends, told Yanushkevich A. that Genghis Khan's expedition to the West started right in the Shynghistau mountain and that the origin of this great historical figure was “Kalmyk”. In other words, he was from the Mongol-speaking people.

During a handcraft contest before Genghis Khan's warriors, it was widely acknowledged that handicrafts made by the Muslims, who were subject to the Mongols, were better than those made by the Mongols. The Kagan warned them not to boast that they had defeated the Muslims but to learn from them.

Abai also highly valued the knowledge of the people from the South more than the knowledge and material values of the people from the East and Mongolia. When Abai was writing “Kitab Tasdik” in the 1890s and the scientific note “A few words about the origin of the Kazakhs”, which may have been written in the 70-80s, the ancient Turkic script had not yet become known to the world. In this regard, the critic Abai chastised the displaced people from “the Mongol side”, i.e. Mongolia, the East, because they “spent most of the time ignorant of their history, ignorant of the roots, satisfied with knowing their ancestors by word of mouth” (Abai, 1977a: 226). He precisely pointed out the shortcomings of the genealogy of the tribes and clans, which are widespread among the Kazakhs, in the narration of prehistoric history.

Abai expressed his views on the issue of the ancestry of Kazakhs. Based on some genealogical stories written by Kazakh religious figures, he warned that the widespread notion that Kazakhs originated from Arabs was wrong. He scientifically proved that this theory aimed to “make people forget about their ancestors and bring them religiously together”. At the same time, when it came to the ethnonym Kazakh, he said that the ethnonym was “likened” to the nomadic Arab people “Khuzagi” (Abai, 1977a: 226-230), which is not confirmed by modern science.

According to Abai, Kazakhs existed in the Turkic period. At the foothills of the Alatau, Kazakhs “lived with humility for a while” and they “learned things like farming and trading from their neighbours and engaged in these activities” (Abai, 1977a: 230). With this, he explained the cultural synthesis at that time in a simple and understandable language.

Abai gave examples of pre-Islamic customs and traditions of the Turkic period, which have long survived among the Kazakhs. He saw the diminishing antique beliefs as a positive phenomenon. However, he also noted that the cultural identity of the people had changed under the influence of religion. In ancient times, people were interested in the spring holiday of Nauryz as “the great day of the state”; but Abai seemed bothered that “today, the fest of Kurban Eid has replaced it”. We may notice that these words, “... it has ruined the former names of cities, lands, and peoples” (Abai, 1977a: 230), are about the time after Islam had spread across the state, and even about his own time when he saw the negative deeds of the imperial policies. By criticising, he reminds us of the freedom of the Turkic era, and I wonder if he wrote the “A few words...” article after this criticism.

In saying that the peace of the Turkic era society, of the “meek Kazakhs living in tranquility”, “must have been interrupted after Genghis Khan (Abai, 1977a: 231), Abai talked about the disappearance of peaceful life and the prevalence of a sense of predation.

Abai also noted a number of the achievements of the Turkic, pre-Islamic and pre-Mongol periods. Abai was a reformer. Abai was a critic. Whatever the legacy of ancient times, it required replenishment and modernisation. In the last stages of the Turkic period and the beginning of the post-Mongol period, the steppe people gradually began to integrate into the Arabic-Persian culture and began to build a common civilisation. Its greatest achievements were the establishment of writing, book culture, education, and science, which was highly valued by Abai.

Abai's Thoughts on the Beginning of Arabic-Persian Culture and the Rising Period of Turkic-Persian Civilisation

The next historical epochs studied by Abai were the periods when the Turkic peoples gradually approached the Arabic-Persian culture through the adoption of Islam. It happened in the Turkic period (8th-13th centuries) and culminated in the rising period of Arabic-Persian-Turkic civilisation (14th-16th centuries). The period of stagnation and decline of this civilisation was in the 17th-19th centuries. Abai, as one of the last important figures of that civilisation, paid attention to the history of the Turks and their successors, the Kazakhs, and expressed his views.

He learned the history of Islam from the clergy of the madrasas in Semei, and the world-famous scholars and great poets of the East influenced his historical knowledge.

As a child, from his adornment of great poets, he became interested in the art of speech, Arabic-Persian literature, and the history of the Turkic peoples.

Imam Ahmed-Wali as-Semei-Pulati, a historian who was a teacher of Kurbangali Khalid and a master of historical sciences, was among the “scholars of the mosque who recited the Qur’an” (Abai, 1977b: 89). He learned the history of the middle ages, Islam, the history of caliphs and khans from the manuscripts, and books of the madrasa. Abai became acquainted with the teachings of Islamic thinkers regarding the study of history, followed the direction of rational Islamic knowledge, which recognises human cognition based on reasoned criticism, and which determines the possibility of a perception of truth with the mind, the heart, and intuition. At the same time, Abai’s worldview was related to the views and historical knowledge of the great medieval thinkers of the Islamic world: Yaqub al-Kindi, Abu Nasir al-Farabi, Abu Ali Ibn Sina, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Khoja Akhmed Yasawi, Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, Abd al-Rakhman Ibn Khaldun, and Jalaladdin Dawani (Duani).

Abai saw the stages of development of human economy and culture, and human thinking, and believed that the development of science and education played an essential role in this. He welcomed criticism of Islamic culture, a sense of morality, justice, and rational knowledge, and did not like foolish following. He exemplified the kind and just deeds of history. He hated religious fanaticism and saw it as ignorance.

Abai, in a nutshell, referred to the achievements of Islamic culture in the study of history, saying that “people from India”, i.e. people from the South, were educated, “engaged in science earlier and knew where they came from” (Abai, 1977a: 226).

When he came to Semei to stay for weeks and months to seek information in the Arabic writings of the great historians of the Islamic world al-Tabari and Ibn al-Asir, he learned the rich spiritual heritage in the Persian and Chagatay languages.

Muhammad Ibn Jarir at-Tabari’s great work “Tarikh ar-Rasul wa’l Muluk”, written in the 10th century, was published in the 19th century in Leiden, the Netherlands, between 1879 and 1890 in three collections, comprising 13 volumes, and became known in Russia only in fragments. Abai, and later following Abai, Shakarim

became acquainted with the manuscript samples of this work. Shakarim began his list of books on Shejire (genealogy) with this Tabari. It is unknown whether Kazakh scholars received a Persian edition published in Paris in 1874.

The great historian Ibn al-Asir's completed work "Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh", written in the late 1230s, was also published in full in 14 volumes in Sweden and the Netherlands from 1851 to 1876. Although it was not delivered to Semei, the Arabic edition of Al-Asir published in Hijri in the year 1301 / 1883-1884 in Egypt (Cairo part in Bulak) may have reached Abai. The books published in the Ottoman Empire – Islampolis and Egypt – were in the focus of both Abai and Shakarim.

Historical literature devoted to the period from the time of Genghis Khan had been published and well studied in Tsarist Russia. Many of these texts reached Semei and Abai had the opportunity to read them.

In Abai's time, the history of Atamelik Juveini's "*Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*" (the early 1270s and 1280s) had not yet been published, had not spread around the world. Only small fragments had become known to researchers. And the great historian Rashid al-Din's *The Jami' al-Tawarikh*, written at the beginning of the 14th century, was published and distributed in the 19th century both in Persian and in translation. In October 1861, both Shokan and Abai were acquainted with this Collection of Chronicles. It was published by the orientalist I. Berezin with the Persian text.

Only some fragments of Abai's writings about the books he read and studied survived, as the nomadic lifestyle of Kazakhs and the hardships of Abai's village, as well as the turmoil and famine in the steppe in the early twentieth century, made it difficult to preserve them. Abai probably became acquainted with Rashid al-Din's Persian version of the "*Collection of Chronicles*" in 1868 and 1888 through the publication of the works of the Eastern branch of the Russian Archaeological Society (1861).

Armed with the rich historical knowledge of the Oriental scientific heritage, Abai studied the books of Zahiruddin Babur, who developed poetry, especially prose in the Chagatay language, with his amazing memoirs and impressively narrated history. Although he mentioned only Babur's "*Bâbü rnâme*" and did not list other Muslim authors, it is clear from Abai's works that he had studied history through the voluminous oriental historical records. Abai himself referred to the fact that he had read the Bâbü rnâme in the Chagatay language. Abai, and later following him Shakarim, studied the Bâbü rnâme published by Ilminsky (1856) in the Chagatay language in Kazan. Except for this book published in the Chagatay language, and the manuscripts collected by madrasas and clerics in Semei, there were enough texts of Oriental peoples published in the original languages.

One such book, the collection of documents "*Materials from the History of the Crimean Khanate*" (Materials, 1864), released in the Russian Empire and published by Velyaminov-Zernov based on the Tatar scholar Hussein Faizkhanov's "*Great Textual and Archeological Work*" (2006: 23), is still preserved in the funds of the Semei Museum of History and Local Lore. There is no doubt that Abai was familiar with this book, which had been preserved since the 19th century. Abai read a

wide range of religious, philosophical, historical, and educational books published in Kazan in Arabic, Persian, and Old Tatar. Among the books read by Abai was one translated by Kazymbek, a leading Russian orientalist of Azerbaijani origin, in 1832. It was Seyid-Muhammad Rıza Krymi's book of history "*Asseb us-sayyar*" (1832).

Certainly, the work of the Tatar people, the book *Mustafad al-Ahbar fi Ahuali Kazan wa Bulgar* written in 1885 by Şehabeddin Mercani, a great figure of universal Turkic significance (1885), as well as books by Turkic peoples, especially by Ottoman Turkish writers and historians, including Mustafa Nuri Pasha, Ahmet Vefik-Pasha, and Ahmet Jevdet-Pasha (Isin, 2012: 50-54), did not go unnoticed by Abai.

The famous work among orientalists in the Russian Empire and which strongly influenced their views on the study of medieval history, undoubtedly, is the book "*Shejire-i Turkie*" by Abulgazy Bahadur Khan from the 17th century. It was published several times during the Tsarist period, a treasure in the field of medieval history in the Steppe Turkic languages. Nowadays we can say it would be a great gift as it was published in limited numbers in 1825 in Kazan. It is still preserved in the Russian State Library in Moscow.

Abulgazy Khan's book was published twice. The one Abai and later Shakarim became acquainted with was published in the original language, and the two volumes translated into French by orientalist P. Demezson were published in 1871-1874 (*Histoire des Mogols et des Tatars, 1871-1874*).

The works of medieval Muslim authors served the spiritual world of Abai throughout his life. Through these works, Abai was convinced of, in particular, the deep roots of the Turkic ethnogenesis and formed a data-based historical view on the kinship of the Contemporary Turkic peoples. It is well known that Abai advised his "talented brother who writes poetry" to study the works of orientalist historians when he instructed him to research history and genealogy.

Alexander, Genghis Khan, and Amir Temur were named as the unique rulers when he talked about the history of the peoples of the Orient (Abai, 1977b: 236), but he disapproved of their massacres, their "greediness" for conquests (Abai, 1977b: 319-325).

Abai's Views on the Period of Stagnation and Decline of Arabic-Persian-Turkic Civilisation (17th-19th Centuries)

Until the end of the 18th century, eastern thinkers did not notice the stagnation of the Arabic-Persian-Turkic civilisation, especially in fields such as international relations, military, science and technology. The preparation of the spiritual world for renovation took another century.

In the years of Abai's perfection, after a long period of upheaval among the Turkic peoples, came the period of awakening. It was an amazing historical phenomenon that the Turkic peoples woke up at the same time in a vast geographical area. In the east of the Eurasian steppe, in the land of Semei, the great Abai's unique graceful, pure, realistic, and world-class poetry of a new nature was born in 1881-1883. In other words, in the Eurasian space, which stretches from the Western Balkan

Peninsula to Southern and Eastern Siberia, Mongolia, and China, the pioneers of a new type of world-class cultural revolution were destined to be Abai Kunanbaiuly in the East and Ismail Gaspyraly in the West.

Abai's time was a period when the Kazakhs had departed far from the Turkic-Mongol civilisation, but had not yet got rid of the Arabic-Persian-Turkic civilisation, and not yet entered the East Slavic-Turkic civilisation. That is why Abai was able to combine the last two civilisations. As he said, "I was the end of the old"; in a reformist way, he opened the door to a new civilisation with a lot of risks and dangers.

Abai became acquainted with the works of the European thinkers and scholars, and with many other spiritual masterpieces of the West, mostly in the mid-1880s, at the age of 40.

I ignored science when I was young,
Not examined it even though I sensed its value.
It has escaped from my palm when I am mature,
I knew I stretched my hand to it too late.

Thus, he regrets the early years that he wasted. The objective reason is that the public library and museum opened in Semei in 1883. Abai became acquainted with the library mainly through the publications that he began to collect in the 70-80s. Now and then, scholars asked what publications Abai read. The answer to this question has not yet been studied and given by the scholars who study Abai. Although the four-volume *Positive Policy Systems* by the French philosopher Auguste Comte published in French in 1851-1854 had not yet been obtained by Abai, the Russian analysis of the work published in 1867, 1873, and 1877 (Lesevich, 1877; Poletika, 1873) had reached Semei.

The formation of Abai's philosophical and historical ideas was influenced by the works of evolutionists. He was acquainted with the teachings of Charles Darwin (1864, 1865, 1868, 1873), who showed the vast panoramic development of life on Earth, and with the writings of Darwin's Bulldog, Thomas Huxley (1866). He was also familiar with the work of George Lewis (1875-1876), an English philosopher.

American philosopher John Draper's book *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* was translated into Russian in 1866 and republished in 1873-1874, 1880, and 1885, which allowed Abai to get acquainted with these books. Henry Buckle's *History of Civilisation* in England was also published in Russian several times – in 1862-1864, 1866, and 1874-1875 – and also became a treasure of the public library in Semei. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics: The Conditions Essential to Happiness Specified* was published in 1872. There are works by French historian Hippolyte Taine published in Russian in 1866, 1872, and 1876 in the Semei library. Through them, Abai was able to get acquainted with this philosopher and aesthetist's teachings about art and the history of English literature. The exact year of publication of these works that Abai had studied is still under investigation.

Abai turned to the research of John Mill, who was named the most influential English philosopher of the nineteenth century. To deepen his historical knowledge, Abai, in addition to individual researchers' works, reviewed historical material in

periodicals and magazines published in the Russian Empire. As a regular reader of the Semei library, there is evidence that Abai also studied the series of articles *John Stuart Mill and His School* published by O. Rossell (1873) in the journal *European Herald* during 1873-1874.

Here, in response to the question What books did Abai's library consist of?, we give a list of specific publications from the Semei library.

Focusing on the achievements of Western civilisation, Abai was influenced to a certain degree in the formation of his societal opinion and historical views, especially by Auguste Comte about positivism and John Mill in political economy. Abai preferred Mill's idea of achieving social harmony in society that the state should have a mission to support low-income, vulnerable social groups, rather than the theory that social inequality should be resolved by uncompromising struggle. It is clear that in the Soviet era, dominated by Marxism, this view of Abai, which did not support the ideology of class struggle, was not promoted. In the works of revolutionary ideologues, Abai was limited to the assumption that he could not convey his thoughts. Abai knew all about it, but he felt that class ideology was an ineffective way to shock society, to break the spiritual continuity to modernise the world, and he felt the danger. In this regard, the poet Kokbai, who accompanied Abai for many years, wrote:

I have learned from Abai before,
Eventually, a big struggle takes the world...

Thus, he remembered the words of Abai that many did not pay much attention to earlier. Most of these studies were devoted to worldview and history, so Abai observed the various phenomena of modern history, longed for the development path for his native people. He saw the way to it and believed that there was a demand for science and education in the country.

The great tragedy of Abai is that his people, who fell under colonial oppression, got divided into fractions and each leader assigned themselves as the headmaster. Such a nation without unity and hope was not ready to rise to the heights of world civilisation.

I don't expect you to correct yourselves,
Now that you lost your own will,
Thus grieves Abai.

Abai lamented that the history in the works of ancient Kazakh Zhyraus hadn't passed down to the people; that the Kazakh modern poets copied only the expressions of traditional poetry, but did not learn from the phenomena of world civilisation; that the publishers of the poets Dulat and Shortanbay's books, which criticised the Tsar colonial reign (Babataiuly, 1880; Kanaiuly, 1890), added their own words into the books and made them one patched, the other assembled (Abai, 1977b: 94).

Abai's acquaintance with the research of the world's leading thinkers was because he was a regular reader of the Semei Public Library, which opened for the first time in Kazakhstan, and had a rich book fund. Almost all the works translated from European languages and read and studied by Abai were published in

St. Petersburg, the capital of the Empire. Abai read a wide range of scientific literature from the Semei Statistical Committee, the library, and the museum. The books in these places were collected enthusiastically by people whom Abai had talked to and who were good companions. They were Russian, Polish, Jewish, and German representatives of intellectuals exiled in Siberia and Kazakhstan because of attending various political movements and organisations. Some of the literature that formed Abai's historical knowledge came from books published by the imperial societies of Russia, especially the Russian Geographical Society, ethnographic, and Siberian publications.

Through these publications, Abai became well acquainted with the life, customs, and kinship of the Turkic peoples of Siberian Kazakhs. At the same time, we notice that Abai was acquainted with the research of Vasily Radlov (1867), Grigory Potanin (1881-1883), Nikolai Yadrintsev (1882), and others. His citation of examples from "Yasash Tatars" in the Minusinsk county of Yenisei province or the Turks and Kalmyks in Biysk and Kuznetsk is evidence of this.

In Abai's rise to the world level of thought, among his friends, of course, the naturalist Eugene Michaelis had an especially great influence. Michaelis was from a russified German family who earlier moved to the Baltics. From 1869 he worked in the regional department as an assistant clerk and then held a junior official position, performing individual tasks. Michaelis left a deep mark on the cultural development of the Semei region. His friendship with Abai probably began in 1871, when he was in Kishik-Tobyqty, and in 1872 in Konyr-Kokshe Tobyqty. Before Abai became fluent in Russian, he obtained a large amount of information about the history of the Empire and its internal situation from Michaelis, who came to Semei. After E. Michaelis moved to Oskemen in 1882, he used his talent and scientific potential to explore the region in several areas. The friendship between Abai and Michaelis continued in Oskemen too. From their life experience, Abai's friends also contributed to Abai's critical view of the domestic and foreign policy of the Empire and his understanding of colonialism as a deprivation of wills of the people. At the same time, in the 1880s, the Pole S. Gross and the Russian A. Leontiev, who were younger than Abai, received a lot of information from Abai in collecting data on traditional Kazakh laws. An even younger Baltic Jew, Black A., accompanied and talked to Abai in 1883-1884 and 1887-1888. Abai's teaching was not limited to his students at home. He enlightened his European friends with information about Kazakh history and life.

Abai's passion for world study, history, culture, and art was not only noticed by his close friends. We can say that some officials who headed the Semei region were also supportive of his research. Among the military governors of the Semei region in the 1860s and 1880s, General G. A. Kolpakovsky (1865-1867) then, and later the Lieutenant-General of the Society of Natural Sciences, Anthropology, Ethnography I. F. Babkov (1867-1868), a member of the Geographical Society, then Lieutenant-General V.A. Poltoratsky (1868-1878) took part in several geographical expeditions in the region. They contributed to the formation of the rich library fund in Semei, the richest then in Kazakhstan. We believe that during Abai's years of scientific

research, generals A. P. Trotsenko (1878-1883), V. S. Tsiklinsky (1883-1887), and A. F. Karpov (1891-1901) were influential in enriching Semei with books.

When considering the ways of overcoming the colonial oppression of the native people, Abai felt the need for spiritual development through education and science as a prerequisite and promoted this in his work.

The poet Kokbai, who engaged in reading and writing from an early age, once spoke about Abai's reform thoughts:

The late Abai was not obsessed with the old,
He did not think much of the obsolete.
Direct learning appeared in Egypt,
He was thirsty to know when it would come.

We understand that this was his appreciation of the new system of phonetics education, initiated by Gasparyal in the Crimea, as well as his desire for educational literature from Istanbul and Egypt.

If there was a positive trend in the East or people who were looking for ways to innovate, then Abai tried to set their good deeds as an example. In this context, Abai connected the reformist activity of his contemporary, the Shah of Iran Nasir al-Din, with history and his ancestry. Nadir Shah Afshar, who became famous in the 18th century, and Nasir al-Din Shah came from the Hajar tribe, whose ancestors, like those of Kazakhs, came from Mangul [Mongolia]. History shows that their ancestry is unknown and that they came to power during Hulagu's conquest of Iran in the mid-13th century. Abai, based on historical data, saying:

We are not ashamed of our Kazakhs coming out of Mongolia, but we are ashamed of our staying without education and science. Anyone successful is successful because of arts, and who would stop them by saying that their ancestors are Kalmyks? (Abai, 1977a: 226-227).

Conclusion

Abai studied the world and absorbed human values. Thus, while studying history, the concepts of history formed in different territories constructed his historical views. In both the Eastern and Western worlds, Abai sought knowledge that was based on a sane mind, rationality, and positivity, and that positively impacted the development of mankind.

Abai came to know the notion of historians that dynastic historiographies of ancient and medieval China prove a circular changing pattern of epochs – establishment, rise, maturity, stagnation, decline, and revival. From the Arab, Persian, and Turkic historiographies, he saw that when a country was ruled by a single, wise person, it would advance, and it benefited the people; and with a wicked ruler, it would fall into ruin, degradation, division, and poverty. From the works of European historians, he saw that the technological development, the order of the military, the cultural maturity of the masses, the achievements of enlightenment and science served empires, advanced developed nations, whereas empires kept their subordinates in darkness and spread the notion that they belonged to the communities who had no history. In the traditional Kazakh historical understanding, Abai's people

lived in a society on the stage of constant history that did not change much except for the alteration of peace and war, and “the first wave of seniors, the next wave of juniors, will die in turn, but (the world) looks the same”.

Through the teachings of history, Abai feared the various evils facing the people, thus he called them for economic, political, and cultural progress to save themselves. Abai’s historical views open the way to a better understanding of both the poems and words of the great poet and thinker.

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CHAPTER – VI

ABAI KUNANBAIULY'S LEGACY IN PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE

Islamiya KHALITOVA

In this article, the main ideas of the poet's legacy, the idea of presenting a complete human opinion to students as an ideal, Abai's (Ibrahim) views on intelligence and an intelligent person, and the ways of convincing people to achieve intelligence, his views on the age features of people, his didactics, etc. are discussed. And the "concept of introducing the heritage of Abai Kunanbaiuly in the educational process" is recommended. In order to substantiate our opinion, specific examples from the poems and Words of the great thinker are given. Pedagogical-psychological and socio-pedagogical ideas in Abai's works have not yet found a full place in textbooks. In addition, Abai's works should be reconsidered in school textbooks in accordance with the age of the children.

The main thing is to make sure that everyone knows the pedagogical ideas of the legacy of Abai Kunanbaiuly, uses them in everyday life, and follows the path he showed. To do this, first of all, it is necessary to know the works of the poet, and then to analyse them mentally, to create opportunities for young people and children to choose what they need, and use it in life, because this shows how to solve the topical issues of today.

The purpose of the study is to consider the possibility of using pedagogical ideas in the works of Abai Kunanbaiuly in solving modern problems of education. In this regard, the following main tasks were identified: 1) clarification of pedagogical ideas in the works of the great poet; 2) consideration of the possibility of using the poet's heritage in educational practice.

The novelty of this study is to show the pedagogical ideas of Abai Kunanbaiuly and ways to apply them in educational practice.

Methods of analysis, classification, grouping, study of experience, and comparison were used in the research.

The first article on Abai's pedagogical ideas was written in 1934 by Sh. Alzhanov. In it, the author reveals a number of issues and emphasises the need to study the pedagogical views of the poet. A comprehensive study of Abai's works was carried out by famous figures and famous scientists, such as A. Bokeikhanov, A. Baitursynuly, Z. Aimaurov, M. Dulatuly, Sh. Kudaiberdiuly, M. Auezov, K. Mukhametkhanov, M. Myrzakhmetov, and M. Orynbekov, among other researchers.

Since 2013, Abai's heritage has been taught in secondary schools and universities in our country. The next task is to systematically and consistently direct it toward how to solve today's problems in the lessons of the poet's legacy in schools, colleges, and universities. It's time to apply Abai's philosophy into daily use. Therefore, according to previous researches on world practice of Abai studies, and on the essence of his works, we present our methodological and pedagogical opinion as a theoretical concept, based on the historical and pedagogical experience of its application in educational practice.

The Concept of "Introduction of Abai's Heritage" in the Educational Process

The concept provides for the following key issues: the creation of a holistic, individual-oriented system that fully covers the pedagogical views of Abai; the universality of the concept so that it can be used as a basis for the application of Abai's pedagogical ideas in education. In this regard, we take the conclusion that "his main goal is to personify people to bring them to the level of a complete human being" (Orynbayev, 1995: 15). As a result of studying the history and theoretical issues of the introduction of Abai Kunanbaiuly's legacy in the educational process, the "concept of the introduction of Abai Kunanbaiuly's legacy in the educational process" (Khalitova, 1998) was developed for the first time, the main principles of which are as follows:

First, the formation of the concept of a unitary person in the minds of students. According to Abai's legacy, a unitary person – a "perfect human" (tolyk adam) – must be conveyed to these students through the concept of an ideal person. Analysis of all of Abai's works shows that the ultimate goal of his lifelong search is the nature of human being, including the "perfect human". In Abai's concept, a unitary person – an ideal person – is a person who has the following system of qualities: 1) integrity of mind – free of "mental illness"; 2) integrity of abilities and qualities – the ability to serve for the development and formation of human qualities – "the time when one is full of strong desire to try every challenge"; 3) spiritual strength – "a strong, bound heart" (Abai, 2002: 116); 4) strong faith – "have faith in yourself, only your work and mind will make you survive anything"; 5) the righteous direction of action – "Do not be a child of the father, be a child of mankind". Combining all this in one direction is the goal of the contractor. Abai's ideal is a "perfect human". But it offers a number of ideals due to the diversity of

the inner world. They are: the Almighty, His Messenger, the Prophets, the Rulers, the Scholars, the Sufis, the Perfect Muslims, and so on. The main belief (credo) of Abai here is that “one can be good following good people” (Abai, 2002: 108).

The second principle is to encourage children and young people to set good goals. According to Abai, the essence of human psychology is the unity of three things: “Keep all three of mind, strength, and heart, and you will be complete, outstanding from others.” It is science that governs the three, and the scientific self-knowledge of each person means that “science is about the three”. These should be a good goal to achieve.

The third principle is to teach students how to improve themselves. The integrity of the inner world with the unitarity of the individual is the self-improvement of each person through self-search, love for humanity, belief in God, self-belief, acquiring knowledge, search for science, and hard work. In Abai, this is achieved through “finding the right deed” (Abai, 2002: 93), “knowledge is fortune itself”, “if you pay attention to science in the world, it is the fortune itself”, and “if you work restlessly, you will be fed without begging”. These are the ways to form an ideal person.

The fourth conclusion is that in order to convey the poet’s legacy to students, we have to consistently show the way of Abai’s personal development process. Based on his works, we should portray a child Abai, a teenager Abai, a young man Abai, a poet Abai, a public figure, a thinker Abai. Here, it is necessary to take into account the age and characteristics of students.

The fifth conclusion is the educational nature of the poet’s legacy lies in his psychological background. That is to say, Abai bases his work on the power of the art of speech to stimulate the human subconscious, to motivate or inhibit it. Especially in his poems, the method of persuasion has the potential to influence the consciousness and feelings of the individual, thereby organising and regulating his actions – to strengthen self-confidence and increase confidence in others. Therefore, we can teach students the method of persuasion based on the poems of the poet. This allows them to adapt to self-education.

Society is changing, so are people. This means that the ideals of young people and children will change too. By the time the science of pedagogy begins to think, the child will have changed. Today, all the younger generation wants to immediately see the benefits of their education and apply the results in practice. We know that this is material wealth, and it is not wrong or bad. The problem is to find a way to achieve this wealth without losing humanity, to teach it. It is a modern requirement to seek the help of Abai’s works in the effective organisation of educational work in accordance with the times.

Abai’s Ideals

First, he was devoted to Allah, and by expressing his opinion about him he sought to answer many questions, such as what is the meaning of God, and “God is true, and so is His word,” “to say God is easy” (Abai, 2002: 13-56), etc. In his poems and Words 28, 34, 35, 36, 38, and 45 (Abai, 2002: 114-153) he discussed Allah,

faith, fasting, prayer, etc. In Word-38, which shows the eight attributes of God, God created man in His image and gave him all eight attributes, so everyone should adapt and strive to be like God. "Do not say in your ignorance that you cannot liken yourself to Allah. Indeed, the creations of the Most High cannot be exactly reproduced, but you can follow in His paths in all your deeds," he said (Abai, 2002: 126).

Abai classifies people according to their character and intellect – "perfect human", "human", "imperfect human", and "non-human" – and sets out his criteria: human – more or less ignorant, imperfect is "completely ignorant," and "non-human" is the most ignorant of ignorants. The ideal one is the one who will do his utmost to ensure that he is not regarded as an ignoramus and an unreliable person who doesn't keep his promises, as ill-mannered, arrogant, and a shameless liar, a spiteful critic and a crook. Aware of the baseness of these vices, he will aspire to be above them. This quality is peculiar to a man of conscience, reasonable, and high-minded. He dislikes hearing people singing his praises but, on the other hand, will allow no one to sully his name (Abai, 2005: 106). Abai considers a person as a whole. Therefore, in the application of these ideas in the educational process, it should be noted that his works simultaneously affect several aspects of people. In our opinion, if the "perfect human" can be an ideal for individuals, the formation of a person who "holds the mind, strength, and heart" should be the backbone, the ultimate goal of the organisation of educational work through the work of Abai. During teaching practice at school, a fifth-grade student holds an educational hour on the theme "Try to be even if you are not..." The student, using the role-playing method, "Father Knowledge", manages to solve the dispute between the three, saying that "only three things are human qualities: hot energy, bright mind, good heart... one cannot exist without another, science will know about the three". At the school, students held an evening called "The Voice of Abai", which was based on the poet's poem "Let your mind be as cold as ice". It is expedient to follow the following system in conveying Abai's views on God in 38 th Word: the poet's words can be used as a basis for the ideals of Almighty God, prophets, saints, rulers, scholars, and perfect Muslims. If we want to do any of these, we must first know and recognise them. During the teaching practice, during a part of the educational hours spent by students at school, students focused on Word 16 (Khalitova, 1999: 12-25).

Another ideal of Abai is that the saints, or those who are in love with God and religion, have "forgotten the world, the benefits of the world". Abai did not urge people to give up the benefits of the world; he just said not to overdo it. Another ideal proposed by Abai is the hakims. They "speak of their benefits to the world... those who seek the cause of everything are called hakims... the world would be ruined without the hakims who seek truth", so they do not abandon the benefits of everything, but they look at the cause of everything, the world, the phenomenon. They are truth-seekers. At the same time, the practical student conducted an open educational lesson for eighth grade on the topic "The model of the great thinker", in which he called Abai "the Hakim" and tried to explain the meaning of the word and convey it to the students.

In addition, one group of people mentioned by Abai are scientists. He says that “not every scientist is a hakim”, they are the ones who lead others, “there is the Zahiri science in the world, they call what is said a proverb, and those who run to this proverb become a scientist” (Abai, 2002: 137). Therefore, scientists know the world and propagandise it. During the educational hour, “in order not to extinguish a ray of light, which was lit by Abai”, held by an intern at the school 19th Word were used:

The more a person sees and hears, the more it knows. One may learn a good deal by listening to wise men. It is not enough to be endowed with a brain – only by hearing and memorising the teachings of the learned and by avoiding vices one can grow up a complete person (Abai, 2002: 105).

In response to the question of what qualities we should take into account in order to understand and imitate the ideals for the younger generation, the poet focuses on the characteristics of “big” people. In his 21st Word, he includes a person he considers valuable – a person of greatness. They are the people “who are aware of the baseness of these vices, he will aspire to be above them. This quality is peculiar to a man of conscience, reasonable, and high-minded” (Abai, 2002: 106). At the same time, what are the ideals of today’s youth? Were they chosen correctly? Who are their ideals? The answer to this is Abai’s statement that “one can be good following good people” (Abai, 2002: 108), “the future, the past and the present – the goods carefully think out all three”. This is the ideal of teenagers and children. The educational lesson held by students in the seventh grade on the theme “If you want to be a man” at school is in line with this opinion. During this lesson, students sought to answer such questions as “Why should I do good deeds? What does it mean to be human?”

The Method of “Persuasion” Used by Abai

One of the properties of Abai’s works, which is not fully revealed, is the power of suggestion. Treatments of various diseases by influencing the soul and psyche, inspiring in Aityses, focusing energy in wars, condolences in death, encouraging people, etc. are not new for the Kazakh people. The Kazakh people have paid special attention to a single word or phrase, especially a poem, and used the logic, rhythm, tone of voice and its content. Abai was deeply aware of this quality of the art of speech, and used it in his life and wrote in his works. Abai said that “the power of the word burst into flames...”, and used the phrases “created by flame and fire,” “runs through all the vessels”, and “easy for tongue and close to heart”.

Promoting the ability of the art of speech to be used in the theory and practice of regulating the human psyche, scientists have argued that the method of repeating the “formula” in the form of words should be used many times to make it a habit. If we look at Abai’s works in this context, we can see that he used this approach to regulate his feelings and moods, and then his consciousness and actions. He persuades himself by saying “Calm down, my heart, calm down”, “There is no gain without pain”. Here, “Calm down, my heart, calm down” is a phrase, a word-like formula used by scientists. The poet, who is worried about his nation, comforts himself by saying, “You are on the right path.” There are many such examples in

the poems of the poet. The above examples are convincing evidence that Abai used the art of speech to focus his energy, strengthen his faith, regulate his behaviour, regulate his consciousness, and to impose an opinion on himself or others. This makes it possible to use the inspiring power of the poet's poems in educational work. The inspiring power of the poet's poems is an indispensable tool in the self-education of young people and children, especially in the regulation of actions, behaviour, and consciousness (Khalitova, 2005: 61).

I.E. Schwartz (1971), who first tested and proved the use of the method of persuasion in the educational process, used it to regulate the behaviour of students during training, to mobilise their energy to learn a subject, to get rid of bad habits. In this way, in a short period of time, a person can learn to control himself. In educating future teachers, teaching them to educate themselves in this way is presented in the textbook of pedagogical skills.

In order to use the method of persuasion and self-persuasion in the elimination of shortcomings, everyone "seeks to eliminate them, taking into account their shortcomings to improve their strengths", notes the scientist G. S. Belyaev, who used this method (Belyaev et al., 1977: 120). Abai says, "I took my flaws, I looked at my character, and I thought about checking." According to scientists, first of all, it is necessary to look at oneself and identify shortcomings in character, consciousness, and actions. Then he looks for an answer to the question "How could I contain it?" Taking into account the ideals proposed by Abai, everyone can educate themselves in a way that is similar to those ideals. It should be noted that according to the principle of using the method of persuasion, words, phrases, sentences, verses that leave a negative impression on the human mind cannot be taken as a formula (Khalitova, 2015a).

The Concept of "Reason" in the Heritage of Abai

He taught the steppe people to live in freedom, to believe only in overcoming various difficulties, to find solutions to difficult situations without waiting for help from others, to "achieve everything on their own" (Al-Farabi). Abai was a thinker of that people. He wrote his thoughts about the mind in the form of poems. In his poem "One day is less than a day – youth" he gives two types of advice to young people: first, the joy of finding wisdom; second, the joy of finding livestock. Mindfulness is the accumulation of knowledge, the search for science, the search for art and learning, the zeal for work, the thinking of the future, the insight from an early age. According to the poet, the mind is a measuring scale of the human mind and intellect; the sermon "Measure the mind..." means that the mind can measure, predict the end of each case, check the results of the work in advance.

The Concept of "Wisdom" in the Legacy of Abai

Life has taught the people of the steppe, who live without livestock, to be free, to believe only in themselves in overcoming various difficulties, to find solutions to difficult situations without waiting for help from others, and "to achieve everything with their own wisdom" (Al-Farabi). Abai was a thinker of that people. He wrote his thoughts about wisdom in the form of poems. In his poem "Youth is

a short-lived epoch”, he gives two types of advice to young people: first, the joy of finding wisdom; second, the joy of finding fortune. We can explain to young people that mindfulness is the accumulation of knowledge, the search for science, the search for knowledge and learning, the zeal for work, the thinking of the future, and having insight into the world from an early age. According to the wise poet, wisdom is a measuring scale of the human mind and intellect, a wise person can measure, predict the end of each case, check the results of the case in advance. And “... one without wisdom has no sorrow too, and he doesn’t care if he is right or wrong” – a foolish person does not see through anything. He thinks only in terms of his own interest. That’s probably why Abai said, “a wise man cares for the people” or “he who cares for others is wise”. He also said, “Don’t be a son of a father, but of mankind”, which we can set as a guidance in our everyday life. The verses of the poet in this context, “when confronted with something, do not hurriedly believe before your wisdom believes”, also show the guiding function of wisdom (Abai, 2003: 61).

According to Abai, some people do not have wisdom, they are short-sighted, they cannot predict the future, they are ignorant, and usually mentally weak. For example, the full character of a fool is described as shameless, poor, jobless ... he doesn’t know the value of wisdom... no wisdom, no sorrow, doesn’t care if he is right or wrong, which is necessary for thoughtful young people. It can be used as a test to check a person’s mental ability. Although he praised the combination of these two human abilities, saying that “strength and intelligence are the pursuit of the fugitive”, he indicates that such people who have intellect and strength, but lack the senses, cannot do good to others. This opinion is affirmed as “let your wisdom be as cold as ice” (Khalitova, 2015b: 202), which means being attentive, resourceful, quick-thinking, visionary, and quick-witted. The question of what kind of person we call wise, what is wisdom anyway, and how do we know if a child is smart or stupid comes to the mind of a rational person. These can be analysed based on the words of Abai.

According to the views of the erudite Abai on wisdom, its function can be determined: wisdom directs, guards, expresses, criticises, guides, sees, measures, observes, knows, establishes, and predicts; as for the quality of wisdom – wisdom is fast, strong, and superior; as a human quality, there is wisdom or there is not, abundant, insufficient, scarce, unstable; wisdom – something that can be achieved.

“Didactics” in Abai’s Works

The section of didactics of pedagogy (Kunantaeva and Khalitova, 2013) considers the theoretical aspects of teaching/learning. The main concepts in it are the main concepts in the poems and Words of the great teacher Abai, such as “read”, “learn”, “know”, “understand”, and “seek”. The concept of “know” or “knowing”, which is the core of didactic ideas in the works of Abai Kunanbaiuly, allows us to understand its meaning in the theory of teaching. Textbooks and various dictionaries contain references to knowledge and no analysis of the concept of “knowing”. The main conclusion of this concept in the poet’s legacy is “to learn through engaging in

various things". He says, "I sent my son to a madrasa to know." The concept of "knowing" is the essence of all his ideas for education.

In the poem "Don't be proud without science" (Abai, 2002: 61-62) he says, "Know the words of the person who wrote it, not the name... if you know and don't tell others, everything you know is nothing... don't be deprived of truth ..." In the poem "Studying in a boarding school", he writes, "What they desire to know is Russian language, ... if he thinks he knows more while knowing less... demand to know more" (Abai, 2002: 58-59) – here "know" refers to the purpose of education: for example, one seeks knowledge and science in order to serve the people, for a reasonable life, while another one seeks knowledge and thinks of one's own interests rather than the interests of the people. This is evidenced by the words: "... who will be sheltered... if a nation is eroded, what they seek will be wealth". According to the poet, knowledge is a guarantee of humanity, intelligence, and a useful life. The word "know" in the poet's poem "Kozhekbai" (Abai, 2002: 65) refers to the reality of life and the intellect of man in the search for a way to adapt to it. His concept of "know" reflects the short-sighted "ignorant" shallowness of human behaviour, which is "... without knowledge, nor thoughts of benefits and harms". In these lines from the poem "How does he, who passes between the heavy and the light, know?", he describes perishable human relationships, which is accompanied by a delicate inner feeling, the deeds of a fool in the time of trouble, and the fact that foolish people are always weak before knowledgeable ones as "when someone who knows comes, the foolish can't find a word to say".

If we dig deep into Abai's works and study what is behind them, we can see the didactic meaning of them "... a good word can be appreciated by a person who knows it, but you should say it only when the right time comes." Doesn't that mean that everyone has a right time to listen, depending on the person's mental state? Here the word is directed to those who know and those who do not know, as the poet says, "Shouldn't he say it just because you don't understand?" It is not possible to fully master the concept of "know" in the works of the poet, to reveal its didactic meaning and use it in teaching practice until understanding the meaning of the words "knowledge" and "knowing" in this passage.

The concept of "knowing" of the great poet is a measure of human skills and knowledge, because the superiority of one over another can be seen only in his skills and knowledge. But the word "clever" (bilgish), on the other hand, is synonymous with the words "ridiculous, selfish, naughty", in connection with the words "Seer of cunning, connoisseur of unfortunate" in the poem "Eight Legs" (Segiz ayaq) (Abai, 2002: 90).

The poet's concept of "to know" is assessed on the basis of the abilities and qualities of an individual. "Go ahead if you want to speak... my words are valuable for the knowledgeable, worthless for the ignorant" – the value of the word depends on the knowledge, understanding, and comprehension of the listeners. Those who cannot reach the meaning of the word are called "ignorant", because the poet concludes that "the way to know is open", believing that no matter what he does, an educated person will find his way.

Another aspect of the concept of “to know” in the poems connects a wide range of worldviews with the knowledge of the individual. He concludes that to know the world is to “see the way, to know the surroundings, to wander the world”. Everyone’s self-knowledge means “know yourself”. In the poet’s mind, knowledge is the ability to think, to ponder, and to predict things that are invisible to the naked eye. “Let your wisdom criticise what you see and know”, “learn from what you see and know” – to be impressed and evaluate it; to distinguish between good and bad, beneficial and harmful; to follow, imitate, and to take it as an example accordingly. This is the didactic meaning of knowledge.

One of the didactic concepts in the works of the poet is “to learn”. If we look for the content of Abai’s concept of “to learn” in his poems, he points to honest work, honest living, acquiring wisdom, earning wealth, and from whom to learn. He said, “Listen to the elders, the father, the learned.” In the poem “Eight Legs” the idea of “learn how to harvest, how to trade, look for wealth with intelligence ... don’t be delighted until you do” looks into the long-term future. For example, to earn money, to be successful, you have to learn a diversity of knowledge. The essence of this phrase “to learn” is to “learn quickly, but do not forget quickly”. One of the main principles of this didactics is the consolidation, fundamentality, thoroughness, and eternity of knowledge.

Another didactic statement of the great poet is “to read” (study/learn). The beginning of both knowledge and science starts with this “learning”. The Great Qur’an begins with the words “Read in the name of God”. Abai said, “I did not hate to let my children study,” and my goal was to let them “know”. In the same poem “Studying in a boarding school” he reveals the purpose of studying in more detail: “More science in the book, do not be lazy to read...” (Abai, 2002: 59). The modern requirements of studying began in Abai’s time. Learning is the main activity of the young generation, and the essence of the first years of their life is learning. Through studying, the activity of acquiring knowledge, learning about everything, learning about the environment increases, and the interest for them is aroused. At a time when the value of education is high, the didactic meaning of Abai’s opinion about reading in his legacy is that “the one who studies knows every word...” In the notion of a poet, the one who studies “thinks”, “knows”, is “learned”. In the end, he emphasises that the one who studies is “wise”.

Therefore, from the comments of the poet, we can determine the following aims of the learning process:

- to awaken children’s passion for learning from an early age;
- to encourage them to comprehend what they have read through deep thinking;
- to teach them how to learn and study diligently;
- to habituate them to read books;
- to educate them to use the acquired knowledge in honest and fair deeds.

Active search is a key component of the learning process, and it involves many things, including types of thinking – analysis, classification, grouping,

generalisation, individualisation, reasoning, etc. In didactics it is given in this sense. But the didactics section of textbooks does not comment on this.

It is today's demand to teach students to search gradually from the first day of training. The aim is to teach them not only to seek science, but also to search in general, and how to do it. The wording of the search, as described by the great poet Abai Kunanbaiuly, has many facets. It consists of "searching through the pages of a book", "eagerness for searching", "finding masters to learn from", "searching for skills", etc. In schools and other educational institutions, all this is done through teaching:

- teaching to search by reading a book;
- teaching to search with sincerity in the learning process;
- developing curiosity and eagerness to know;
- creating conditions for them to be able to ask real experts what they are looking for, learning from masters;
- persuading students that science, education, skills, well-being, and a meaningful life will be realised through searching, and using what they have found.

Understanding or comprehension is closely related to the thinking activity of reading, learning, and studying. The comprehensive judgements about comprehension in the poet's poems are expressed not only as the understanding of the word, but also as the distinguishing of the essence, through comprehension or deep thinking. For example, in the poem "Old, sorrowful, but awake", he said that everyone hears the words, but "there is no one to share my grief, no one to comprehend" (Abai, 2002: 46). It settles in someone's mind and let's them think, but it "goes out of another's ear". In his poem "If someone's man dies", Abai said, "You can't even understand a poem, let alone making it ... the sated ignorant wouldn't comprehend words". To understand it, one must be "open-minded". For that, the words to be said are required to be pleasant, appropriate, harmonious, sweet, and straightforward. To the question of what qualities a person must have in order to understand the word, the poet says in the poem "Words from knowledgeable": a mirror-hearted person means that a person with pure intention, a sharp mind, and good skills "gives sincere attention to understanding" (Abai, 2002: 87).

As a habit is formed during life, it can be changed and formed into other needs. The erudite Abai, understanding the habit and its place in education, criticised the bad habits among the Kazakhs. "A habit you've developed in three or four years decides your whole life," he said. He reasoned in the famous song "Eight Legs" that a bad habit can quickly become ingrained in a person, by saying, "It's a bad person's habit to just agree with what people say". It is known that one of the purposes of teaching and educating is to form good habits and good behaviour in a person. Connecting the poet's opinion that "the right thing to do for a young man is to have strong desire to learn, different skills, sound personality, and good behaviour" with the educational purpose of the general educational process, it is necessary to form in students the habit of learning activities aimed at seeking knowledge and sharpening intelligence (Abai, 2002: 54). The essence of didactic ideas in the

poems of the poet is to find science, skills, and wealth, but to do so, first you need to study, learn, and work for it. In the poem called “Youth is a short-lived epoch”, he said, “First, let’s seek as many skills as possible, or at least earn some wealth through hard work” (Abai, 2002: 53).

Description of Age Features in Abai’s Heritage

In the study of the poet’s legacy, we mentioned, “From a toddler to an old man, everyone wants to be rich, and doesn’t being rich mean making money? Then, Abai will teach you how to do it” (Khalitova, 1998: 175). The verses of the poem “Do not be passionate, do not rejoice in playing and laughing in vain” advise children not to be addicted to games and waste time. He specifies what to strive for, what to learn, and what qualities to acquire from an early age: he provided such much-needed important ideas for our time as “desire, work, deep thought, contentment, and compassion”, which are in short supply.

In a time when everyone praises themselves and wants to “get ahead” of others, Abai said that “man is superior to man only in intellect and science”. Continuing this view, in the poem “Don’t be until finding science”, by saying “If you want to be a man, your desire and your life is ahead”, he reveals the meaning of the phrase “a promising child” and “an unpromising child” that adults often tell their children, as well as the general words “Being a human being”. The main credo of the poet is “Be like even if you are not”. In this poem, the poet enumerates the benefits of science:

- 1) Expansion of the possibility of finding one’s place in life through science;
- 2) Aspiration to become a scientist opens the way to using the existing abilities for one’s own benefit;
- 3) The desire to be like a scientist is a purposeful search, which makes a person’s life interesting and meaningful;
- 4) Science is fortune (wealth). There is no child or adult who does not want to be rich. Therefore, science is the most honest and humane way to find this wealth;
- 5) “Science is wealth” means science itself is possessions, property, and wealth. We see this in our daily life.

Many works are dedicated to the education and upbringing of the younger generation, as it is important to take into accounts their age and personal characteristics. However, despite the availability of national materials, we are still waiting for the original work.

In his poems and prose, the great poet Abai described the stages of human development in close connection with the dialectic of life. It is difficult to say for sure whether he was aware of scientific psychology, but Words 31, 32, 33, and 42 (Abai, 2003: 116-119, 149) make you think that he was probably familiar with psychology. In any case, in his poems and words, he describes the intellect, actions, behaviours, personalities, inner world, ways of life, etc. of people of different ages. Let’s look at the following verses about people’s lives: child, juvenile, young man, adult, and old:

Childhood is passed, you know?
Are you a young man, now?
Did you see your youth passed, too?
And now, aren't you old? (Abai, 2003: 159).

Here, three important stages of human life have been mentioned: childhood, manhood, and old age. He considered these three stages as the key moments of a person's life, because he shows the strengths and weaknesses of each of them and shows how to correct them. In the seventh Word, Abai states, "A baby will grasp at brightly coloured objects; it will put them in its mouth, taste them and press them against its cheek. It will start at the sound of a pipe. Later, when a child hears the barking of a dog, the noises of animals, the laughter or weeping of people, it gets excited and asks about all that it sees and hears: "What's that? What's that for? Why is he doing that?" This is but the natural desire of the soul, the wish to see everything, hear everything, and learn everything, continuing with the notion of "young boy".

In our opinion, the word "young child" in the poem corresponds to the infancy period, because the characteristics of aspiration, "curiosity", and "taste" are characteristic of children in this period in scientific psychology. "Later" corresponds to the toddler period, when it begins to speak and walk, according to the descriptions of "get excited" and "What's that? What's that for?" In the poem "The joy of the eyes of the parents" (Abai, 2003: 123-124), he shows the characteristics of a child called "favoured... the joy of the eyes" and shows the causes and consequences of what kind of person grows from a favoured child.

Among Kazakhs, the concept of preschool was associated with the fact that the child goes to the mullah between the ages of 5-6 and 9-10. One of the signs of childhood is not thinking about the future. "We have a grandfather, we have a mullah, but we did not listen to him, as we did not believe that we would need them afterwards" (Abai, 2003: 125). According to Abai's works, childhood consists of three important intervals: before going to the mullah; "I gave my child to the madrasa to let him study" stage; "we are free of mullahs" – when they are dismissed from the madrasa.

We can say that Abai's poem "Studying in a boarding school" (Abai, 2003: 58-60) is about teenagers. He describes them as "a new teenager... just as the span of the hand... burgeons", and tells us what to teach them and what negative deeds to make them avoid. By saying "Without diligence, without hard work, there is no knowledge... do not seek profit, but dignity; demand to know more; all is written in books to read diligently; If it is far away, look for it... or serve the rich... live honestly", he stresses the need to teach young people and children all these.

One of the features of adolescence is the inner strength, instability of consciousness, the fact that they are discouraged quickly. There are verses with a deep meaning: "Do not serve the count, do not burn out." Realising this, the poet seems to have warned that domination and arrogance, oppression, and violence can make them discouraged, timid, worthless, and unable. As a result, a child may become a liar, or develop other bad behaviours, thinking that the way to make a living is to flatter others. This is evidenced by the words of the poet: "How can you be patient in the

face of an innocent rebuke?" He went on to say, "Afraid to say a word, frightened to do a thing, willing to die in humiliation."

Abai described an adolescent, who is still too young to be a young man, as "adolescence, time of starting to pay attention to girls". He calls this period, during which people act without carefully thinking and overlook some things, "frolicsome". The character of paying more attention to appearance during this period is described as, "We readied horse, fashioned ourselves, and told jokes". In the poem, which begins with "blushing, turning pale", the newly awakened feeling of cowardly love of this period, which is not far from childhood, is described rationally and impressively as "sneaking up on others... unable to turn back... unable to say correct words... kowtowing".

A number of descriptions of adolescence are given in the poem "Youth is a short-lived epoch". For example, he characterises indomitable adolescents, who blindly overstate their own power (maximalism), and see only the good in the world as "Arrogant, no worries... non-defending from anything", while the passion for entertainment at that time was "all they want is to have fun, to make fun of someone, and to linger around villages with girls, that's a bush of great joy."

In the poem "Do you remember the day of youth", Abai describes youth with a sincere, pure soul, "the heart is complete... the soul is pure". The time of life when one has high hopes for the future, and has no flaws of soul and when everyone looks good is stated as "whoever is like your friend... everything is shared", and he calls it "drunk days". The educational content of the poems "Youth is a short-lived epoch", "Fun is worthless, happiness is valuable", and "Calm down my heart, calm down" (Abai, 2003: 40-57) is important for children of this age. It is as follows: 1) self-recognition; 2) self-restraint; 3) self-management; 4) emotional management; 5) a closer look at life – an invaluable tool for education. He rationally described youth as "a time when the fire of youth burns and burns in a young heart".

The period of youth, when one is mentally mature, has a stable worldview, and has the power to master anything, is depicted as "Fire of youth, where are you, to touch the heart, to know the benefits of science, and to predict the beauty of the world" (Abai 2003: 102-103). In his poems "Fun is cheap, happiness expensive", "My soul is miserable", "What do you do with me", "Failing to find a cure", "We have come so far" (Abai, 2003: 54-119), "Pretending to be ashamed", "Wouldn't my place be dark when I die" (Abai, 2002: 22-54), and in other poems and words, his advice for each age group is beneficial in solving today's problems.

Some Socio-pedagogical Ideas in Abai's Legacy

Although socio-pedagogical issues exist in society and in the lives of individuals, they have only recently received attention. Thus, the field of science "social pedagogy", the subject "social pedagogy", and the speciality "social pedagogy" appeared. It is in the competence of this social pedagogy to correct various deviations that occur in some young people, children, and adults. In this regard, we will briefly summarise the views expressed by the great poet Abai.

Researchers of social and practical psychology J. Stevens (2007) and S. Klyuchnikov (2006: 165), who continued Abai's opinion and widely used in practical psychology, called some established behaviours in humans the "seven dragons" and named them as arrogance, impatience, cowardice, stinginess, irritability, stubbornness, and self-deprecation, noting that the phenomena of feelings and emotions are not limited to these. For example, he points out other shortcomings, such as those who are silly, foolish, or quarrelsome, or those who are usually combative or despotic, and those who find trouble out of nowhere and make themselves suffer.

Like these seven dragons, we have named the types of social and pedagogical problems that are common in the nation, which the poet points out, "the seven-headed serpent", because they occurred among the Kazakhs as well. This can be seen in Abai's poems, beginning with "Impatient, shameless, lazy" and "If others have it" (Abai, 2003: 66-72), as well as in other poems. In addition to describing them, the poet reveals their socio-educational meaning as "the seven-headed serpent", "impatient, shameless, and jealous, greedy, and envious". Abai says that jealousy and lying are signs of shamelessness. "The seven-headed serpents" are described in these two poems by the poet as follows:

Impatient, shameless, and lazy,
Glutton, and jealous.
Envious of their own people,
Criticising relations falsely,
To make a fortune through stealing.

In the poem, other bad deeds are also shown, including: "arguing, blaming others, losing honour, slyness, proud ..." etc. In particular, the poet speaks a lot about theft, slyness, lying, laziness, and ignorance. As is known from the theory of social pedagogy, the poet did not miss the fact that many of these actions were repeated many times and became delinquent, and then subjected to deviation. He shows this as:

They blame others for everything..
To get rid of hardship,
But it may cost them badly..
They may even lose their homes,
They may have to go away... (Abai, 2003: 67).

Figure 3. Comparative Socio-educational Descriptions of Behavioural Features in Abai's Poems

The seven-headed dragon	Description by J. Stevens	The seven-headed serpent	Description by Abai
Dragon 1 – impatience	Impatient, lazy, too impatient to think, they always spoil first and regret afterwards.	1st head – impatient	Thoughtless, disobedient, intended to make a fortune through stealing, ready to destroy during a dispute, thinking that there's fame if one is shameless, impatient and ignorant.
Dragon 2 – pride	Pride and arrogance, high self-esteem and self-centered; selfishness, contempt for others.	2nd head - proud, arrogant	To be arrogant in vain, to cover the surface of the truth, to praise and evoke, to be boastful, talkative, seer, filthy.
Dragon 3 – cowardice	Those who torment themselves, who are suicidal, ready to sacrifice, and tend to suffer.	3rd head – coward	I nod my head at everything, my heart beats quickly, my heart is pounding, I keep bragging, it's not even a shame to lie for them, there is no worse coward than the meek, no fortune without being scoundrel, theft, lying.
Dragon 4 – greediness or stinginess	Those who are insatiable and greedy. That is why they come across bad things.	4th head – jealous, greedy	Insatiable, unable to restrain lust, filthy lust, selfish, money-grabber, proud, beggars can't control their lust, etc.
Dragon 5 – irritability	Driven by strong emotions, unable to think through things, passive.	5th head – lazy	With no contribution, no skills, rash, irritable.
Dragon 6 – stubbornness	Those who make silly mistakes, troublemakers, unable to communicate with others due to their inflexibility.	6th head – envious	Those who are envious of their own people, who criticise relations falsely, who gossip and complain about a learned person.
Dragon 7 – self-deprecation	Lack of self-esteem due to ignorance of one's good qualities, inwardly thinking that they are incapable of anything.	7th head – sly, cunning	If you ask who is sly, The ones who rush to the city without breathing, The ones who make lots of false statements, The ones who have no secret except whisper, false gossip, boasting.

The poet's thoughts on the elimination and regulation of human abnormalities, self-recognition and education are largely given in the table.

Issues to be Considered in Teaching Abai's Thoughts on Music

Music is one of the most important spiritual values for a person. If this subject "music" is raised to the required level and takes its rightful place among the disciplines, the importance of its social function will increase, because the lyrics of many songs focus on the most important issues. For example, songs about patriotism, natural art (for example, environmental education), human relations, love, morality, kindness, etc. would have a strong impact on the formation of children and youth.

In the poems beginning "If someone dies", "Satisfied with everything, but" (Abai, 2003: 75-120), "Bird of soul sings across four corners", "Shout in vain", "Enters from ears, reigns the body", and "Singers" (Abai, 2002: 5- 61), the poet emphasises the role of song and mood in the social life of man and society, focusing on its impact on the world of emotions, mind, and thoughts and actions.

And what Abai said about the art of music is a dynamic and thought-provoking opinion in musicology. He often draws attention to the importance of song and melody in educating the human soul. He dedicated his opinion to the youth. Some bad habits or behaviours among today's young people, such as indifference to many things, seeing nothing but their own interests or "seeing only what is in front of their eyes", inability to foresee, showing weakness in finding the way out of life's difficulties, and wanting to live "under the light, over the heavy", show their low social courage. The reason why such behaviour is considered a social problem is that such people are of little use not only to society but also to themselves, because they are usually too slow to take action for what they themselves need, let alone what the country needs. Deeply understanding the importance of music in solving such social problems, Abai writes:

The beginning of life is hot, the end being cold,
The beginning is fun, but the end is almost painful.
If you listen to a good song with your full attention,
Life shows you a light, as clear as water...

This couplet of the poet considers the integrity of the song and the text and the effect of such unbreakable analogy on the inner feelings of a person as a "subdued mood would cheer up". In the lines "Let my red tongue chirp, let my heart wake up... let my sorrows move... let it rise, let it drift in the sky, let it burn like a flame" in Abai's poem "Satisfied with all, but", he once again glorifies the influence of the art of singing on the human soul.

The poem raises the following socio-educational issues: a) the fact that the public hears but cannot understand the poem, and does not intend to understand either; b) it's better to let the sane person understand the inner secret than to let a thousand ignorant people hear it; c) those who recognised the song should listen to it and use it, "whoever knows, let him take"; d) let them listen to the song with the heart, not with the ears. "You listen with your ears, not with your heart"; e) among many different people there is no knowledge nor thoughts..."

The same can be said of the modern art of song and music, and its listeners. Some of the songs that people listen to today have little to give to the people. They have

shallow meanings and have no social burden. The comments on the song in Abai's poems are valuable because they make people think even today. We were the first to understand the persuasive nature of Abai's poems and analyse it psychologically and pedagogically (Khalitova, 2016: 124).

A number of pedagogical ideas of Abai Kunanbaiuly were analysed. In order to pass the poet's legacy to the younger generation, to introduce it into educational practice, the works of "Read, read with the child" for preschool institutions, "Do not settle down until you find your place" for educational work at school, and "Abai Kunanbaiuly's legacy in pedagogical practice" were published and distributed. They can be widely used in educational work.

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CHAPTER – VII

LANGUAGE FEATURES OF ABAI'S WORKS

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This article briefly analyses the main linguistic features of Abai's works and their differences from our literary language. Distinguished uses from today's literary language and linguistic features are considered in terms of morphological, phonetic, and lexical differences. In the section on morphological features the suffix forms *tuğın, mış, dur* and *anıñ üşin, dek*, etc. are analysed. Phonetic features include *uwğlı, tuwğrı, tuwğralı, tüzik, ulıq, esitw, usap, şüyinsi, sıqıldı, ıynanuw, najağay, asıq, duspan, seker, ilaj, äm* and other examples were studied. *Aydındıruw* "to frighten", *alqa* "to praise", *äylä* "to do", *baq* "to look / watch", *birlän / bilän* "with", *güzäl* "beautiful", *dön* "to turn", *ezgü* "beneficial", *eriştire almaydı* "unable to compete", *jaq* "bow", *keznew* "to be embarrassed", *küsüw* "to abandon", *kibik* "like / as", *qaraşa* "ordinary people", *qırım* "far", *sawqat* "gift / parcel", *tön* "to turn / rotate", *üşbuw* "this, the", etc. were taken as examples as lexical features.

The language of the great Kazakh poet Abai's poetry, the lexical structure of the language of his works, and the grammatical structure have been well studied by well-known journalists and literary scholars. The first special work on the language and poetics of Abai's works belongs to Kazhym Zhumaliev. K. Zhumaliev's work "*Kazakh Poetry Before Abai and The Language of Abai's Poetry*" was published in 1948. Kaiym Mukhametkhanov's book *On the Textology of Abai's Works* (1959) and Rabiga Syzdykova's monographs *Language of Abai's works* (1968) and *Syntactic Structure of Abai's Poems* (1971) are among the works that contributed to the study of the language of Abai's works. However, it is extremely important to study his language, in spite of the fact that the language of Abai's works has been fully studied. As the well-known scientist Rabiga Syzdykova said, "Abai's language is a wide topic. Not one, but many books should be devoted to this topic" (Syzdykova,

2014: 4). There still should be new researches in this area, and the language of the poet's poems and Words can be considered in different aspects.

R. Syzdykova believes that the language of the works of poets and writers should be studied by analysing the skills and other linguistic features of their writing style (Syzdykova, 2014: 330). We will also focus on some features of the poet's language usage. Our linguistic analysis revolves around Abai's unique grammatical personality and passive vocabulary. These features are compared with the modern norms of literary language. In the analysis of lexical and grammatical features of the Abai language, Turkic written monuments and data of Contemporary Turkic languages are also used. Abai's language is considered in terms of the following features: phonetic, morphological and lexical differences.

1. Phonetic Features

1.1. Phonetic Characteristics of the Old Kazakh Written Language (Chagatay Literary Language)

We know that the use of forms other than the literary language of Abai is firstly influenced by the literary language, that is, the Chagatay. Abai also used ancient personalities to create morphological, semantic parallelism or harmony.

1.1.1. Addition of the Sound “ğ” to the Middle of the Word

For example, *-wǵlı / uǵlı* (*ulı* (son of)), *-tuǵrı / twǵrı* (*twra* (correct)), *-twǵralı* (*twralı* (about, as to)):

Ey, jüregimniñ qwatı, perzentlerim! Sizderge adam uǵılınıñ minezderi tuǵralı biraz söz jazıp yadkar qaldırayın (Qara Söz 38).

My dear children, the solace of my heart! I have just written a few words on human actions, and I bequeath what I have written to you as a memento.

According to the old written language, Abai used the word “*ul*” in the Kazakh literary language in the phonetic variant *uǵıl* (son). It is known that in Old Turkic and Chagatay the sound “ğ” in the middle of the word often falls in Kazakh or changes to “u”. For example, the words *uǵul*, *tuǵrı*, *aǵu*, *sıǵır*, *aǵır* and *yaǵuq* in the ancient Turkic language were changed to *ul*, *tuwra*, *uw*, *siyır*, *awır*, and *juwıq* in modern Kazakh. Ancient Turkic phonetic phenomena are preserved in ancient inscriptions (Chagatay monuments). Therefore, the peculiarities of the Chagatay language used by Abai are important in terms of linguistic research. For example, the above-mentioned form of Abai's son can be considered a feature of the ancient Turkic language.

The word *ul* in the Kazakh language is used in the Orkhon Monuments as *oǵıl*, in the ancient Uyghur inscriptions as *oǵul*, in the Karakhanid inscriptions as *oǵıl / oǵul*, and in medieval inscriptions as *oǵul / uǵul*.

As for Contemporary Turkic languages, it is used as *oǵul* in Turkish, Turkmen, Azerbaijani, Uyghur, and Yellow Uyghur languages; *uǵul* in Uzbek; *uul* in Kyrgyz, Altai, and Karaim languages; *uıl* in the Nogai language; *ul / wl* in Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkir, and Karachay-Balkar languages; *ool* in the Khakas and Tuvan languages; *uol* in the Yakut language; and *ıwıl* in the Chuvash languages.

The *uğıl* version is also preserved in Kazakh proverbs:

- i. Er uğıl tap, erkelenip jat (BS 66, 119).
Give birth to a son, and then you can relax as you like.
- ii. Jarlınıñ uğı bolğanşa, baydın qulı bol (BS 68, 174).
Being a slave to the rich is better than being a son to a rich.
- iii. Sıylağandı sıyla, atañ kulı tüniler, sıylamağandı sıylama, payğambar uğılı tüniler (BS 68, 299).

Respect the respectful, even if he is your slave, disrespect the disrespectful, even if he is the son of a prophet.

Abai's phonetic forms *tuwǵrı* and *tuwǵralı* are among the examples of *uğıl*. In the ancient Turkic inscriptions, words in the form of *tuwǵrı* and *tuwǵralı* are used in the modern Kazakh language in the phonetic version of *tuwra* and *tuwralı*. Abai used *tuwǵrı* and *tuwǵralı* in his Words in accordance with the phonetic law of the Chagatay language.

1.1.2. Preservation of the Sound “k / q” at the End of the Word

For example, *tüzik*, *ulıq*, etc.

In Old Turkic words, the sounds at the end of the word “ğ / g” are preserved: for example, *uluğ*, *toruğ*, *süngüg*, *sarığ*, *kiçig*, *elig*, *arığ*, etc. In the old Kazakh written language (Chagatay), the “ğ / g” at the end of the word became the sound “k / q”. For example, *uluq*, *toruq*, *süngük*, *sarıq*, *kiçik*, *edik*, *arıq*, etc. And in the modern Kazakh language the “ğ / q” at the end of the word is not preserved. The above words are used in the Kazakh literary language as *ulı*, *torı*, *sünğı*, *sarı*, *kişi*, *eli*, and *aruw*. However, in our literary language the words *ıstıq* (basically, it must be *ıssı*), *qudıq* (*quyı* (digging a hole in the roof)), *ulıq* (howling), *urıq* (tribe), etc. are preserved in the ancient version.

At the end of some words in Abai's works it is possible to see that “k / ğ” is preserved. For example, the word *tüzüw* in our modern language is used as *tüzik* in his Words: *Tamam jurıtqa buzıq bolma, tüzik bol dep jarlıq şasıp, jol saladı eken*. Allah exhorts everybody to be virtuous and live righteously.

Syzdykova says that when he said, “*Tamam jurıtqa buzıq bolma, tüzik bol*”, to be virtuous and live righteously, Abai used *tüzik* to create personal parallelism (Syzdykova, 1968: 143). In that case, it is not the influence of the Chagatay language, but the form chosen to rhyme the word *buzıq*. The *tüzik* form is also found in Shal akyn:

Atadan mıyras aqılın,	Your wisdom inherited from your father,
Tüzik aytqan maqulın,	And your correct decisions are,
Läzim bolğan ispen teñ.	Equal to what is needed (Shal Akyn).

1.1.3. Different Phonetic Forms in Kazakh Literary Language (original Kazakh words)

Aşap-ışw: Instead of *asap jew* (to eat greedily) in the literary language, the poet uses the word *aşap-ışw* in his Words. In spoken language, the “s” in the middle of two vowels is pronounced “ş” under the influence of neighbouring sounds.

It seems in the following extract that it was written in the way it is spoken: *Aşap-ışıwge maldıñ tapşılıǵı da, aǵayınnıñ arazdıǵı da – ärtürli bälege, urlıq, zorlıq, qwlıq, sumdıq sekildi narselerge üyirlendirwge sebep bolatuǵın närse*. Poverty and quarrels within tribes and families breed thievery, violence, and greed.

Dosşar: Instead of the active version of the language *dos-jar, dos-jaran* (friends), the version of *dosşar*, which changed as a result of progressive influence, was used:

Aǵayın, dosşarın Gathering all friends,
Jıyıp alıp üyine, And relatives to his home (Abai, 1961: 391).

Düzüw: Abai uses the word *tüz* (*straight*) in the literary language in the article “A few words about the origin of the Kazakhs” as *düzüw*. We have already mentioned that he used *tüzik* in his *Words* “Tamam jurıqqa buzıq bolma, tüzik bol”.

Sondaǵı biylegen handarı, biyleri bulardı eşbir düzüw hareketke túsindirmey dáym barımtamen mal qwmaq, awıl şappaq, birde bul el, birde ol elmen jawlaspaq, qırısapaqpen küni keşip, eş şarwa, önerge üyrene almay, özderi kedey bolǵan xām öspegen (Abai, 1961: 493).

The khans and rulers there did not explain them in any straightforward way, they were always hostage to cattle, villages, enemies of this country, they could not learn any business, they were poor and did not grow (Abai, 1961: 493).

Esitüw: In Abai there is a variant of *esit-* (*esittim*) (I made it heard); we have not seen a variant of *esti-* (*estidim*) (I heard) in the literary language.

Esitkendey boladı, My ears seems to hear,
Kulaǵım eski sıbırdı (Abai, 1909: 34). The ancient whisper.

The old version of the verb is preserved in proverbs and regular expressions:

Esitken ötirik, körgen şın (BS 65, 217).
What you have seen is true, not what you have heard.
Esitpegen elde köp, esek mingen sartta köp (BS 66, 191).
There are a lot of weird things we have not heard yet.
Esitken qulaqta jazıq joq (Bizaqov 2008: 147).
Ears that heard are not to blame.
Uzın qulaqtan esitken äñgime (FS 729).
A story heard from the air.
Esitsem buyırmasın (FS 368).
I cannot hear you at all.

In the Kazakh literary language, the variant of *esti-* (KATS V 430) is active, and the form of *esit-* is preserved in the Southern dialects. In general, the form of *esit-* used by Abai and preserved in dialects is considered to be ancient. In the literary language, *esti-* is a variant that has changed with the phenomenon of metathesis. According to Turkic inscriptions and Turkic languages, we can see that the original version of *esit-* / *eşit-* was widely used: *eşid-* / *eşit-* in ancient Turkic inscriptions; *eşit-* / *işit-* / *işid-* in the medieval written heritage used in the forms.

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

“*ışit-*” in Turkish, Uyghur, Tatar, and Bashkir languages; *eşit-* in Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Uzbek, Karachay-Balkar, Kumuk, and Karaim; *esit-* in Nogai and Karakalpak languages; *is-* in Khakas; *ihit-* in Yakut; *ilt-* in Chuvash.

Banağı: In the literary language, the word used in the form of *manağı* or *bağanağı* (previous, that) is used once in Abai’s Words in the form of *banağı*:

Baydın öz jawabı, öz minezi oñbay turğan soñ, banağı kisi buzılsa, älgi
anturğan bayğa, “men aytpap pa edim, onıki qwlıq söz dep, mine kördin
be?” dep, ekinşide tırp etpeytuğın qılıp aladı (Qara Söz 42).

At length the bey himself will no longer be trusted by the people. If some clever man disagrees with the bey and turns away from him, the scoundrel will always be there. “See? Didn’t I warn you about them?” And the credulous bey will become puppet in his hands.

Iylanuw / ıynanuw: Instead of “*senüw, nanuw* (believe)”, which is actively used in the literary language, Abai often uses the verbs *ıylanw* and *ıynanuw*:

Süyiser jastar qate etpes, Young people in love make no mistakes,
Meyliñ ıylan, meyliñ kül. If you believe it, or laugh at it (Abai, 1961: 212).

Najağay: In the Kazakh language, the word *nayzağay* (lightning) is used as *najağay* in one of Abai’s poems. However, in Abai’s works there is no word *nayzağay* in the literary language, in this sense there are words of *najağay* and *jay*.

Dürildeggen najağay, Shivering thunderstorm,
Burqırağan jawınnıñ, Heavy rain,
Aşılmağı bar ma basınan? Will the sun ever shine again?
Bağı qaytqan qawımnıñ. For the misfortunate people (Abai, 1961: 357).

Sır jalañaş: The phrase “*tır jalañaş* (naked)” in our language was used by Abai in his translation “Dead black coat” as “*jalañaş*”. There is a phenomenon in the language of the transition of “s” to “t” or “t” to “s”: *tayaz=sayaz* (shallow), *tür=sür* (look), *tısқан=sıçқан* (mouse in Turkish), etc. In addition, in Tatar and Bashkir, the form of *sır yalangaç* (naked) is used. Abai seems to have used the Tatar and Bashkir variants.

In comparison: *sır yalanğas* in Bashkir (BTH II 265); *tırday jıñalaç / tır jıñalaç* in (KirgRS II 294).

Sır jalañaş, tük te joq, All naked, nothing to wear,
Lapkesi, üyi aynaday. The house is as vacant as a mirror (Abai, 1961: 390).

Süyinsi: The poet used the word “*süyinsi* (gift for a good news)” in the Kazakh language as “*şüyinsi*” in accordance with the spoken language. As a result of the subsequent effect of the syllable, the consonant “s” at the beginning of the word is pronounced as “ş” under the influence of the sound “ş” at the end of the word and sounds like *şüyinsi*. Similarly, the word “*tısқarı* (outside)” is said to be *tısқarı* the influence of neighbouring sounds and words in the proverb, “*Şıққан қız şйден тısқarı* (The married girl is outside the reed)”.

Üyi mäs bop, qoy soydı, The family was pleasant and the sheep were
slaughtered,
Süyinşige şapqanğa. For the good news brought by
(Abai, 1961: 133).

1.1.4. Translation of Arabic-Persian Vocabulary in Accordance with the Kazakh Language

It is known that Arabic-Persian words, which have long been included in the Kazakh language, corresponded to the Kazakh phonetics and formed a significant change in sound form. Since the words of the East were formed in such a “Kazakhised” variant in the norm of national speech, Abai, who used the national vocabulary, employed mainly those modified forms in his poems. As for his Words, they were mostly used in the old Kazakh written language, i.e. in a way close to the original. Thus, in his poems, Abai changed some of the words from the East in accordance with the Kazakh phonetics and used “Kazakh” variants. These include:

Alal: In addition to the active words *adal* and *halal*, there is a variant of *alal* in Abai’s poems. Although it is presented as *adal* in his collections, it is given as *alal* in the 1909 version of the book. The scientist Rabiga Syzdykova said the following about it: “Although the word *adal* in Abai is written in this way in modern editions, it is used in the form of *alal*, it is shown in the notebooks of Murseit, in Murseit it is written as *alal* everywhere” (Syzdykova, 2014: 63).

Olardıñ joq oyında malğa baqpaq, They do not care to look
after the livestock,
Alal eñbek, mal tappaq, jurtqa jaqpaq. Not to make fortune with
honest labour
(Abai, 1909: 10).

Asıq: In Abai, the Kazakh form of the word in *ğasıq* (lover) is “asıq”. The *Asıq* variant is often found in Abai’s poems. Rabiga sees the consumption of the *Asyk* option in relation to the number of syllables:

The number of syllables testifies to Abai’s competitive use of the folk form of the word *ğasıq*. For example, if the preceding word ends in a vowel sound, he adds two vowels and gets the *asıq* variant to get the exact number of syllables: Sorl(ı) *asıq* sağınsa da, sarğaysa da (11 syllables) (Syzdykova, 2014: 100). (No matter how much the misfortunate lover missed his beloved one).

Sorlı asıq sarğaysa da, sağınsa da, Even if a sad lover misses so much,
Jar tayıp, jaqsı sözden jañılsa da, Even if they break their vow
(Abai, 1961: 159).

Äm: It is known that *häm* was actively used in the Kazakh written language in the early twentieth century. Although this preposition was used in the form of *xäm* in Abai’s works, in some cases it was used in the “Kazakh” form, i.e. in the form of *äm*:

Äm jabıqtım, äm jalıqtım, I am sad and weary,
Süyew bolar qay jigit? What kind of guy would love?
Könilden ketken soñ tınıñ? My soul getting so restless? (Abai, 1961: 339).

Beyis: Tamam jurtqa buzıq bolma, tüzik bol dep jarlıq şasıp, jol saladı eken. Tüzikti beyiske şığaramın dep, buzıqtı tozaqqa salamın dep. He directs the righteous along

the right path, and sinners along the crooked path, rewarding the righteous with the bliss of paradise and sinners with the torments of Hell (Word 28).

The word “*peyiş* (paradise)” in the Kazakh language was used by Abai in the form of *beyis*. It is known that in Kazakh the names Zhanpeyis and Nurpeyis are used. We know that the consonant “*ş*” in Turkish becomes “*s*” in Kazakh. This difference is reflected in our domestic words. As for the adapted words, the sound “*ş*” often remains unchanged. And in the words that entered in the early period, especially in the samples of oral literature, in the poetry of poets and dialects, you can see the change of “*ş*” in the keywords to “*s*”. For example, *l ğaşıq>asıq* (lover), *duşpan > duspan* (enemy), *şeker > seker* (sugar), etc.

In addition to the versions in the literary language used by Abai, the usage also includes *pende > bende* (human being), *peyil > beyil* (intention), *duşpan > duspan* (enemy), *has > qasa* (true), *laj > ıaj* (way, method), etc.

2. Morphological Features of Abai's Language

2.1. Use of Some Morphological Forms that Are Not Typical of the Kazakh Literary Language

2.1.1. The Participle Formed by the Suffix “*mış / mıs*”

The suffix “*mış*”, used in ancient Turkic inscriptions and in the Chagatay language, is often used in Abai's works. This can be considered the influence of the Chagatay literary language. The scientist Abylkasymov says that this suffix was used in official writings, letters, and newspapers in the late nineteenth century (Abylkasymov, 1982: 104).

Ärneşik bilmek kerek, joğarğı jazılmaş eki türliden basqa ıyman joq.

Each and every one of us should remember that there can be no other iman save these (Word 13).

Munıñ tabılmaqıtına sebepter - äweli hawas sälim xām tñn sawlıq, bular tuwısınan boladı, qalmısı jaqsı ata, jaqsı ana, jaqsı qurbí, jaqsı ustazdan boladı.

The source of these virtues is the perfections that are bestowed on man from his birth: sound health and a beautiful appearance; the rest depends on the nobility of soul of one's father and mother, on wise mentors and kind friends (Word 38).

We know that in the modern Kazakh language the suffix “-ğan” of the participle is active. However, it can be seen in some derivative words, regular expressions, and proverbs: for example, *atalmış* so-called, *aldamış* deceitful, *qartamıs* old-aged, *taramıs* wiry, *jasamıs* over middle age, *bolmıs* nature, *turmıs* life, *qılmıs* crime, *könbis* patient, enduring, *Jazmıstan ozmıs joq* there is no changing or escaping fate, *Ötemis* (man's name), etc.

2.1.2. Use of the Suffix “*dür*”

Aqıl men hawas barlığın,
Bilmeydür jürek, sezedür.

Mind and desire all,
The heart does not know, it feels
(Abai, 1961: 266).

The suffix “turur, durur, dür” used in ancient Turkic inscriptions is not preserved in the modern Kazakh language, i.e. it has become a zero form: for example, bardür > bar (existing); baradıdür > baradı (hero), etc. However, it is clear that the root of the suffix dı in the third part of the verb in the Kazakh language is “turur”: *keledi < keledü < keledür < kele dur-ur < kele tur-ur* (comes). This is evidenced by the fact that the verbs “keledi and baradı (comes, goes)” are not stressed on the last syllable. The reason why the stress does not fall on the last syllable is that the suffixes “dı / di” in “keledi, baradı” are derived from the individual word *turur*, which means that this suffix was an individual word in the past.

Although the suffix “dür” is not used in modern literary language, it is preserved in proverbs:

Adam bar dür,
Adamdardıñ güli dür.
Adam bar dür,
Haywan odan jaqsı dür.

There are people,
Who are the best of humans;
And there are peoples,
Who are worse than animals (BC 68, 16).

Ottı kewlesēñ öşedi dür,
Qoñsını kewlesēñ köşedi dür.

If you keep poking the fire, it will extinguish,
If you keep poking your neighbours they will move away (BC 69, 294).

Jaqsılıqqa jaqsılıq ār kisiniñ isi dür,
Jamandıqqa jaqsılıq er kisiniñ isi dür.

Everyone does good to good,
Only true man does good to evil (VAT V 65).

Ura almağan şoqpar ya basqa tiyedi dür, ya kötke tiyedi dür (BS 69, 2011: 362).

A blunt weapon that can't be beaten either hits the head or hits the ass.

A. Nurmagambetov notes that this suffix is still used in the South Kazakhstan region (Nurmagambetov, 1986: 42).

Abylkasymov says that “dür” was widely used in official letters, notes, and newspaper articles until the end of the nineteenth century (Abylkasymov, 1982: 81).

R. Syzdykova notes that the suffix is obsolete in our modern language, given that it was used in the past. Some examples also remind us that it is preserved in the form of dı / di: *Jaqsılıqqa jaqsılıq ār kisiniñ isi-di, jamandıqqa jaqsılıq er kisiniñ isi-di* (Syzdykova, 1968: 286).

Turur, the original form of the word “dür”, is found in the Turkish Diwani dictionary: *ol tas turur* “it is a stone”, *ol quş tur* “it is a bird”, *qayuda turur* “where is (it)” (DLT, 266 / 234).

In Mamluk Kipchak monuments it is found in the variants of *turur / turar / turru / turu / turdu / tura / tur / tir* (Akalin, 1998: 102).

In Chagatay writings, it was actively used in the form of “*dur / dür*” (Akalin, 1998: 232).

Sevortyan points out that the suffix “*dür*” is widely used in Contemporary Turkic languages in Oguz (Turkish, Turkmen, Azerbaijani, Gagauz) (Sevortyan, 1956: 21).

Comparison in Turkmen: *Türkmenlerin (Türkmenim), Türkmenlersiň, Türkmenleris, Türkmenlersiniz, Türkmenlerler*, etc. (Buran and Alkaya, 2001: 91).

Along with the Oguz languages, it is used in Uzbek: *bolädär* “child”, *täyordirlär* “they are ready”, and *yoşdir ulär* “they are young” (Coşkun, 2000: 80-81).

2.2. Some Morphological Approaches That Differ in Appearance

Anıñ üşin: In the modern Kazakh language, the form *ol üşin* (for that) is used in ancient Turkic inscriptions in the form of *onuñ için, anıñ için*. The poet, and Murseit, who wrote his poems, must have written it as “*anıñ üşin*” in the old way.

lymanğa qarsı kelerlik orında eşbir pende quday tağala keñşiligimen keşedi-
dağı demesiñ, anıñ üşin quday tağalanıñ ğafwına, yakiy payğambarımızdın
sağatatına sıymaydı wa mümkün de emes.

Let apostates not reckon on infinite divine grace; they deserve neither
Allah's forgiveness nor the Prophet's intercession (Word 13).

“**dek**” Abai used the suffix “*day / dey*”, which is used for liken, in two poems in the old form “*dek*”:

Yüzi – räwşan, közi – gäwxär,
Lağil dek bet üşi ähmär (Abai, 1961: 58).

2.3. Some Suffixes in Abai's Works

2.3.1. The Use of the Suffixes “-ar / -mas” in the Figurative Present Tense (not in the future tense)

Ölse öler tabıyğat, adam ölmes,	Nature dies, but the man is Ölmez,
Ol biraq qaytıp kelip, oynap-külmes.	But he doesn't come back and play
	(Abai, 1961: 228).

In modern Kazakh, the suffix “-ar / -mas” means the predictive future tense. Abai uses the suffix “-ar / -mas” in cases where there is no predictive, approximate shade, i.e. in the function of the figurative present tense of the variable (a’dı).

The scientist R. Syzdykova considers the function of the suffix “-ar” in Abai's works, which always means a continuous action, and analyses this use as a prominent grammatical feature of Abai's language (Syzdykova, 1968: 256).

2.3.2 “-maq” as a Gerund

Rabiga Syzdykova says that the use of the suffix “-maq” in the old Kazakh language in the gerund function is quite common. (suffix of the closed verb “w”) (Syzdykova, 2014: 245).

işpek, jemek, kıymek, külmek, könil kötermek, quşpaq, süymek, mal jıymaq, mansap izdemek, aylalı bolmaq, aldanbastıq - bul nârselerdiñ bäriniñ de ölşewi bar. Ölşewinen asırsa boğı şığadı.

One ought to show the right measure in eating, drinking, amusing one's self, and getting rich, in seeking hand what is power and even in practising caution and vigilance in order not to be tricked. All that is excessive is evil.

3. Lexical Features of Abai's Works

Here we consider the lexical structure of the poet's works as archaisms or passive words, dialectisms, depending on form of active-passive.

3.1. Dialects

Some words in the Abai language are a local feature of the Abai's region. R. Syzdykova says that we find in the texts of Abai some of the lexical features that Abai calls specific to the areas of his birth and the eastern region as a whole: for example, *jolğasuw* "to meet", *qasınısıp jürüw* "to get on well", *bastaw* "stream", and *dalañ* "hall" (Syzdykova, 2014: 57-60).

Rabiga Syzdykova cites examples of *dep, tam, jalañqaya, äşkere, azar, şola*, etc. in the language of Abai's works, where we find a number of words that are now found in other regions of Kazakhstan (Syzdykova, 2014: 65-66).

The dialectisms used by Abai in other regions of Kazakhstan include:

Bitimdey "small" (KTAS 145; AbaiTS 114).

Adamnıñ denesi, öziñ jürgen jerdiñ bir bitimdey qumına uqsas emes pe?
Is not the human body like the tiny sand of the earth? (Abai, 1961: 460).

Birotala "completely" (KTAS 167; AbaiTS 146).

Äwelden özin özi biylep, azattıqpen jürgen halıq, birotala birewge bağınbaqtı awır köripti (Biraz söz qazaqtıñ tübi qaydan sıqqanı tuwralı).

From the very beginning, the self-governing and free people found it difficult to be completely submissive (A few words about the origin of the Kazakhs).

Kerim "good-looking, beautiful" (KTAS 261; DialWords TS 346).

Kerim tolğap, tawısar qañğır-küñgir.	Beautifully sung, rid of awful songs,
Sol jerine oyınmen aralaşşı.	Please join there with your soul.
	(Abai, 1961: 254).

Tam "old house made of clay or stone, winter camp" (AbaiTS 484; DialWords 619).

Qolınan ustap alıp, ertip barıp,	He took his hand and led him away.
Dalada bir buzılğan tamğa apardı.	To a broken winter house.

K. Zhumaliev considers that the word **tam** in this verse is used in the sense of "winter pasture" among the dialects of the Abai language (Zhumaliev, 1948: 46).

Tamır "friend" (Abai TS 486).

Bağanağı aldamaşı şaytan tamır bolalıq dep, bir bolımsız nârseni bergen bolıp, artınan üytemin-büytemin, qarıq qılamin degenge mäs bolıp, tamırım, dosım dese men de kerekтиниң biri bolıp qalıppın ğoy dep...

Such people are eager to make friends of any kind. If some swindler presents them with a trinket, they will promise their help and feel glad someone needs their friendship. That's where their gullibility and poor knowledge of life come to light (Word 33).

3.2. Archaism

We analyse obsolete words in Abai's lexicon as words that are considered obsolete compared to the current norm. Here the old expressions *aydındıruw* "to frighten", *alqaw* "to praise", *äyläw* "to do", *baq-* "to try", *birlän / bilän* "preposition with the meaning of with", *güzäl* "beautiful", *döñ-* "to spin", *ezgü* "kind, benevolent", *erıştire almaydı* "not able to argue", *jaq* "bow", *keznew* "to be embarrassed"; *küsüw* "to abandon"; *kibik* "like, as", *qaraşa* "the people", *qırım* "far", *sawqat* "gift", *tön-* "go round", *üşbuw* "this, such", *uşpa* "cliff", etc. are analysed on the basis of Turkish language data. Our analysis is as follows:

i. *Aydındırw* "to frighten":

Ölimge şıdaytuğın qazaq körgenim joq, ölimge şıdamaymın degen de qazaq körgenim joq, az keñirdegin ğana körsetedi-aw "qıyılıp qala qalayın" dep. Eger osı söz boyına laıyq kisi körinse, aqılı joq bolsa da qayratımenen-aq kisi aydındıratuğın adam bolğanı ğoy! Eger sın ayğaydı körgende, kirer jerin taba almaytuğın daraqı, jurttı osı sözimen aydındırarmın, "mına kâpirden kisi şoşıytuğın eken" degizip aydındırayın dep aytıp otırğan qur dombıtpası bolıp, bosqa qoqıyıp otırsa, sonı ne deymiz?

For myself, I have never seen anyone who was resigned to death, but no one will admit their fear of it. At times, true, any of them will make as if slitting his throat with the palm of his hand in a gesture of sacrificial readiness: "Let me be slain on this very spot!" Had these words been sincere, their speaker could have felled us if not by his intelligence, then by his incredible courage. Yet what shall we call one whose threats are directed only at cowards all set to creep into the nearest hole if trouble is brewing? (Word 30).

Although the verb *Aydındıruw* itself is not found in other writers, it is noteworthy that the word *aydın*, which was the basis for its origin, was repeatedly encountered by M. Auezov in the sense of "voice, dignity, honour, prestige".

In the modern Kazakh language, the word *aydın* means "spreading water basin, lake, clear lake". According to ancient and medieval inscriptions, the original meaning of the word was "light, ray, moonlight; radiant; transparent".

In the Kazakh language, it seems that it is preserved in the ancient sense only in the phraseology "*aydındı tuwğan*" (FS 23), which means "special, separate birth". After all, the famous scientist Rabiga Syzdykova said that the word "*aydın*" in the regular phrase "*aydındı twğan*" means "light, radiance", and thus translated the phrase "*aydındı tuwğan*" literally as "born with light, majestic" (Syzdykova, 1994: 20-21).

And the phrases “*aydın köl, aydın şalqar köl*” mean “wide lake, transparent, large, shiny lake” (FS 23) also states the transparency and clarity of the lake:

Alpıs kün aspaŋğa qarağanşa, altı köş te, aydın kölge jet.

It's better to move for seven days and reach the big lake than to look at the sky for sixty days (BC 65, 22).

El jağalay qonbasa, aydın şalqar köl jetim.

Qaptay köşken eli joq, qulazığan jer jetim.

If the country does not land on the shore, the vast lake will be lonely.

There is no people to move on it, the land is lonely (Keikin, 2002: 11).

In the Kazakh language, the *aydın* character of the lake, i.e. “transparent”, later changed to the general meaning of the lake:

Ananın alaqanı balağa aydındı qonıs (Keykin, 2002: 47).

It can be seen from the dialectological dictionary that in Kazakh dialects the word “*aydın*” is used in the sense of “lake” (KTAS 226).

As for the word “*aydındıruw*”, in the dictionary of the Abai language the verb *aydındıruw* is interpreted as “rejuvenation, intimidation, imitation, embarrassment” (AbaiTS 27).

The poet also uses it in one of his poems in the form of *aydınuw*:

Jat aybınar isi joq, Done nothing to scare others,

Jaw aydınar küşi joq, No strength to frighten the enemy.

Öz erkine jibersen, If you let them go ahead,

In Turkic inscriptions, the word “*aydın*” is used in the original sense of “light, radiance” (i.e. not in the sense of “lake”). And there is no verb in the form of “*aydındıruw*”. There is only the “*aydınlatu*” form. It is a verb meaning “to shine”.

Comparison:

Aydıñ means “moonlight” in *Dīvānu Lugāti't-Türk* (DLT 74 / 57).

In the Khorezm written heritage in “*Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ*” *aydın* means “light, bright, transparent” (KE.71v9).

In Ibn Muhenna's dictionary, *ayduñ* means “light” (IML.125v8); *ayduñ tünle* means “moonlit, bright night” (IML.150v7).

In the Kipchak monuments “*Codex Cumanicus*”, *aydınlıq* means “light” (CC.60a / 12).

In the Mamluk Kipchak monuments *Meat tuhfetuz zaki*, “*aydınlı*” means “shedding, shining, illuminating” (KıpTS 17).

In the Gulistan translation “*aydın*” means “light, radiance” (GT.352 / 11).

In *Kitâbü'l-İdrâk*, “*aydın*” means “moonlight” (Kİ.26).

In the Chagatay written heritage, “*aydın*” means “light” (LD.2226).

In Anatolian Turkic inscriptions, “*aydın eylemek / aydın kılmak*” means “to shine”; “*aydın itmek*” means “to beautify” (YeniTS 19).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

In Kyrgyz, *aydın* means “moonlight, moonlit land; light”: *Aydıñınan ay qorqot, külpöñünön kün qorqot* “The moon is afraid of its light, the sun is afraid of its flash” (KirgRS 30); in Karakalpak, *aydın* means “Shiny, transparent, clear lake” (KkRS 25-26); in Karaiym *aydın* means “Clear, bright, transparent”; *köz aydınlık* means “Good news” (KRPS 52).

In Uzbek, *oydin* means “Open, clear, correct; clean; radiant” (ÖTS, 2016: 347); in Uyghur, *ayduñ* means “Bright, light” (YUTS 24).

In Turkish, *aydın-* means “light; radiant, clear, transparent, translucent; intelligent, open-minded”; *aydınlatmak* means “illuminating, lighting, turning on the light, make it open” (TKS, 2019: 51); in Azerbaijan *aydın* means “bright, open, clear; transparent”; *aydınlatmak* means “To illuminate, to shine, to radiate, to define, to enlighten, to open one’s eyes” (AzRS, 1941: 10-11); in Turkmen, *aydyň* means “open, bright, radiant; truth; obviously known”; *aydyňlaşdyrmak* means “to show, to reveal, to establish, to establish the truth” (TDS 29); in Gagauz, *aydın* means “bright, clear, shining”; *aydınlatmak* means “To shine, to shed light; to educate, to enlighten” (GRMS 31). In Yellow Uyghur, *aydın / aytın* means “moon, moonlight” (Malow, 1957: 13); in Altai language, *aydın* means “moonlight; lunar evening”; *aydın tün* means “moonlight night” (ORC: 14); in Tuva, *aydın* means “moonlight; light, radiance, applause; clear, obvious”: *aydın dün* means “moonlit night” (TuvRS 47).

In Yakut *ıydan* means “moonlight, moonlit night; light and sunshine” (YARS, 1972: 523).

It is still difficult to pinpoint the original meaning and etymology of the word “*aydındıruw*” in Abai. First of all, we could not find the form “*aydındıruw*” in Turkic written monuments and languages; although the verb “*aydınlatu*” is used, it does not correspond to the meaning of “to intimidate” in the poem, it is used in the sense of “illuminate”. Secondly, the word “*aydındıruw*” was used only by Abai, and it is found only in one of his Words. There is almost no proven definition of this verb in Kazakh dictionaries. In addition, the meaning of “to intimidate” seems to have been given by scholars depending on the context. It is also doubtful that the verb “*aydındıruw*” is derived from the root “*aydın*” meaning “light”. Or did the verb *aydındıruw*, meaning “to shine, illuminate”, have a variable meaning “to frighten”? Or is it related to the word “*aybın*” (valour)? In addition, the fact that the word *aydın* is used in the works of M. Auezov in the sense of “threat” proves that the verb *aydındıruw* comes from the word *aydın* meaning “threat”. However, the word *aydın*, which means “heroism”, is not often found in literary language, and it remains to be researched whether this is a dialectal difference or a feature of the language of writers.

ii. Äylä- “to do”

Şın – Şikär läp esime tüsken sayın,
Sat – Sabırım qalmaqadı men ne äyläyin.

Every time I think of sweet life,
I get impatient, what can I do?
(Abai, 1961: 60).

In the Kazakh literary language, the phrase *ne eteyin, ne qılayın* (what do I do?) is used in the Abai language in the form of “*ne äyläyin*”.

The auxiliary verb “*äyläw*” is an element of the old Kazakh written language. Abai used it in his poems. In the Kazakh language, in the phrases “*qabil aylasın*” (let it be accepted) and “*raqım aylasın*” (to have mercy), it is preserved as *ayla-*, while in the regular phrase “*zar iylew*” (to moan) it is found in the variant “*iyle-*”.

In Ancient and Medieval Inscriptions:

In ancient Uyghur written monuments *edle-* means “to assess” (AY.552-16) (Doğan and Usta, 2014, 123).

A valuable relic of the Karakhanid period is Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk *edle-* means “to use, to apply” (DLT 145 / 126).

In the heritage of the Khorezm period, “Mukadimetul adep”, *eyle* means “to repair, to adjust” (ME.64-1); in the “Story of the Prophets” *eyle-* means “to do” (KE.235r17).

In Mamluk Kipchak monuments *eyle-* is used to express “to do” (KK.24a / 7; Kİ.26; TZ.16a-3).

In the Chagatay written heritage, *eyle-* means “to do” (Shiban.125b-6...; LD.629 ...) (Kachalin, 2011: 939).

In the Anatolian Turkic inscriptions in the “Book of Dede Korkut”, *eyle-* means “make, do” (DKK.83-8...).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

In Turkish, *eyle-* means “to do, to make” (TS 840); in Azerbaijani, *eyle-* means “to create, to do” (AzTS 405); in Turkmen *eyle-* means “to do” (TDS 798).

In Uyghur *eylemek-* means “create, perform, do” (YUTS 119); in Uzbek, *aylamoq* means “to do” (UTIL I 32).

In Karakalpak, *eylew*: *zar eylew* means “to moan, to woe” (KkRS 280); in Tatar *eyle-* means to be “attentive” (TatRS 728); in Bashkir *eyle-*: *qabwl eyle-* means “to accept” (BTH II 741); in Karaiym, *eylya-* means “to do” (KRPS 656).

In Tuva, *edile* means “to use, to apply, to implement” (Ölmez, 2007: 151).

In Mongolian t. *edleh-* means “to use, to apply” (KMRC 324).

iii. Birlän / bilän “in the sense of men / menen” (with):

Äweli, ne närsege ıyman keltirse, sonıñ haqtıǵına aqlı birlän дәлел jürgizerlik bolıp, aqlı дәлел, ıyspat qılarǵa jaras, munı yakiynı ıyman desek kerek.

There are two ways of believing. Some simply accept the faith, perceiving the vital need for it and its truth, and strengthen their belief by means of reasonable arguments. We call this yakini iman or true faith (Word 13).

Bizdiñ eñ bayımızdı: “säniñ şaqşı ayaǵıñ bilän pıdıratırǵa qoyǵan iydän tügil, şıq, sası qazaq”, -dep, üyinen qwıp şıǵadı.

They will not let our beys into their homes. “Hey, you Kazakhs”, they say, “our floor is not for your dirty boots to trample on” (Word 2).

Abai used the word *birlän* among his swear words 18 times. And *bilän* was given once in a Tatar sentence. The poet often used the “menen” (with) option.

Musabaev considers the word *birlän* in obscure words as an element of biblical language (Musabaev, 2008: 212).

Abylkasymov says that in the Kazakh writings of the twentieth century, instead of “men” (with), *birlän* was actively used (Abylkasymov, 1982: 122).

Basically, the word *birlän* meant “together”, and later came to mean “with”. It was used in ancient Turkic inscriptions in the form of *birlän* / *birle*, and changed to modern Kazakh in the form of “men”: for example, *birlän* > *bilän* > *milän* > *melen* > *menen* > *men* (Tomanov, 1988: 92). Thus, *birlän* is one of the oldest forms of men.

The word *Birlän* / *bilän* is found in ancient and medieval inscriptions:

Birle -means – “together” in the Orkhon heritage (KT.G.4 ...).

In the ancient Uyghur inscriptions *birle* / *birlen* / *bile* / *bilen* means “with”, “together”, “together with” (EUTS 44; Doğan and Usta, 2014: 89; DTS, 2016: 105).

In Dîvânü Lugâtî't-Türk *birle* means “with, together” (DLT 36 / 23...): *Alplar birle uruşma, begler birle turuşma* “Don't fight with giants, don't fight with strongholds” (DLT.I.182).

Kutadgu Bilig, *birle* “with” (KB.1...).

birle / *birlen* in the heritage of the Khorezm era (ME 3-7...; KE.1v3...).

birle in the Kipchak written heritage included in the Codex Cumanicus (KipTS 32).

birle / *birlen* in Mamluk Kipchak monuments (TZ.83.a-6.).

bile / *bilen* in the Chagatay inscriptions (Shiban.4b-11...).

birle in the Anatolian Turkic inscriptions (TS I 599).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Tatar: *birlän* / *bilän* “with, together” (Öner 57, 59); Kumuk: *bulan* means “with”; *bulan-birle* means “together” (KumTS 82); Karaiym: *bilyan* / *bilen* means “with” (KRPS 119).

Uzbek: *birlä* / *birlän* means “with” (UTIL I 119); in the dialects of the Uyghur language, *birle* means “together, with” (Malow, 1961: 100); *bilen* means “with” (YUTS 41).

In the dialects of the Turkic language *birle* means “when, at the moment of” (DS II 702); *bile* (esk.) means “together” (TS 335); *bile-* means “together” in the dialects of the Azerbaijani language (ESTYA II 141); Turkmen: *bilen* means “with”; *bile* means “together” (TDS 68).

Altai language: *pile* / *pileŋ*: “with” (ESTYA II 140); yellow Uyghur: *pli* (Malow, 1957: 92); Tuva: *bile* (Ölmez, 2007: 95); Khakas: *minañ* (HRS 111).

iv. Güzäl “beautiful, good-looking”:

Adam balasın qurt, qus özge haywandar sıypatında jaratpay, bul **güzäl** sıypattı berip, eki ayaqqa bastırıp, asın joğarı turğızıp, dünüyenı közderlik qılıp...

jaratpaqtığı mahabbat emes pe? Allah did not create humans like worms, birds, or other animals, but gave them this beautiful character, trampled them on their feet, raised their heads and made the world visible... Isn't it love? (Word 38).

Güzäl, which is not in the Kazakh literary language, is a Turkic word typical of Chagatay inscriptions. It is known that Abai wrote some of his poems in the old Kazakh written language (Chagatay). Because he wrote this poem in the same style, he used the word *güzäl*, which is typical of the Oguz and Karluk languages.

Comparison:

Turkish: *güzel* – “beautiful; good, excellent” (STS 236); Turkmen: *gözel* – “beautiful” (TDS 302); Azerbaijan: *gözel* – “good, wonderful; beautiful” (AzRS, 1941: 185).

Kyrgyz: *közöl* – “worthy, worthy of praise; strong” (KirgRS I 431); Nogai: *közel* – “charming, beautiful; beloved”: *Közel közel tül, kimdi yanın süyse sol közel di*, Be beautiful, but whoever loves your soul is more beautiful than all (NRS 177); Kumuk: *gözel* – “wonderful, good; beautiful, graceful, good-looking” (KumRS 82); Karaiym: *gözäl* – “beautiful” (KRPS 161).

Uyghur: *gözäl* – “beautiful” (YUTS 135); Uzbek: *gozäl* – “very beautiful” (UTIL I 201).

v. Ezgü “Good, beneficial, right”:

In the Kazakh literary language, the forms good and virtuous are actively used, for example:

Atadan bala twsa iygi, ata jolın qwsa iygi. It is good to have a son, it is good for the son to follow in his father's footsteps (BC 65, 98).

Eki torının bögdeligı joq, iygi-jaqsının bötendigi joq.

There is no strangeness of the two horses, no strangeness of the good (BC 65, 355).

Ölimnen özgeniñ tezi iygi.

Everything exept death might as well be fast (BC 69, 307).

Tüsi iygiden tüñilme, tüsi iygisizdiñ betine qarama.

Do not be discouraged by the warm-faced, do not look at the cold-faced (BC 69, 357).

Barınan joğı iygi.

It's better not to exist (FC 117).

İzgi tilek “rıyasız sın köñilmen ayılğan tilek, jaqsı niyet, adal köñil”.

Best wishes: “words said with selfless sincere wishes, good intentions, honesty” (KS 1459).

Abai used the ancient form of *izgi* and *iygi* i.e. the version of oppression in the form close to the version of the ancient Turkic language (edgü / ezgü / eygü):

Ol niyxayatsız jol, sol niyxayatsız jolğa ayağıñdı berik bastıñ niyxayatsız qudağa taqırıp hasıl bolıp has ezgü quldarınan bolmaq ümiti bar, özge jolda ne ümit bar?

Those who have chosen it are considered His true servants, they can cherish the hope of the approaching God. What hope can there be on another path? (Word 38).

Abai also used the ancient form “**ezgülik** / **ezgilik**” instead of “iygiliktiñ” (goodness):

Adamnıñ balasına aşıp janım, My soul feels sorry for mankind;
Ezgilikke jüregim bir umtılar. My heart longs for good (Abai, 1961: 380).

Bälkiy ğadalät barşa ezgüliktiñ anası dür. Nısap, uyat bul ğadalättän şığadı.
Perhaps justice is the mother of all goodness (Word 38).

The *ezgü* / *ezgülik* in Abai is close to the versions in the ancient Turkic inscriptions, in comparison:

In Ancient and Medieval Turkic Inscriptions:

In the Orkhon inscriptions, *edgü* means “good, kind, benevolent” (KT.G.6...).

In ancient Uyghur artifacts, *edgü* means “good, wonderful” (IB.57); *edgülük* means “benefit, goodness” (Maitri.51-42).

In Dîvânu Lugâtî’t-Türk, *edgü* means “good, virtuous, wonderful”:

Neçe munduz erse eş edgü, neçe egri erse yol edgü.

No matter how stupid, the lover is good, no matter how crooked, the road is good” (DLT 230 / 200).

Tezek qarta yatmas, edgü isiz qatmaz.

The dung would not lie on the snow, a bad person would not be in favour of a good one.

Edgülük “blessing” (DLT 34 / 20).

In the monuments of the Khorezm era, *edgü* means “good, kind, benevolent”; *edgülük* “benefit” (KE.43r6...).

In the Kipchak monuments “Codex Cumanicus”, *eygi* / *egi* / *eyi* means “good, wonderful”; *egilik* means “benefit” (CC.64a / 23...).

In Mamluk Kipchak inscriptions *egi* / *eyi* / *iygi* / *eyü* / *eygü* / *edgü* is “good”; *edgülük* / *izgülük* means “blessing, benefit” (KipTS 69).

In the Anatolian Turkish heritage, *eyi* / *eyü* is “good, kind, excellent, wonderful” (Süheyl.5-3 -3; DKK.138-3...).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Kyrgyz: *iygi* means (passive is used rather than the word jaqsı – good) “beneficial”: *Atadan uul tuusa iygi, ata jolun quusa iygi* (KirgRS 296); Karakalpak: *iygi* (KkRS 289); Nogai: *iygi* (NRS 117); Tatar: *iygi* (TTAC I: 357); *iygilik* “blessing”; *izgi* “prophet, saint; pious, sufi; fortunate, good, kind” (Öner, 2009: 116); Bashkir: *iygi* (BTS 245); Karaiym *eyi* / *iyi* / *egi* means “good, beneficial” (KRPS 656).

Uzbek: *ezgü* means “good”; *egilik* means “benefit” (UTIL II 438).

Turkish: *iyi* means “good” (TS 1006); Gagauz: *ii* (GRMS 198); Turkmen: *eygilik* means “benefit” (TDS 797).

Yakut: *ütüo* means “fortunate, good, virtuous” (TYS 135).

vi. Eriştire almadı. “Couldn’t compete, couldn’t keep up, couldn’t follow”:

Biz Alla tağalanı öziniñ bilingeni qadar ğana bilemiz, bolmasa tügel bilmekke mümkin emes. Zatı tügil, hiykmetine eşbir hakim aqıl eriştire almadı. Alla tağala – ölşewsiz, bizdiñ aqılımız – ölşewli. Ölşewli men ölşewsizdi bilwge bolmaydı.

But since we know of Allah only what He manifests to us, none of us can know Him in His completeness. Even the wisest among the wise will never understand the inner meaning of His deeds, let alone the essence of His nature. Allah is almighty, but our powers are finite. It is impossible to measure the infinite with the finite (Word 38).

The explanatory dictionary of the Kazakh language does not contain the verb *eriştirw*. And in the dictionary of the Abai language, *eriştirw* is defined as “dispute” (AbaiTS 184). In the Kazakh language, this verb is not used in this variant, it is considered an archaism or a single word used by Abai. And in Sevortyan’s etymological dictionary this verb *eriştirw* is given in connection with the verb *talastırw* in the Kazakh language (ESTYA I 294).

If we pay attention to the data of the Turkic languages, we will see that the word “*eriştirw*” means “dispute”.

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Nogai: *erisu* means “arguing, coming to terms, arguing with words, disobedience; tragedy” (NRS 438); Tatar: *iriştir* means “to offend, to offend with words, to make a fool of, to drive mad, to offend with anger” (TatRS 123); Bashkir: *iriş* means “to debate” (BTS 257); Kumuk: *eriş* means “offend, argue, quarrel, dispute”: *Gerti yuuqlar bir da erişmeyler* The ones who are really close do not quarrel with each other; Karachay-Balkar: *eriş* means “to compete, to contest” (KBTS 193); Crimean Tatars: *eriştir* means “irritate, offend, annoy” (KTRS 616); Karaiym: *eriş* means “to joke, to make a fool of; to provoke anger” (KRPS 666).

Turkish: *eriş* means “to fulfil one’s thoughts, goals; to reach; ripening, maturity” (TPP 187); in Turkish dialects *eriş* means “quarrel, quarrel with words” (DD 2545); Turkmen: *eriş* means “to annoy, to get involved in, to quarrel”: *ten erishme* “do not quarrel with him” (TDS 203).

Khakas: *iriş* means “to annoy, to mock, to joke, to annoy; to make angry, to irritate” (HTS, 2007: 229).

vii. Jaq. “bow”:

Ömir jolı – tar soqpaq, bir iygen (iyilgen) jaq,

İyiltip, eki basın ustağan haq.

The way of life is nar
row, and twisted,

It is right to bend and
hold both tips.
(Abai, 1961: 227).

We thought of the word *jaq* in this verse as “bow” and defined it as “bow”. However, in the Abai language dictionary, the word *jaq* is associated with “human or animal’s jaw”. The dictionary does not indicate the word “bow”. The compilers of the dictionary probably did not think that the *jaq*- in the line of the poem “Ömir jöl – tar soqpaq, bir iygen (iyilgen) jaq” is the word meaning “bow”.

The word *Jaq* in the sense of “bow” is also used in the works of modern writers:

Munday jaqtı taruw üşin köp küş kerek, dedi Oraz Muhamed.

It takes a lot of force to pull the string from such a bow said Oraz Mukhamed (M.Magauiy, 40, 55).

The word *Jaq* is preserved in the following Kazakh proverbs and regular expressions:

Jalğızdıñ jağı joğalsa da tabılmaydı, köptiñ oğı joğalsa da tabıladı (BS 68, 154; Keykin, 2002: 33).

Jaq tartuw “fighting, opening a war, killing the enemy, shooting a bow”:

Qasarısқан jawıma, Qan keşüwde jaq tartsam.

I shall shoot at my avowed foe with an arrow (Qaraqıpşaq Qobılandı) (Zhanpeisov 1976: 155).

In ancient Uyghur inscriptions, *ya* means “bow”; *altun ya* means “golden bow” (Oguz.36 / 316); *ya kur* means “shooting a bow” (DTS. 1969: 221).

In the relics of the Karakhanid period, *ya* means “bow” (DLT 143 / 124; KB.371).

In the Khorezm written heritage, *ya* means “bow; sniper” (sniper’ sign in the horoscope) (ME.18-3; KE.66v5).

In the Kipchak monuments “Codex Cumanicus”: *ya / yaa* means “bow” (CC.65b / 12).

In Mamluk Kipchak inscriptions, *yay / ya* means “bow” (TZ.29b.1); archer “archer, sniper” (KK.62b / 11).

In the heritage of the Chagatay epoch, *ya / yay* means “bow” (ShibanH.189a-7); bow “bow, jaw, bow” (Poppe, 1938: 563). In the Anatolian Turkish inscriptions, *ya / yay* means bow (DKK.110-9; Süheyl. 29-3).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Kyrgyz: *jaa*: “bow” (KS 158); Karakalpak: *jay* (KkRS 211); *oq-jay* mean “bow and arrow” (KkRS 490); Nogai: *yay* (NRS 457); Tatar: *jäyä* (Öner, 2009: 53); Bashkir: *yäyä* (BTS 725); *yan* (BRS 840); Karachay-Balkar: *jaya* (KBTS 145); Kumuk: *jaya* (KumTS 68); Karaiym: *yaa / ya / yaya* (CRPS 218).

Uzbek: *yoy* means “bow” (ÖTİL, 1997: 67); Uyghur: *ya* means “bow” (YUTS 454); In the Uyghur dialects, *oq-ya* (double word) means “bow, bow and arrow” (Malow, 1961: 114).

Turkish: *yay* (*yay*) means “bow” (TS 2553); Azerbaijan: *yay* (*yay*) means “bow” (AzTS 1234); *yay ok* means “bow and arrow” (ESTYA IV 75); Turkmen: *yay* means “bow” (TDS 838); Gagauz: *yay / yayı* means “bow” (GRMS 209).

Yellow Uyghur: *ya* means “bow, arrowhead”; *oq ya* means “bows and arrows” (Malow, 1957: 33); Altai: *jaa* means bow and arrow (ATS 47); teleut dialect: *d’aa* means “bow” (TelAS 19); Tuva: *ça* means “bow” (Ölmez, 2007: 104); Khakas: *çaajah* means “bow, arrow, bows and arrows” (HTS 71); sagai and koibal dialects: *çağ* means “bow and arrow” (Radloff III, 1842).

Yakut: *oh saa* means “bullets and bow” (YARS 304); Chuvash: *sw* means “bow”; *wksw / oqsw* means “bullet and bow” (Fedotow II, 1996: 129).

viii. Kezne- “to get embarrassed”:

Artınan “ol nem?” dep,	Then, getting stranger again,
Uyalıp, keznesip.	Hiding from each other (Abai, 1961: 203).

We think that the verb *keznaw* in Abai must be connected with the verb *kiznew* meaning “to hide”. In Oguz languages this word is used in the form of *gizle-* (to hide). We think that Abai’s verb *kezne-* is from the same root as the *kizne-* variant in his words of Öz malın *kiznegen*, kisi malın izdegen, tübinde öz malına iye bolmas (One, hiding his own wealth, seeking the wealth of others, would not preserve his own wealth) (KATS VIII, 2011: 593).

Comparison:

In Ancient and Medieval Inscriptions:

In the ancient Uyghur inscriptions, *kizle* means “to hide; to store, to cover” (İKP. 56-1) (Doğan and Usta, 2014: 191); *kizlekliyg* “hidden” (Suv.699 / 15) (DTS 311).

Dîvânü Lugâti’t-Türk: *kizle-* means “to hide” (DLT.575 / 473...).

Kizlençü kelinde, “only the bride knows all the secrets” (DLT.III.242).

Kutadgu Bilig: *kizle-* means “cheese bending” (KB.3232...).

In the heritage of the Khorezm: *kizle-* means “hide” (ME.131-8; KE.190v12...).

In the Kipchak monuments in the Codex Cumanicus: *kizlenmiş* means “hidden, concealed, secret” (CC.65b / 19b).

In the Mamluk Kipchak inscriptions, *kizle* means “to hide” (KK.83a / 9; Kİ.82).

In the Chagatay inscriptions, *kizle* means “to hide” (Shiban.131a-18...; Seng.313v.27).

In Anatolian Turkish artefacts, *gizle means “to hide”* (DKK.34-13...; Süheyl.307-13...).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Bashkir t. *Kizlä- means-* (arch.) “to hide” (BRS 270); Karaiym: *kizle* means “to hide” (KRPS 317).

In the Oguz dialects of the Uzbek language *kizlä- / gizlä* means “to hide” (UHSHL 1971: 67, 145).

Turkish: *gizle* means “to hide secrets, to conceal, to hide” (TS, 2011: 950);

Azerbaijan: *gizle* means “to hide secrets, to conceal, to hide” (ADIL III, 1983: 161);

Turkmen: *gizle-* means “to hide secrets, to conceal, to hide” (TrkmRS, 1968: 178). Yakut: *kistee* means “hide” (YARS 168).

ix. Kūsūw “to be angry, to resent, to grieve; to abandon, to hate; to despair, to be weary”:

In the Kazakh literary language, Abai repeatedly uses the verb *kūsūw*, which is not used separately in the Kazakh literary language, in his poems:

Jalmawızday jalañdap, Hungry like a monster,
Ar, uyattan küsippin. I have been avoiding shame (Abai, 1961: 302).

The verb *kūsūw* is not active in the Kazakh language. It is one of the verbs of Oguz languages. We see its scope in Turkic written monuments and languages. Even Mahmud Kashgari, a scholar of the Karakhanid period and the creator of a dictionary of Turkic languages, in his work *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk*, mentions that the verb *kūsūw* is an Oguz verb: to be upset, to resent; to abandon, to turn one's back (DLT 269 / 236).

In Ibn Muhenna's dictionary of inscriptions from the Khorezm, *kūs* means “to resent” (IML.94A.2).

In the Mamluk Kipchak monuments, *kūs-* means “to resent, to be annoyed; to be angry” (KıpTS 169; Kuryszhanov, 1970: 152).

From the Anatolian Turkish inscriptions in the “Book of Dede Korkut”, *kūs* means “to resent” (DKK.238-9).

Turkish: *kūs* means “to resent, to be annoyed; to be angry” (TKS 360); Gagauz: *kūs* means “to resent, to be annoyed; to be angry” (GRMS 303); Azerbaijan: *kūs* means “to resent, to be annoyed; to be angry” (AzRS, 1941: 176).

Kumuk: *kūs* means “hate, dislike” (KumTS 186); Crimean Tatar: *kūs* means “fatigue, tiredness, nausea” (KTRS 412); Karaiym: *kūs* means “to resent, to be annoyed; abandon, run away” (KRPS 354).

x. Kibik “like, as”:

Bulardıñ köbi äñşeyin jäxiyl tügil jäxiyllär kibik talap bolsa, qayda qaq sözder kelse, qazır nısapqa qaytsın xäm ğıybrattanasıñ.

They attempt to teach others in spite of the paucity of their own knowledge; the doctrines of these seducers of mankind are harmful even for the pseudoreligions (Word 38).

In his works, Abai often used the active pronoun “*sekildi*” (like, as) in our modern literary language. He used the phrase “*Sıyaqtı*” (like, as) only once. And in 38th Word, written in the old Kazakh written language, he took the form of *kibik*, typical of the Oguz languages.

It is known that the preposition *kibik* comes from the word *kep*, which means “form, shape, type” (ESTYA V 16).

The preposition *kibik* in Turkic inscriptions:

Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk: *kipi* means “as” in Oguz (DLT 243 / 211...).

In Khorezmian writings, *kābi* means “like” (Borovkov, 1963: 168).

In the Kipchak inscription “Codex Cumanicus”: *kibi* means “like” (KıpTS 147).

In the Mamluk Kipchak inscriptions, *kibi* / *kebi* means “like” (KıpTS, 2014: 147);

In the Mamluk Kipchak monuments, Al Kawaninul Kulliye, *kibik* means “as” (KK.32b11...).

In the monuments of the Chagatay, the “Diwan-i Lutfi”: *kibi* (LD.1...).

In the Anatolian Turkish written heritage, *kibi* / *gibi* / *gibiye* / *gibin* means “like” (YeniTS 93; DKK.9-3...).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Turkish: *gibi* - “as” (TSS 222); Azerbaijan: *kimi* - “like” (Radloff II 1404).

Bashkir: *kibi* means “like” (BTS 270); Tatar: *kibik* / *kük* means “as, like” (TatRS 162, 217); Crimean Tatars: *kibi* means “like” (KTRS 405); Kumuk: *yimik* means “as, like” (KumTS 397).

xi. Qaraşı “Adviser, counsellor, clerk in the khan’s horde; the people, the masses, the people under the khan”:

Hanım sen, qaraşıñ men, basıbaylı,

Hanı jaqsı bolsa, qaraşısı jasımaydı.

Madam, look at me, I am already bound,

If the khan is good, his people will be courageous.
(Abai, 1961: 434).

The word *qaraşı* used by Abai is archaic. Dictionaries of the Kazakh language define the word *karachi* as “wise man, adviser in the khan’s horde”.

In addition, there is a version of “*qaraşa*” as “ordinary people, a country subordinate to the khan”. In our opinion, in the verses of Abai, the meaning of “ordinary people subordinate to the khan” prevails.

In the following Kazakh proverbs, the *qaraşa* and *qaraşı* versions are used simultaneously, and these versions are used in two senses: “adviser, vizier in the khan’s horde” and “ordinary people subordinate to the khan”. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two. The word *qaraşı* in Abai can be connected with both meanings.

Comparison

qaraşa:

- Qazı han qasında, qaraşa jar basında. The daughter is beside the khan, the people are on the cliff (Keikin, 2002: 35).
- Han qaraşasız bolmas, daw araşasız bolmas. The khan will not be without people, the dispute will not be without mediation (Keykin, 2002: 35).
- Kilemge bergisiz alaşa bar, hanğa bergisiz qaraşa bar. There is a course that cannot be traded for the carpet, there is an ordinary person that cannot be traded for the khan (BC 65, 43).

- d. *Qaraşa* üyden hanşa şığadı. From an ordinary family, may you find a princess (BC 65, 44).
- e. *Qaraşa* hanğa jılasa, han hanımğa jılaydı. Khan cries at the Queen, while the people cry at the Khan (Keykin, 2002: 36).

Comparison

qaraşı:

- a. *Qaraşı* han tusında, qatın er tusında. The vizier is comparable to the khan, the wife is comparable to the husband (Keykin, 2002: 34).
- b. Han qasında *qaraşıñ* bolsa, qara jerden kemeñ jürer. If the vizier is near the khan, the ship will sail through the black earth (Budagow II, 1871: 45).
- c. Handı quday urayın dese, *qaraşısımén* qas qılar. If the Khan is cursed, he will fight against his vizier (BC 65, 53).
- d. Sultan *qaraşılarımén* sultan.

The sultan is the true sultan with his viziers (BC 66, 265).

In the dictionaries of the Kazakh language, the words *qaraşı* and *qaraşa*, given separately, are mainly derived from the same root, i.e., the verb *qaraw*. Both mean “submissive”. One is “a vizier subordinate to the khan”, the other is “the people subordinate to the khan”.

Only the *qaraşı* version is used in ancient Turkic inscriptions and Contemporary Turkic languages. The conclusion is that the Kazakh version of *qaraşı* is older than *qaraşa*, and *qaraşa* must have appeared later. According to the law of synharmonism of the language, it is more convenient to say *qaraşa* than *qaraşı*, and *qaraşa* is a variant of this phenomenon.

In Turkic Inscriptions:

Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk: *qaraçı* means “beggar, beggar who goes from house to house” (DLT 223 / 193).

In the dictionary of Ibn Muhenna from the legacy of the Khorezm era, *qaraçı* is a “beggar” (IML.128b3).

In the Codex Cumanicus, the Kipchak monuments: *qaraqçı* means “beggar, a beggar” (SS.75a / 5).

In the Mamluk Kipchak inscriptions in “Kitâbü'l-İdrâk”: *qarapçı* means “poor, servant” (Kİ.70).

In Zebani, a masterpiece of Chagatay, *qaraçı* means “beggar” (Zeban.T35a / 8); *qaraçw* means the “khan’s adviser” in the History of Society (Syzdykova, 2009: 155).

In Anatolian Turkish monuments, *qarajı* / *qaraçı* means “pirate, an attacker; gypsy; spy, scout; palshy; nurse” (TS IV, 1969: 2257).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Tatar: *qaraçı* means “Khan’s courtier, palace servant during the Tatar Khanate” (Öner, 2015: 267); Kumuk: *qarawaş* means “slave, hired worker” (KumTS 205); Karachay-Balkar: *qarawaş* means “widow; slave; employee, assistant” (KMTS 244).

karacı / karacı means “gypsy” in Turkic dialects (DS, 1975: 2639, 2641); Azerbaijani: *ğaraçı* means “gypsy; the poor” (AzRS, 1985: 91).

Altai: *qaraçı* means “pirate” (ATS 98); Tuva: *qaraçal* means “poor, ordinary people” (Ölmez, 2007: 190).

Mongolian: *haraçu* means “ordinary man, ordinary people”; *haraçi* means “official broadcaster, messenger, secretary” (MTS 1438).

xii. Qırım “Far, long, distant”:

Tomağasın tartqanda bir qırımnan,	The bird of prey soars up, looking at far away,
Qıran qus közi körip samğaganda.	When the hood is removed from his head.
	(Abai, 1961: 68).

The word “*qırım*”, which means “long, far”, was often used by Abai in his poems. This word is mainly used in combination with the word *qıran* (eagle): *qırımnan qıran qus közi körip samğaganda*; *qıranşa qarap qırımğa* (when an eagle flies from a distance; look at the distance like an eagle), etc.

In Kazakh proverbs, the word *qırım* is also combined with eagle or a bird:

Qıran qus qırımnan şaladı,
A true eagle hunts from far (BC 67, 333).
Qus balası qırımğa, iyt balası jırımğa qaraydı,
All birds look at far away, all dogs look at braiding (Kaidar, 2004: 418).

Now, in other proverbs and regular expressions, it is used separately:

Nar balası qırımğa, iyt balası jırımğa,
All camels look at far away, all dogs look at braiding (Kaidar, 2004: 435).

Erden twğan qırımğa qaraydı, iytten twğan jırımğa qaraydı,
Son of a true man look at far away, son of a dog look at braiding (BC 66, 119).

Qızın jaqsı bolsa, qırımdağı keler,
Ulın jaqsı bolsa rwdagı keler.

If you have a good daughter, you will reach far away,
If you have a good son, you will reach your relatives (KATC H 617).

Joldas bolsañ jaqsımen,
Qolın jeter qırımğa.

If you make friends with good people,
You can reach the far distance (Shortanbay akyn) (Zhanpeisov, 1989: 90).

Ulin urımğa, qızın qırımğa qondırdı.
Set the son at home and put the daughter far away (FC 731).

Qırımnan kördi,
Qırımnan izdedi.

Saw it from far away.
Looked for it from far away (FC 497).

The word *qırım*, meaning long, far is preserved in Kyrgyz, Karakalpak, and Altaic languages from Contemporary Turkic languages.

Kyrgyz: *qırım* means “far, distant, distant land; a country in the distance” (KS 459); Karakalpak: *qırım* means “far, distant” (KkRS 431).

Altai: *qırımdağı* means “far, far away” (ATS 109).

The use of the words “*Urım*” (nest) and “*qırım*” (far) in connection with the name of the place, country Rim / Rum, Qırım is often interpreted in this way.

For example:

Burın, bala kezimizde, köñilim Nildey buzılıp; “Ulin – Urımğa, qızın – Qırımğa qondırğan” degen söz tirkesterin estigende, “kötermelew üşin aytila salğan söz goy, äytpese, mal soñında jürgen momın qazaqqa Urım (Rim) qayda, Qırım qayda, Nil qayda” dep oylawşı edik.

The linguistic data above show that such an understanding of the Crimean word in Abai’s works stems from the fact that the original meaning of the word and the changes in the historical development of the language are not taken into account, except in its external form.

xiii. Sawqat “gift, present; share, portion”:

Äbiştñ sawqatın, If you fixed the gift,
Berkitseñ kewdege. Of Abish to my heart (Abai, 1961: 218).

In the modern Kazakh language, the word *sawqat* (gift) is not used alone, but as a double word *sälem-sawqat*. Abai personally used the word “*sawqat*” in his poem.

And, in the translated poem of Krylov, Abai used the form of *sälem-sawqat* as in our literary language:

“Dem alayın” dep keldim, aş qoynıñdı,
Sälem-sawqat äkeldim, hoş körip al (Abai, 1961: 383).

I came to rest, spread your arms,
I brought you gifts, accept with joy,

The form of *sälem-sawqat* is also preserved in regular expressions in the Kazakh language:

Sälem-sawqat berdi. Sent a parcel (FS 610).

In addition, we know that the word *sawğa* (present, gift) is also associated with *sawqat*. Well-known Kazakh scientist E. Zhanpeisov speaks about the fact that the forms of *sawğa* and *sawqat* come from the same root. He sees *sawğa* in the Kazakh language in connection with *savğat* in the Azerbaijani language (Zhanpeisov, 1989: 13).

We also know that Abai’s words *sälem-sawqat* and *sawğa* in the literary language are the same.

Comparison

sawğa means “gift, contribution from the hunt” to health:

Batırdan – sawğa, bāygeden – olja.

Ask the hero for spoils, ask the race for trophy (BC 67, 117).

Aqsaq iyt saw iytten sawğa tileydi.

A lame dog wants a share from a healthy dog (BC 65, 351).

Şeberden olja, şeşennen sawğa.

Share from the master, gift from the eloquent (BC 67, 432).

Words of *Sawğa* and *sawqat* in Turkic Inscriptions:

In the Mukadimetul etiquette from the written monuments of the Khorezm epoch, *sawqat* / *sawğat* means “gift” (ME.78-8); In Ibn Muhenna’s dictionary, *sawğat* means “gift, present” (IML.230).

In the written heritage of the Chagatay epoch, *sawğat* / *sowğat* / *sowqat* means “gift, present” (Kachalin, 2011: 992); In “Zhamigat Tauarikh”, *sawqat* means “the spoils of war” (Syzykova, 2009: 157).

In the “Book of Dede Korkut” from Anatolian Turkish, *sawğat* means “a gift, present” (DKK.95-6).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Kyrgyz: *sooğat* means “war, a gift from the spoils of war, a gift”; *sooğa* means “contribution from hunting or war booty” (KS 660); Karakalpak: *sawğa* means “a gift, a gift equal to the spoils of war or hunting” (KkRS 568); Nogai: *sawqat* means “gift, parcel”; *sawğa* means “gift, present” (NRS 281); Bashkir: *sawğa* means “gift of war or game” (BTH II 179); Kumuk: *sawğat* means “gift, prise; reward”: *sawğat etip ber* means “give as a gift” (KumTS 289); Karachay-Balkar: *sawğa* means “gifts, presents, souvenirs; reward”: *sawğa ber* means “give as a gift” (KMTS 334).

Uyghur *soğa* means “gift”: *soğa qylmoq* means “give as a gift” (YUTS 357); Uzbek: *sowğa* means “a pleasant gift” (UTIL II 164). Turkish: *Savgat* means “male name”; Turkmen: *sovgat* means “gift” (TDS 584).

Mongolian: *sawğad* means “gift, parcel” (Kachalin, 2011: 99; MTS 1052); ancient Mongol: *savgat* means “a gift of joy, a gift of acquaintance”.

xiv. Tön- “to turn, to change”

Kim bileđi, bayğustar,	Who knows, poor thing,
Bayandıdan söndiñ be,	Are you tired of tedious life?
Bayansızğa töñdiñ be?	Have you turned to the impermanency?
	(Abai, 1961: 226).

In the poem, Abai used the verb “*tönüw*”, which means “to come upon something, to look over it; to encounter, to turn” in the Kazakh literary language, in the sense of “rotation” as in the Oguz language.

The Verb *tönüw* in Turkic Inscriptions:

Dîvânu Lugâtî't-Türk: *tön* means "turning in Oguz" (DLT 526 / 427). "Kutadgu Bilig": *töñit* means "bending; turning" (KB.6532).

In Nehcü'l-Feradis, from the heritage of the Khorezm epoch, *tön* means "to turn" (NF.11-14); In Ibn Muhenna's dictionary, *dön* means "to turn"; *döndür* means "to turn sth" (IML.88B.10); In the "Story of the Prophets", *töñter* means "to turn" (KE.162v21); in Mukadimetul etiquette: *dömder-* / *töñder* means "roll back" (ME.17-2).

In the Kipchak monuments "Codex Cumanicus": *tön* means "to turn" (CC.70a / 16).

In the Gulistan translation translated from Mamluk Kipchak artefacts, *tön* means "to turn" (GT.116 / 11); Et-Tuhfetü'z-Zekiyye: *tön* means "return" (TZ 17a-10); in Kitâbü'l-İdrâk, *dön* means "to return" (Kİ.50).

In the divan of Shibani khan from the heritage of the Chagatay epoch *tön* means "to come back, to turn" (Shiban.80b-4); In the Senglah dictionary, *dön* means "to turn" (Seng.225v22).

In Anatolian Turkish inscriptions, *dön* means "to return; to turn, to change; to repeat, to reconstruct; to transit" (Süheyl.72-15...; DKK.279-2...).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Turkish: *dön-* means "to return, to turn, to switch, to change, to wrap" (TS I 633); Azerbaijani: *dön-* meaning the same as above (JUSTICE II 149); Turkmen: *döön-* "meaning the same as above" (TrkmRS 282); Gagauz: *dön-* "meaning the same as above" (GRMS 159).

Uzbek: *dönmək* (arch.) "to turn" (UTIL I 243); Uyghur: *döñgi* means "to slander" (YUTS 106).

Karakalpak: *dön* means "change, transit, rotate, change" (KkRS 177); Nogai: *dön* means "to rethink, to change, to reject, to change opinion" (HRS 101); Tatar: *dün* means "to turn, to rotate, to turn over"; *tün* means "to depart, to be headed, to turn; to give up, to go back, to move, to leave; to change" (TatRS 581); Bashkir: *dün* means "to rotate, to return, to twist, to reverse" (BTS 134); Kukuk: *dön* means "to change, to rotate, to transit; to disintegrate, to break; to age" (KumRS127); Karachay-Balkar: *döñ* means "to despair; refuse from opinions and words" (KMTS 186); Karaiym: *don* means "to return, to rotate, to turn" (KRPS 79).

Tuva: *tön* means "to end, to exhaust; fatigue" (TuvRS 419).

Yakut: *tönün* means "to return, to turn, to rotate" (YARS 395); Chuvash: *tün* means "to change, to rotate, to return" (Fedotow II, 1996: 262).

xv. *Üşbu* "the, this":

In his translation, Abai used the pronoun "osı" (the, this) in the Kazakh literary language in the form of *üşbw*:

Üşbuw hıyal kelse basqa, Sen jüder dep men üşin,	If this dream occurred to me, That you would suffer from longing for me (Abai, 1961: 354).
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The three in Abai are related to the *osı* variant in the Kazakh language, *oş / uş / uşbuw / oşbuw / işbuw* in the Turkic inscriptions, and *oşo / oşa / oşu / uşu / usı* in the Turkic languages (ESTYA I 493).

The Word *uşbu* in Ancient Turkic Inscriptions:

The ancient Uyghur inscription in the epic of Oguz Kagan: *oşbu* means “the, this”: *yolda oşbu ayğır at közden yitü qaçtı ketti* means “on the way, the stallion disappeared from sight” (DTS 372).

Dîvânü Lugâtî't-Türk: *uş* means “here, this” (DLT 30 / 17...).

In the Qutb “Khusrau and Shyryn from the legacy of the Khorezm epoch”: *oşbu* means “this” (Zayaczkowski, 1961: 120); “The Story of Prophets”: *uş* means “this” (KE.37v12...).

In Mamluk Kipchak monuments: *uşbu / işbu* means “this, here, the” (KıpTS 294).

In the Chagatay inscriptions: *uşbu / işbu* means “this, here” (Budagow, 1869: 137).

In Anatolian Turkish writings, *işbu / uşbu* means “here, this” (YeniTS 118).

In Contemporary Turkic Languages:

Tatar: *uşbu* means “here, this” (Radloff I, 1893: 1779); Karaiym: *uşbu / uşpu* means “this, the, here” (KRPS 588).

Uzbek: *uşbu* means “this, that” (UTIL II, 1981: 289); Uyghur: *uşbu* means “this one” (YUTS, 2009: 440).

Turkish: *işbu* means “this, the” (TSS 292).

Conclusion

In Abai’s poetry there are many uses that are different from our literary language. This is obvious, first of all, because the structure of poetry is different from prose. This is because the poet used different terms from the literary language due to the conditions inherent in the poem, such as the number of syllables. Second, the author uses new words and morphological differences to create a combination, to preserve the number of syllables. In our article, first of all, the linguistic differences in Abai’s poetry are considered. Lexical features were analysed with examples in the context, along with verses. When each passive word or grammatical difference is mentioned, an example is given along with the whole sentence or couplet. Linguistic differences were also compared with the data of Turkic written monuments and Contemporary Turkic languages. The exact meaning of obscure words in Abai’s lexicon was determined on the basis of a comparative-historical method. Materials of Contemporary Turkic languages were used in full, starting from the ancient Turkic written monuments. The exact source of materials from Turkic monuments and languages is indicated. About 30 dictionaries of Turkic languages, ancient Turkic heritage (Orkhon Monuments, ancient Uyghur written heritage, Karakhanid artefacts), and medieval inscriptions (Khorezm, Kipchak, Chagatay, Ottoman heritage) were used. The main literature on the monuments was Turkic, and materials of Contemporary Turkic languages were taken

from Russian dictionaries. The used works are given in full in “Literature” and “Conditional Abbreviations”.

The analysis of the Abai’s language is based on the “One-volume complete collection of Abai’s works” published in 1961. When the linguistic features were shown, the versions of the “Murseit Manuscript” were also compared. Poems written in Arabic script in the “Collection of Abai’s Poems”, published in 1909, were also used. Doubtful words or forms in the 1961 collection were compared with the manuscript.

There are many linguistic differences in Abai’s Words. This is due to the fact that the poet wrote the Words in the old Kazakh written language (Chagatay) typical of that period. Since the Words are written in the Chagatay language, there are some individual words typical of Oguz and Karluk languages. We analysed such words and found out which ones belong to Oguz and which to Karluk.

In conclusion, in this article we have shown some obvious linguistic features, and compared them with the Turkic languages, the language of written monuments, and made a brief analysis. We have studied the uses that differ from today’s literary language in terms of morphological, phonetic, and lexical features. Mainly Turkic words and antiquities were analysed. Loanwords from Arabic-Persian languages were not taken. In the future, it is planned to analyse the loanwords separately.

It is difficult to explain the meaning of some words in Abai: for example, *aydındıruw*, *aydınuw*, *keznesüw* etc. So far, we have made assumptions only in order to make researchers think. By selecting examples, we could fit a large topic into a short chapter. We could not give all the examples we collected, we tried to be as brief as possible. There is no doubt that in the future it is necessary to work with the manuscript and identify some of the doubts in the textology.

Topics such as double words, phraseology, proverbs, and semantics of the poet’s vocabulary in the Abai language are also relevant. We will not stop there, but will continue to study the above issues.

Appendix: Abbreviations and Symbols:

- AbaiTS: Abai Language Dictionary. Almaty. Art. 2011.
- ADIL: Explanatory Dictionary of the Azerbaijani Language. I-IV. Baku. Academy of Sciences. 1966-1987.
- ATS: Altaic Turkic Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1999.
- AzRS: Azerbaijani-Russian Dictionary. Baku. 1941.
- AzTS: Azərbaycan Türkçesi Sözlüğü. C. I-II. Istanbul. 1994.
- BRS: Bashkir-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. Russian Language. 1996.
- BS: Words of Ancestors: One Hundred Volumes, 65-69 volumes. Astana. Foliant, 2011.
- BTH: The Fluency of the Bashkir Language. T. I-II. Moscow. Russian Language, 1993.
- BTS: Başkurt Türkçesi Sözlüğü. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2017.
- CC: Codex Cumanicus. İstanbul. Kesit Yayınları. 2015.
- ChuvRS: Chuvash-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. Russian language. 1982.
- DialWords: Dialectological Dictionary. Almaty. Arys. 2007.
- DKK: Dede Korkut Kitabı, C. I-II. TDK Publications. Ankara. 2009.
- DLT: Dîvânü Lugâti't-Türk. Ercilasun A.; Akkoyunlu Z. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2015.
- DS: Derleme Sözlüğü (Dialectological dictionary of the Turkish Language).
- DTS: Ancient Turkic Dictionary. Leningrad. Nauka. 1969.
- ESTYA: Etymological Dictionary of Turkic Languages. I-VII – Moscow. Nauka. 1974-2003.
- EUTS: Old Uyghur Turkic Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2011.
- FS: Phraseological Dictionary. Almaty. Arys. 2007.
- GRMS: Gagauz-Russian-Moldavian Dictionary. Moscow. Soviet Encyclopedia, 1973.
- GT: Seyfî Sarâyî, Gulistan Translation. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1989.
- HRS: Hakasko-Rwsskiy Slovar. Moscow. Glavizdat. 1953.
- HTS: Hakas-Turkish Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2007.
- IB: Irk Bitig – Ankara. TDK Publications. 2017.
- IML: Ibn Muhennâ Lûgati. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1997.
- KATS: Dictionary of the Kazakh Literary Language. I-XV. Almaty. Institute of Linguistics. 2011.
- KB: Kutadgu Bilig, III Index. Istanbul. TKAE Publications. 1979.
- KE: Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ (Ata A.), I-II. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1997.
- KI: Abû Hayyân Kitâbu'l-Idrâk li Lisân al-Atrâk. Istanbul. Evkaf Printing House. 1931.
- KıpTS: Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2014.
- KirgRS: Kyrgyz-Russian Dictionary (composed by Yudahin K.). T. I-II. Frunze. 1985.
- KK: El-Kawaninü'l-Küllüyye Li-Zabti'l Lûgati't-Türkiyye. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1999.
- KkRS: Karakalpak-Russian dictionary. Moscow. 1958.
- KMRS: Short Mongolian-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. 1947.
- KMTS: Karachay-Malkar Turkic Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2000.

KRPS: Karaimsko-Russian-Polish Dictionary. Moscow. Russian Language. 1974.

KS: Kyrgyz Dictionary. Ankara: TDK Publications. 2011.

KT: The Kultegin Monument.

KTAS: Regional Dictionary of the Kazakh Language. Almaty. Arys Publishing House. 2005.

KTRS: Crimean Tatar-Russian Dictionary. Simferopol. Thesis. 2007.

KumRS: Kumyk-Russian Dictionary. Moscow: Soviet Encyclopedia, 1969.

KumTS: Kumuk Turkic Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2000.

LD: Lutfi Divani. Ankara: TDK Publications. 1997.

M: Magauina, M. Alasapyran. Almaty. 1988.

Maitri: Maitrisimit; Uyghur Metins II. Ankara. Atatürk University Summer. 1960.

ME: Mukaddimetü'l-Edeb. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2014.

MTS: Mongolian-Turkish Dictionary, I-II. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2003.

NF: Nehcü'l-Feradis, I-II. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1998.

NRS: Nogai-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. 1963.

Seng: Sanglah, A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language. London. 1960.

Shiban: Shiban Khan Divan. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1998.

SS: Kazakh Dictionary. Almaty. Daur Publishing House. 2013.

Süheyl: Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar. Ankara. Atatürk Cultural Center Publication. 1991.

TatRS: Tatar-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. Soviet Literature. 1966.

TDS: Dictionary of the Turkmen Language. Ashgabat. Nauka. 1962.

TelAS: Teleut Mouth Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2000.

TKS: Turkish-Kazakh Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2019.

TrkmRS: Turkmen-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. Soviet Encyclopedia. 1968.

TS: Turkish Dictionary, 11th edition. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2011.

TTAS: Explanatory Dictionary of the Tatar Language, I-III, October. Tatarstan Book Publishing House. 1977, 1979, 1981.

TuvRS: Tuvinian-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. Soviet Encyclopedia. 1968.

TYS: Turkish-Sahan (Yakut) Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1995.

TZ: Et-Tuhfetu'z-zekiyye fi'l-Lugati't-Türkiyye. Istanbul. 1945.

UHSHL: Dictionary of Uzbek Folk Shivas. Tashkent. 1971.

UTIL: Isolated Dictionary of the Uzbek Language. Moscow. 1981.

YARS: Yakutsko-Russian Dictionary. Moscow. Soviet Encyclopedia. 1972.

YeniTS: New Scan dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 1983.

YUTS: New Uyghur - Turkish Dictionary. Ankara. TDK Publications. 2013.

Zeban: Zebân-ı Türkî. Erzurum. Phenomenon Publishing. 2011.

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CHAPTER – VIII

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ABAI'S MANUSCRIPTS

Torali KYDYR

At the beginning of this study, we must state that unfortunately, Abai's manuscripts have not reached us. The complete academic collections of the poet's works, published in different years, are mainly based on the manuscripts copied by Murseit Bikiuly in 1906, 1907, and 1910. The poems, Words, and translations of the poet are almost all contained in these manuscripts. Manuscripts copied in different years by Saduakas Shormanov, Knyaz Khudashev, Toleu Tugelbaiuly, Sheriazdan Marsekov, Turagul Abaiuly (Ibragimov), and Akhat Shakarimuly in Arabic script have a special place in the field of Abai studies. Furthermore, all three anonymous manuscripts found in recent years, which are ascribed to Abai, require a special investigation by Abai scholars.

Today, more than a dozen manuscripts of Abai's works are known to scholars. The number of poems and Words found in these documents also varies. Some verses are written differently. The study of these manuscripts and textual research of Abai's works is a topical issue today. This article provides information about more than a dozen copies of Abai's works and reveals the differences, achievements, and shortcomings of these texts.

The basis of the social sciences is texts. And among texts, the original texts are essential. Without them, the object of research in the social sciences will not be fully achieved. The lack of authentic manuscripts poses some difficulties in social sciences. There are many such cases. Even the heritage of some great writers is studied based on copies that were produced years or centuries later. For example, the oldest known version of the words of wisdom of Khoja Akhmed Yasawi, who lived in the twelfth century, dates back to the sixteenth century. As well as the manuscripts that show Yasawi's writing style, the copies produced by scribes

during the poet's lifetime or shortly after are also missing. And this poses problems in Yasawi studies concerning, for example, the poet's handwriting and language, and his brave scientific conclusions. It is hard to imagine how much the author's words have changed in the 400 years of "silence" since the poet's time.

Although the authentic texts of some poets have not survived to our day, we still feel thankful for the existence of manuscripts that were copied some years after the authors' time.

The absence of the original texts, which show the poets' writing style and language, is not limited to ancient or medieval manuscripts. Some of the works of some great poets and writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries could not stand the test of time and did not reach the coming generations. There are both objective and subjective reasons for that.

Today, publishers are the bridge between the author and the reader. But in the days when the publishing industry was underdeveloped, this linking role was played by scribes. Thanks to scribes and calligraphers, who copied works of those in-demand authors of their time in several duplicates to earn a living, the authors' legacy has revived. Although the scribes try not to spoil the original text as much as possible, the authors' thoughts and opinions may not have been fully conveyed. In some cases, the poet's legacy may have been "edited" and changed. After some years, even the words and phrases used by the author become obsolete, and there are occasions when the scribe (copier) rewrites them in the style of his time. Also, depending on the political and ideological environment caused by the authorities, the author's words may be distorted, some parts may be abbreviated, some texts may get edited, and the original thoughts may be completely different. In this case, to what extent is the author's copyright (poet, writer) preserved? Here lies the problem. In such cases, the importance of manuscripts and textual studies increases.

The reason for talking about authors' authentic manuscripts is that Abai (Ibrahim) Kunanbaiuly's written texts were also missing. One of the most pressing issues in today's Abai studies is the lack of a text that shows the poet's writing style and language, i.e., the fact that the poet's writings have not been preserved and have not survived to our time. Abai's words of wisdom, the words of a famous thinker and poet of his time, have passed on to generations in the form of manuscripts copied by scribes, mainly through the manuscripts of the poet's secretary Murseit Bikiuly. The variants copied by Murseit in 1906, 1907, and 1910 are a treasure of today's Abai studies. The full academic edition of the poet's works from different years was published thanks to these copies. Well-known Abai scholars, led by M. Auezov, took part in these publications in different years. Although it was a time of left-wing policies, they were so sympathetic to Abai's legacy that they tried to present the poet's works as they were, without editing. Even the religious didactic works of the poet were not criticised and were published with the efforts of these scholars.

Publishing Abai's Works

Abai's works were first published in 1909 by the Vostochnaya Publishing House in St. Petersburg (Abai, 1909). The book, released under the auspices of Kakitai and Turagul, also includes Abai's poems *The Story of Masgut* and *The Story of Iskandar* (Alexander the Great). Published with a foreword by Kakitai Iskakuly Kunanbaiuly, the book is divided into six parts. Abai had one more collection, published in Arabic script, which was released in Kazan in 1922. This book was published by Berniyaz Kuleyev (Abai, 1922a). The third edition, printed in Arabic script, was published by the Turkestan State Publishing House in Tashkent in 1922 (Abai, 1922a). The main difference between these three editions from other later academic collections was that all these collections were printed in ancient Arabic script. Also, these editions do not contain his Words.

Abai's complete collection was published in 1933 in Kyzylorda under the editorship of M. Auezov. Along with the poems, his Words were published for the first time in this edition (Abai, 1933). The next collection of works was released by the Kazakh branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In 1939 it was published in two volumes. In the same year, the poems and verses were published in the first volume (Abai, 1939), and in 1940 his translations and long poems were published in the second volume (Abai, 1940). Published in two volumes in Latin script, this collection paved the way for later academic publications. In other words, a tradition of compiling Abai's verses and translations into one volume, and Words and long poems into another, has formed.

The works of the poet Abai Kunanbaiuly's complete collection was published by Kazbirmembas publishing house (Abai, 1945) in the modern Cyrillic alphabet in 1945. Nine years later, in 1954, the works were reprinted by the Almaty publishing house Gylym (Abai, 1954). In 1957, Abai's works were published in two volumes by the Kazakh State Publishing House of Literature (Abai, 1957). Four years later, in 1961, the works were published in one volume (Abai, 1961) by this publishing house again.

Under the auspices of scholars from the Auezov Institute of Literature and Arts, Gylym publishing house released the academic collection of the complete works by Abai in 1977 in two volumes (Abai, 1977). This edition catered to the demand of Kazakh readers of that time in the heritage of Abai.

After independence, on the eve of the 150th anniversary of Abai, the Academic Collection of Abai's Complete works was published in two volumes (Abai, 1995) in 1995 with the assistance of scholars from the Auezov Institute of Literature and Arts. This two-volume book made a significant contribution to the field of Abai studies during the years of independence. For the last quarter of a century, it has played the role of a canonical document that contains all works by Abai.

We have witnessed the publication of works by Abai several times over the past hundred years. First published in St. Petersburg in 1909 in the ancient style of Arabic script, Abai's legacy was published in Latin and then in the Cyrillic alphabet in later periods. So, it was published in three different alphabets (Arabic, Latin, and Cyrillic), not to mention the possible changes in the internal content.

The compilers of each new collection have made their best effort to take advantage of the previous editions and not repeat their shortcomings. With the development of Abai studies, the responsibility for this area will improve. Therefore, the errors in the first editions were corrected and improved. When scholars began to compile a complete collection of works by Abai, the first to be found were manuscripts (mostly Murseit manuscripts) containing the whole legacy of Abai.

The main difference between the copied manuscripts and the later published academic collections of Abai's works is their scripts, i.e. while the manuscripts were written in Arabic script, the academic collections published during the Soviet era were printed in Latin or Cyrillic. Also, during Abai's lifetime, Kazakh society was under the regime of Tsarist Russia, and the publication of the academic collections coincided with the time of the Communists that set out to create an atheistic society.

Copies of Manuscripts of Abai's Works

Comparative Text Analysis of Manuscripts

In general, copies of manuscripts and books published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were in several scripts. The documents copied in Arabic script, not to mention works published in the latin and Cyrillic alphabets, can be classified into Qadim (ancient) and Jadid (direct writing) types. The difference between the scripts of manuscripts and books may result in the difference in the author's language, albeit not massively. As well as translating some literary works from one language to another, transcribing from one script to another may also lead to these texts losing their value and may even destroy them as a literary genre. For example, one of Abai's first poems, *I worshipped your face of the moon* (Alfidek ai yuzina gibrat ettim), has all its value and beauty when in Arabic script. However, when one transcribes it into latin or Cyrillic script, it becomes a dead genre. Therefore, just in the field of literary criticism, let alone other branches of literature, the authenticity of the manuscript, i.e. the extent to which it belongs to the author, is essential.

Copies of Abai's works have been preserved in several manuscripts. Here we list them in chronological order:

1) *Manuscript of Knyaz Khudashev*, copied in 1897 (Manuscript of Knyaz Khudashev, 1897). Khudashev, who collected samples of Kazakh oral literature, copied some of Abai's poems in his lifetime. On the first page of the manuscript, in the traditional Arabic script, is written, «کناز خوداشوتینک قولجازباسی ۱۸۹۷ جیلی», i.e. Knyaz Khudashev's handwriting (manuscript). Written in 1897; while on the second page, it reads, «ا.ق. اوعلیتک قزاق ایلینک اوشبو زمانداعی افعالاریغه مناسب (تولعوا)», i.e. Selected Poems of A. Kunanbaiuly on the thoughts of the Kazakh people of modern time.

Alongside Abai's poems, the manuscript also contains several poems by the public figure, poet Saduakas Shormanov (1849-1927). To separate the verses by the two poets, the scribe (copier) Khudashev indicates whom they belong to, by inserting letters (ا.ق.؛ س.ش.), i.e. (A. K.; s. Sh.), at the end of each poem. Khudashev copied

these poems for himself, so he did not pay much attention to the principles of traditional writing. Therefore, the manuscript lacks internal consistency.

In Khudashev's manuscript Abai says; *I am disappointed in both friend and foe. Poetic speech, the Queen of literature. Old age is here - sad thoughts, poor sleep and all. Hunting eagle. The rich are protecting their wealth. Oh my luckless Kazakh, my unfortunate kin. The eagle hunters hunt after a storm. 'Tis laughter we should prize, not empty jests. I have said a lot before. Stealing, horror, cunning cannot earn wealth, Would hungry belly feel satisfied without rich food?. Gloomy grey clouds cover the sky. The two months of November and December, My soul Is dead, my body Is alive. There Is no Indefatigable friend In the people, and A swaying character.* Khudashev tried to systematize some of the poems. The poems presented as separate ones in current collections are grouped in Khudashev's manuscripts. For example, the two poems *'Tis Laughter we should prize, toof empty jest and I have said a lot before* are presented as a single work titled *Advice*, while *Stealing, horror and cunning cannot earn wealth* and *Would hungry belly foe! satisfied without rich food?* are given as one piece, titled *Trade*.

This manuscript, known in scholarship as the *Khudashev version*, is small in size, but chronologically it was compiled during Abai's lifetime.

2) *Manuscript under the title "leader"*, compiled by the public figure, poet Saduakas Shormanov (Saduakas Shormanov, 1897). This version was copied in 1897. The scribe explained the reason for copying the manuscript as follows:

بو فقيردين بعضى قزاق برادرلاريميز لاتيماس ايتديلار قزاق تلنده بوليب ايتلمش مقال آبيات مرثيه مشهور آدملاز حقتده ارا ر ايتلمش جيبب بر مجمعه آيلاسنگ شاييد باسمة اولونسه بزنگ. آثر لاريمزده ضايع اوليماي ميدانغه توسسه فايده دن حالي بولماس ايدى ديمك ر جالارى بنه بتا برنجه لرين جمع آيلا ب بو كتابچه غه باشجى آت بردوم غيرى لر غه باشجى بولماغن اميد ايتوب آمين. هر آبياتي نينك آخر ينده ايتوچيلار نينك اسملارده برار يكي حروف ايلان اشار آبلاديم كمدين 'نصنف ايتولكانى معلوم او جون. سعد وقاص موص او غلى جور مانوف
1897

Some of our Kazakh brothers asked US to collect and compile proverbs, verses, eulogies (lamentations), [sayings about] famous people in the Kazakh language. If it was published, it would not be wasted, and it would be read by the public, and there wouldn't be any harm, they said, Upon this request, I collected some and titled the collection *Leader*, wishing it to be the guide to others. At the end of each verse, I also indicated the names of the author with one or two letters to reveal who wrote it (Shormanov, 1897).

According to S. Sharmanov, the manuscript leader also contains samples of Kazakh oral literature, but not just the poems by Abai. It contains Abai's following poems: *'Tis laughter we should prize, not empty jests, I have said a lot before, I do not write verses for fun. Theft, horror, and cunning cannot earn wealth. My soul Is dead, my body Is alive. There Is no Indefatigable friend In people, A swaying character. The eagle hunters hunt out In the autumn. Gloomy grey clouds cover the sky. The two months of November and December, and winter frost doesn't stay near the Summer.*

The manuscript of Saduakas Shormanov was compiled more professionally. At the end of each page is the first line of the next verse. The rules of traditional manuscript documents have been observed strictly. The layout of the texts is

similar to conventional manuscript templates. According to the sources, Saduakas Shormanov took the collection to St. Petersburg for publication and handed it over to P. I. Melioransky, a professor at St. Petersburg University and a well-known turkologist. However, S. Shormanov fell ill during this trip and returned to the country, so he could not get the manuscript published. This manuscript of S. Shormanov (a total of 153 pages) was never published and known to the public, S. Shormanov also copied it during Abai's lifetime.

These manuscripts of Knyaz Khudashev and Saduakas Shormanov were found in the archives of the Geographical Society in Leningrad in 1946. Academician Alkei Margulan introduced them to the scholarship (Margulan, 30). From the first day of their discovery, arousing the interest of Abai scholars, they greatly contributed to the publication of Abai's legacy.

3) *One of the three well-known manuscripts of Murseit Bikiuly* is the one copied in 1906. Until now, it has been believed that the manuscript was copied in 1905. However, the scribe Murseit left the following information about the copying of this manuscript:

مصنف ابراهم مرحوم قونانبای او علی ننگ قاز اقننگ مناز لاری طوعرالی آیتقان سوزی
و نصیحتی یادکار او چون تیوشلی دور میکائیل
ابراهم اوعلینه یازیلدی فی سنة 1324 من هجرة خاتم النبیین 1906 سنة میلادی

The words and advice of the Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly, regarding the Kazakh characters, belongs to Mikail Ibrahimuly, were written in 1324 of Hijri calendar of the last of the prophets (i.e., Muhammad), in 1906 of the civic calendar.

From this note of the scribe, one knows that he copied this manuscript in 1906 from Abai's son Mikael. The manuscript consists of two main parts. The first half contains the poems (Murseit, 1906: 2-114). On the second page, the line. *Old age is here - sad thoughts, poor sleep and all* is changed from the first-person plural to the first-person singular, and the poem consists of only five lines. The third page begins with the poem: *A clever man makes difficult but wise decisions* and ends with the translation *The barn of a rich man, broken into by thefts*.

The second half of the manuscript consists of Abai's Words (Murseit, 1906: 129-200). The Words consist of four parts: *Words*, *Kitab Tasdiq (Book of Confirmation)*, *Advice*, and *Words of Socrates*. The Words are numbered. They are arranged from page 130 to 178; *Kitab tasdik* is presented on pages 179-192. Here is written. *Written by Murseit Bikiuly*. On the next page, the 37th Word in the current collection is entitled *Advice*, and there are 16 pieces of it. The 13th of them is the 45th Word that is listed in many of the latest collections. *Words of Socrates* come on pages 197-200 of the manuscript.

The 202-page manuscript is worn out. The texts on the first and last pages are unreadable. The head of the right-hand line of the first eight pages of the poem is missing. More than half of the content on pages 108-109 is torn. Some pages are missing.

4) *The book Kazakh characters by Ibrahim, in the Copy of Murseit* is another manuscript by Murseit. It is also a valuable source for Abai studies. On the second page of this manuscript, under the heading *Kitab' aqli* (کتاب عقلی)

... ابراهمنك قازاقتك مناز لارى ... يازيب يادكارقالديرغان سوزين يازديم به كه او على هجرة نك في سنة ١٣٢٥ من هجرة ... في شهر محرم سنة ١٩٠٧ ميلادى مارط

I wrote down the Kazakh character, the Words of Ibrahim, ... which he left behind. ...Bikiuly, 1325 year of Hijri calendar, Muharram (month), 1907 year of the civic calendar, March. It shows that Murseit copied the manuscript in March 1907.

The first two to five pages of the manuscript are hard to read because they are torn and not properly preserved. The ordinal number of Words in this document does not match that in today's collections. At the end of the *Kitab al-Akli* (Murseit, 1907: 72), it reads, «تمت الكتاب بعون ملك الوهاب». (The Book was completed with the help of the lord of the Kingdom of Generosity (Allah).) He thanked God for completing the copy.

The manuscript consists of two parts. The Words come in the first half. They are divided into four groups: *Kitab al-Akli* (The Book of Wisdom) (pp. 2-54), *Advice* (Murseit, 1907: 55-56), *Kitab Tasdiq* (Book of Confirmation) (Murseit, 1907: 57-72), and *Words of Socrates* (Murseit, 1907: 72-75). The Words are numbered in Arabic numerals (for example, ٨-th, ٩-th.).

Some of the sentences in the *Kitab Tasdiq* (Book of Confirmation) section (Murseit, 1907: 60-69) are written in black pencil in Hashia style. The original text was possibly forgotten at the time of copying and rewritten around on the margins later. Because the pages of this *Book of Confirmation* were not preserved well, water has soaked the bottom of the paper, and the letters have been erased.

Abai's Words end with the *Words of Socrates* (Murseit, 1907: 75). Then the poems begin. Unfortunately, two pages are missing where the Words end and the verses begin (Murseit, 1907: 76-77). The poems start with the lines *One of them is missing wandering in the village. How pathetic to live a life Just for fun* (Murseit, 1907: 78). The fifth stanza of the poem *A person advantageous over the other*, which begins with *As life a goat seeing a dog, and talking like a mad man*, is written in black ink, while the sixth and seventh stanzas (which start with the lines *Pretending a learned man. Inclined to laugh at others*) are written in Hashia style (Murseit, 1907: 82). It is possible that the scribe, after copying the manuscript, reviewed it later and refilled it with black ink. Such later replenished places appear in several spots (Murseit, 1907: 84-193).

The poems end like this: *Look at you, the old stature with long ears. People admire you because there is gold in you* (Murseit, 1907: 227). However, the last two stanzas of the poem. *Mas'hoot, Little by little now the crow dispersed, and to their homes, at last, their steps reversed*, are given at the bottom of this page.

Pages 228-229 of the manuscript are missing. On the last three pages (Murseit, 1907: 230-232), there are excerpts from the Word *A few words about the origin of the Kazakhs* without the beginning or the ending.

5) *The next manuscript of Murseit Bikiuly* was copied in 1910. The scribe wrote about the copying of this manuscript as follows:

وعلینه باشلذب یازدیم کتاب تصدیق خیرلی ساعته بتب تیسون دایوربای خواجه اوعلینه با شلاب یازدیم
هجرنک ۱۳۲۷ سنه ده میلادی ۱۹۱۰ نجی بلندا أبريل ننگ ۲۰ نجی کوننده یاز عوچی
مرسید بکی مرحوم هوعلی

(I wrote *Kitab Tasdik* to Dairbay Khozhanouly to let him have it at a good time, written by Murseit Biki Myryguly in the 1327 year of Hijri calendar, on April 20, 1910, of the civic calendar.) It turns out that Murseit copied this version for Dairbay Khozhanouly.

Alongside Abai's works, this manuscript also contains poems by Turagul and Maghauiya. The verses by his children are located at the end of the document, with identification of some of the poems.: for example, (آبایدیکی) (by Abai), (معاشدیکی) (by Maghauiya), (طوراولدیکی) (by Turagul).

The manuscript consists of two parts. On pages 1-166 there are works by Abai (and some pieces by Magauiya and Turagul dispersed among them); from page 168 to the end is *Medgat-Kasym* (میدعاد قاسیم) (Murseit, 1910: 168-186), and *The Story of Joseph from Dagestan* by Magauiya (قیصه داعستان یوسف) (Murseit, 1910: 187-204). On page 167 is written *معاویة* (Magauiya) to indicate to whom the works after this page belong.

This manuscript of works by Abai consists of three main parts: the first part: *Kitab Tasdiq* (*Confirmation of the Book*) (Murseit, 1910: 61-62), *Akil Kitabı* (*Book of Wisdom*) (Murseit, 1910: 19-60), *Advice* (Murseit, 1910: 61-62), and *Words of Socrates* (Murseit, 1910: 63-65); the second part: *Abai's poems and translations* (Murseit, 1910: 66-156); the third part: *The Story of King Iskandar* (Murseit, 1910: 157-160), *The Story of Mashoot* (Murseit, 1910: 161-165).

Abai's poems are divided into several groups depending on the themes. «- 1 «نجی بولیک اولانک خلق طورالی - 1886 نجی یلی یازیلغان (Part 1. The poems about morality, written in 1886) (Mursaid, 1910: 66). The poems are numbered in the order in which they are arranged. *The Story of King Iskandar* and *The Story of Mashoot* are also numbered as other poems. The 175th and last work in the manuscript is *The Story of Mashoot* («مسعود آذکمه سی»).

With a total volume of 218 pages, this manuscript is one of the major sources in modern Abai studies.

6) *Another scribe who copied Abai's poems was Toleu Tugelbaiuly*. He copied the works in 1913 and 1914. No exact date of Toleu Tugelbaiuly's manuscripts is identified. The 91-page collection contains some poems by Abai.

It is hard to know how skilful a scribe Toleu Tugelbaiuly is. Judging by the fact that at the end of some of the poems, he signed *تولاو* (Toleu the scribe), he was practising scribing. Although some Arabic letters are written as calligraphers do, the inconsistency of the handwriting, the deletion, and rewriting of some parts indicate that he was not an established professional scribe.

The order of the poems is similar to that in the earlier manuscripts and the lithography that was published in St. Petersburg in 1909. However, we are not able to know which edition the scribe relied on when he copied the poems. That is because the texts in this manuscript were edited, i.e. changed. For example, in the poem, *God is true, and His word is true*, the order of the words in the lines *Love God, thou too, as We created mankind with love* has changed. Many words in the manuscript have undergone such changes. In other words, although the scribe Toleu adopted the order of arrangement of poems from the earlier editions when copying, it seems that he often paid more attention to the fact that the poems were widespread as songs in the country.

7) Another scribe of Abai's works was Shertazdan Marsekov (1882-1938). Marsekov, one of the most learned figures of his time, reprinted the works by Abai and Shakarim in 1934.

At the beginning of the manuscript, he writes 1 - 84 گه ده ين ابای قونابای - د ه ن باستاب
ولینیک تایمده ری - 85 ده ن ابیعینه شه ين شاکه ریم قودایبه ردی ولینیک تایمده ری

(From the number 1 to 84 are Abai Kunanbaiuly's teachings, from 85 on are the teachings of Shakerim Kudaibergenuly). From this, we can see that Abai's poems were arranged from the first page of the manuscript to page 84.

On the second page, in the middle, of the manuscript, he writes in black ink: جیناوشی
کو شه ریازدان مارسه کو (the Collector Sheriazdan Marsekov).

At the end of Abai's poems, the scribe wrote that he finished the collection in 1934. III. 16, indicating March 16, 1934.

We do not know which edition of the manuscripts that scribe Marsekov relied upon. However, in many respects, it coincides with the first lithographic edition (1909) (he even copied the foreword of Kakitai, which went into the St. Petersburg edition). However, some of the poems in the lithograph do not appear in this manuscript. For example, after Abai's translation of *Whistling Locust*, a fable by the Russian poet Krylov, he omitted many poems, such as *A Lion in a Mountain*, *The Crow and the Fox*, *Donkey*, *Frog and the Bull*, *The elephant and the poodle*, and *Worse Critique*. Then he immediately arranged the *Story of Mas'hoot* (Sheriazdan Marsekov, 1934: 74-77). In lithography, the following piece is the *Story of King Iskandar*. Marsekov omitted it and copied the poem *Youth*, which begins with the lines *The passionate youth, intoxication in the heart* (Sheriazdan Marsekov, 1934: 77-78). On pages 79-87 of the manuscript, he copied the foreword of Kakitai Iskakuly from the lithography of 1909 under the title *Life of Abai*. But he abbreviated the last part of the foreword.

The main difference between Marsekov's manuscript and other versions and the first lithographic edition is that the earlier editions were in Jadid style, i.e. direct writing. Although the scribe did not follow all the direct writing rules, he tried to keep the principle of one character per sound.

8) One of the most important manuscripts for Abai studies is the *edition of Akhat Shakarimuly* (1903-1984). The youngest son of the famous poet Shakarim Haji has done a lot for Kazakh spirituality. For some years, he headed the Abai Literary Memorial Museum in Zhidibai. He decided to rewrite the works by his

grandfather and pass them on to the next generation. He copied this manuscript in 1949. The 255-page document is not yet widely available in the scholarly circle. This edition, copied in Arabic script, is still waiting for its researchers. At a glance, the poems by Abai were copied in several parts, depending on the idea and theme. Classifying the poems into topics and sections began in 1909 with the lithography. Akhat Shakarimuly was familiar with the book. Also, there is no doubt that he was familiar with some of the manuscripts known to the scholarship circle.

9) One of the manuscripts known to the world of scholarship, but not widely studied, is the *manuscript by Turagul*, Abai's son. Unfortunately, the date of copying is unknown. Looking at the script, one knows that it was done later. Turagul copied it after Akhmet Baitursynuly introduced the direct writing style.

The content of the old and worn-out manuscript is divided into several topics and sections. Along with the poems by Abai, his Words are also included. There are also Abai's translations from Russian classic writers. It is the responsibility of the future to study the manuscript of 243 pages and put it into scholarly circulation.

Two things add value to this manuscript. The first is that the scribe was the youngest son of Abai, Turagul. In other words, the poet's progeny Turagul would have undoubtedly been sympathetic to the legacy of his father. From childhood, he attended schools and madrasas and was literate both in Muslim and Russian. Secondly, he was one of the publishers of the first collection of works by Abai. In 1909, he was directly involved in releasing the first collection of Abai's poems from the publishing house Vostochnaya in St. Petersburg. As Turagul had once collected and compiled the poems together with his brother Kakitaithe, this manuscript naturally becomes significant.

10) Among the hand-copied manuscripts of the works of Abai, there are editions of unknown scribes as well. One such anonymous document is an edition submitted by Amanzhan Zhakypov. On the cover of the manuscript is written in the direct style, *The manuscript collection of works by Abai, 1909 St. Petersburg*. Abai's poems were spread and preserved in manuscript forms among the Kazakhs of East Turkestan, China. There are fable poems by Lermontov and Krylov. At the *Date and place of writing place, it reads St. Petersburg, 1909*. On the last page of the manuscript, in different ink than the ink with which the copy was written, is written «جیلی جازیلدی 1943», that is, the manuscript was copied in 1943. We can infer that this version was copied in 1943 from the lithography published in St. Petersburg in 1909.

Although the scribe tried to rewrite the first collection, which was printed in 1909 in the ancient script, he did not fully preserve the spelling features of the text.

A closer look at the manuscript reveals two different styles of writing. In the first handwriting, each letter is written vertically and precisely, whereas the second is slanted to the right. That is, it was written in a dashed manner.

It was also written in dark blue ink in one place and light blue ink in another. Dark blue ink was used for vertical and clear letters, and light ink was used for dashed writing.

The two different styles of writing may indicate that the manuscript was copied when the scribe was in two different situation, or that the manuscript belongs to two people.

11) It is not clear when some of the manuscripts, the scribe of which is unknown, were copied. One such manuscript of Abai's poems is preserved with the title *The Collection of Literature*. This collection contains poems by Abai, Shadi, Mashkhur Zhusup, Shakarim, and other poets. In other words, along with Abai's poems, the manuscript also includes verses by other well-known literary figures, such as Shadi Tore Zhangiruly, Mashkhur Zhusup Kopeyev, and Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly. Unfortunately, there is no specific information about the manuscript, and the author and the date of the writing are unknown too. So, it is a matter for the future to reveal the author and the history of the manuscript. The second page:

ابرای قونانبای او غلی ننگ آخونلیق مین سویلاگان نضم فیلیب عبرت الماقغه آیتقان بیتلاری

The verses of Abai Kunanbaiuly that he spoke poetically to advise and exemplify. The order and structure of the poems in the manuscript correspond to the St. Petersburg edition of 1909. There is reason to believe that the scribe took the lithographic edition and copied it again. However, it is noticeable that some verses have changed. For example, the poem *Qartaydıq, qayǵı oyladıq, uyqı sergek. Old age is here - sad thoughts, poor sleep and all was copied as Qartaydım, qayǵı oyladım, uyqı sergek*. Similar features appear in several other places.

This 141-page manuscript is well preserved. The colour is rich, the letters are clear. That makes it easy for researchers to look deeper.

12) In the world of scholarship, there is a *manuscript ascribed fo Murseit Bikiuly*. Unfortunately, we do not know to what extent this manuscript belonged to Murseit. However, a line written in Russian on the inner side of the cover reads *Manuscript of Murseit Bekin*. The year when the manuscript was written is also unknown. We can see both the ancient and direct writing scripts in this manuscript. All three manuscripts of Murseit known to US (1906, 1907, 1910) were in the old Arab script. The 160-page document contains poems and 17 Words by Abai. Another difference in Murseit's earlier manuscripts is that some of the suffixes attached to the roots were written in the modern linguistic principles, rather than the ancient (old) ones. Therefore, although the second page of the manuscript states that this version belongs to Murseit, it is up to future scholars to determine whether that is the case.

This is a brief description of the manuscripts of Abai's works. All these works are now in the collection of the Auezov Institute of literature and Art. Comparing these manuscripts, one can see the differences not only in how they are preserved but also in how the poems were copied.

We have given a brief description of the 12 manuscripts of Abai's works. Each manuscript has a copy history. Although copied in the Arabic alphabet, some of the manuscripts, because of the political and social changes of that time, were copied in the traditional ancient style that had been used in Central Asia for a millennium. Manuscripts of Shormanov, Khudashev, and Murseit were written in this script, while Akhat Shakarimuly, Sheriazdan Marsekov, and Turagul Abaiuly, as well

as anonymous (unknown scribes) manuscripts, copied since 1912, and were written in Jadid, i.e. the principle where one letter represents one sound. It will be important to compare the texts of manuscripts copied in one script (Arabic) and two writing patterns (Ancient and Jadid, i.e. direct), and to distinguish similarities and differences. Of course, it is impossible to make a comparative textual study of all the poems and Words of the poet in one article. Therefore, we wanted to compare only some of the poems.

In comparative-text creation, the canonical text is taken as the main pillar. The canonical text usually includes a manuscript bearing the author's handwriting. If no manuscript of the author's handwriting is found, a copy done in the poet's time is used. Otherwise, the most reliable of the later manuscripts will be considered. Unfortunately, a manuscript of Abai's own writing has not reached us. We know that three manuscripts (1906, 1907, 1910) of Abai's literacy scribe Murseit Bikiuly were the basis for all other publications.

There is also a reason to consider the complete academic collections as canonical texts. We know that Abai's legacy has been published several times since 1909. Abai scholars, led by the writer-scholar M. Auezov, tried to look into the depth of each Word in each of the complete academic collections. The last academic collection was published in two volumes in 1995 on the eve of the 150th anniversary of the poet. Abai scholars Z. Akhmetov, B. Baigaliev, S. Kirabaiev, K. Mukhamedkhanuly, M. Myrzakhmetov, and Z. Ismagulov engaged in this edition. Also, the general edition of this book was headed by academicians of NAS RK, Z. Akhmetov and S. Kirabaev (Abai, 1995: 3). Therefore, we wanted to take this edition as a canonical text and compare it with the verses in some manuscripts.

The oldest manuscripts belong to Knyaz Khudashev and Sadaukas Shormanov. These manuscripts were copied in 1897, during the poet's lifetime. Saduakas Shormanov even took some of the poems to St. Petersburg for publication. However, due to ill health, he had to return to the country.

Both manuscripts contain the poem I am disappointed in both friend and foe. This poem was written by the poet in 1884, when he ran for Bolys elections and was betrayed by his friends Orazbai, Zhirenshe, Kuntu, and Erbol (Abai, 1995: 261). In the 1995 edition is written:

Payda üşin birew joldas bügin tañda,
Ol turmas bastan jıǵa qıysayǵanda.
Munan meniñ qay jerim ayawlı dep,
Birge turıp qaladı kim maydanda? (Abai, 1995: 59).

For profit, someone would befriend you,
He would not stand with you when you start to fall.
Saying, what of mine is dearer than this man,
Who would stand with you on the battlefield?

In the line *Munan meniñ qay jerim ayawlı dep* (*Saying, what of mine is dearer than this man*), the word *jerim* (*What of mine*) is given in K. Khudashev's copy as *janım* (*my soul*). That is, *Saying, is my soul dearer than this man* (Khudashev, 3).

Also, the most widely spread poem in the country is *Poetic speech, the Queen of literature, implies*. The commentary on this poem in the 1995 collection mentions the differences from previous editions, and the text of the poem is as follows:

Öleñ - sözdiñ patşası, söz sarası,
Qıyınnan qıyıstırar er danası.
Tilge jeñil, jürekke jılı tiyip,
Tep-tegis jumır kelsin aynalası...

Ölenge ärkimniñ-aq bar talası,
Sonda da solardıñ bar tañdaması.
İşi altın, sırtı kümüz söz jaqsısın,
Qazaqtıñ kelistirer qay balası? (Abai, 1995: 88).

Poetic speech, the Queen of literature, implies,
The finest words put well together by the wisest bards.
Words that a person easily can memorise,
Words that will smoothly flow and touch the heart.

It's true that everybody wants to be a poet,
But genuine poets only few of us become.
Who of us, Kazakhs, can compose a poem whose form?
Would be a thing of silver, and the words pure gold?

In these two stanzas, the lines *Tilge jeñil, jürekke jılı tiyip, Tep-tegis jumır kelsin aynalası* (Words that a person easily can memorise, Words that will smoothly flow and touch the heart) are given in K. Khudashhev as *Tilge tätti, köñilge mayda kelip, Tep-tegis tügel kelse aynalası*. And in Khudashhev, the phrase *Ölenge ärkimniñ-aq bar talası* (It's true that everybody wants to be a poet) is given as *Ölenge ärkimniñ bar tay-talası*, and the phrase *İşi altın, sırtı kümüz söz jaqsısın* is given as *Sırtı altın, işi kümüz söz jaqsısın* (Khudashhev, 5).

The poem *Old Age is here – sad thoughts, poor sleep and all*, written in 1886, was also popular in the country. That is why this piece is present in almost all copied manuscripts. It was also included in the first edition in 1909. The second stanza of this verse contains the following lines:

Jas qartaymaq, joq tuwmaq, tuwğan ölmek,
Tağdır joq ötken ömir qayta kelmek.
Basqan iz, körgen qızıq artta qalmaq,
Bir qudaydan basqanıñ bäre özgermek (Abai 1995: 52).

All men are doomed. All who are born must die.
Nobody can recover days gone by.
Both joy and grief must fade into the past.
All plans and deeds cruel time will nullify.

The phrase *Basqan iz, körgen qızıq artta qalmaq, Bir qudaydan basqanıñ bäre özgermek* (Both joy and grief must fade into the past. All plans and deeds cruel time will nullify) is written in K. Khudashhev *Qaz körgen qızıǵıñ da artta qalmaq, Bir Alladan basqanıñ bäre özgermek* (The delight you enjoyed will be left behind, everything will be changed except God) (Khudashhev, 7).

Abai's poem *'Tis laughter, we should prise, not empty jests* was written in 1886. This poem is called *Suhbat* (Consult) in the manuscripts of Knyaz Khudashev and Saduakas Shormanov. In the first stanza of this poem, it reads:

Jigitter, oyun arzan, külki qımbat,
Eki türli nәрse ğoy sır men sımbat.
Arzan, jalğan külmeytin, şın külerlik
Er tabılsa jaraydı, qılsa suhbat (Abai, 1995: 52).

Tis laughter we should prise, not empty jests.
Not in appearance, in the soul true value rests.
If anybody laughs with all his heart,
He merits trust – 'tis him we should love best.

K. Khudashev and S. Shormanov wrote the lines *Eki türli nәрse ğoy sır men sımbat... Er tabılsa jaraydı, qılsa suhbat* (Not in appearance, in the soul true value rests... He merits trust – 'tis him we should love best) as *Nәрse ğoy eki türli sır men sımbat... Dos tabılsa jaraydı, qılsa suhbat* (Khudashev, 8; Shormanov, 5).

The first stanza of the poem *The first snow falls. The blood-sport calls, then hunters mount and ride*, written in 1882, is given in the 1995 edition as follows:

Qansonarda bürkitşi şığadı ańǵa,
Tastan tülki tabılar ańdıǵanǵa.
Jaqsı at pen tatuw joldas - bir ğaniybet,
Ińǵaylı iqsam kiyim ańsı adamǵa (Abai, 1995: 42).

The first snow falls. The blood-sport calls, then hunters mount and ride.
The eagle's master knows the place where the wily reynards sit,
Just give him a good companion to canter by his side,
A swift mount clamped between his legs and hunting gear to fit (Abai, 1970).

Whereas Knyaz Khudashev's edition has a different stanza:

Bürkitşi kün boranda şığadı ańǵa,
Tawdan tülki tabılar awlaǵanǵa,
Ińǵaylı at, iqsam kiyim etse jigit,
Osınday boluw kerek ańsı adamǵa (Khudashev, 10).

This stanza is also different in Saduakas Shormanov's edition:

Bürkitşi küz bolǵanda şığadı ańǵa,
Tawdan tülki tabılar awlaǵanǵa.
Ińǵaylı at, iqsam kiyim, iyt pen jigit,
Osınday boluw kerek ańsı adamǵa (Shormanov, 7).

The line *Qansonarda bürkitşi şığadı ańǵa* (*The first snow falls. The blood-sport calls, then hunters mount and ride*), was given in Khudashev's manuscript as *Bürkitşi kün boranda*, and in Shormanov's edition as *Bürkitşi küz bolǵanda*.

This poem was written in a completely different way in the manuscript of Toleu Tugelbaiuly, copied in 1913-1914. Although there is no significant difference in the starting part, some changes can be observed in the subsequent stanzas. For example:

İzdiñ betin tüzetip ańdaǵanda.
 Tomaǵasın tartqanda bir qırımnan,
 Qıran qus közi körip samǵaǵanda.
 Tömen uşsam tülki örlep qutılar dep,
 Qandıköz qayqan qaǵıp sıqsa aspanǵa,
 Köre tura qaladı qaşqan tülki,
 Qutilmasın bilgen soñ qur qaşqanǵa.
 Awzın aşıp, qoqaqtap, tisin qayrap,
 O da talas qıladı şıbın janǵa.
 Qızıq körer, köñildi bolsa ańsılar,
 Şabar jerin qaramay jıǵılǵanǵa,
 Qırıq pısaqpen qırındap turǵan tülki,
 O daǵı osal jaw emes qıran pańǵa.
 Segiz nayza qolında, köz awdarmay,
 Batır da ayal qılmaıdı erter tanǵa.
 Qanat, quyırq suwıldap, ısqıradı,
 Kökten qıran sorǵalap quyılǵanda.
 Jarq-jurq etip ekewi ayqasadı,
 Jeke batır şıqqanday qan maydanǵa (Abai, 1995: 43).

The eagle's keeper mounts a hill, while his helper waits below.
 The hood is snatched from the eagle's eyes.
 In a flash it sights its hidden prey.
 Then fox streaks up the rise,
 But the eagle knows he seeks the rocks and cuts across the way.
 The fox cannot reach safety that he sought to gain in height.
 He crouches low, but he can't deceive the bird's blood-lusting eye.
 His lips curl back, his fangs show white.
 He'll put up a fight for his life today, if the time has come to die.
 Now the fun has begun, the sport and the zest!
 The hunters gallop at a breakneck pace, reckless and risking their lives.
 They know a good fox may come out the best,
 With his forty ivory knives.
 The golden eagle plunges down, its ruffled plumage bristles,
 A knight with eight bright spears to dart...
 The great wings beat. The spread tail whistles.
 It speeds like a shot at its victim's heart.
 The fox and eagle have met. And now the jousting will start.
 The bird and the beast – each a valiant knight.

These lines were given in Toleu Tugelbaiuly's manuscript as follows:

Tüzetip izdiñ betin ańdaǵanda.
 Tartqanda tomaǵasın bir qırımnan,
 Qıran qus közi körip samǵaǵanda.
 Tülki örlep, tömen uşsam qutılar dep,
 Qandıköz qayqan qaǵıp sıqsa aspanǵa,
 Qaladı köre tura qaşqan tülki,
 Bilgen soñ qutilmasın qur qaşqanǵa.
 Qoqaqtap, awzın aşıp, tisin qayrap,
 Qıladı o da talas şıbın janǵa.

Köñildi qızıq körer, bolsa aňşılar,
 Qaramay şabar jerin jıǵılǵańǵa,
 Qırındap qırıq pısaqpen turǵan tülki,
 Jaw emes o daǵı osal qıran pańǵa.
 Qolında segiz nayza, köz awdarmay,
 Batır da ayal qılmaydı erten tanǵa.
 Suwıldap qanat, quyırq, ısqıradı,
 Sorǵalap kökten qıran quylǵanda.
 Ekewi jarq-jurq etip ayqasadı,
 Şıqqanday jeke batır qan maydańǵa (Tugelbaiuly, 26).

Anyone who compares the two texts here may initially think of them as two poems, because the words here have changed so much that it seems that this poem by Abai was rewritten by Toleu Tugelbaiuly himself.

Here's something to keep in mind. This manuscript of Toleu Tugelbaiuly was copied in 1913-1914. At that time, the lithography, published in St. Petersburg in 1909, had spread throughout the country. There is reason to believe that Toleu Tugelbaiuly was acquainted with this book. This is because the influence of the St. Petersburg book can be seen in most of the manuscripts copied after 1909. The reason for this is that Abai's poem *The first snow falls. The blood-sport calls, then hunters mount and ride* was included in a book published in St. Petersburg in 1909 under the title *The 14th on Hunting* (Abai, 1909: 71). And in the manuscript of Toleu Tugelbaiuly, it is also given as *Part 14. About hunting* (Tugelbaiuly, 25).

One of the poems written by the poet in 1895 is *I have said a lot before*. The first three stanzas of this poem are given in the 1995 edition as follows:

Talay söz budan burın köp aytqanmın,
 Tübin oylap, uwayımın jep aytqanmın.
 Aqıldılar arlanıp uyalǵan soń,
 Oylanıp tüzele me dep aytqanmın.

Qazaqtıń özge jurttan sözi uzın,
 Biriniń biri şapşañ uqpas sözín.
 Közdiń jası, jürektiń qanımenen,
 Eritüwge bolmaydı işki muzın.

Jurtım-ay, şalqaqtamay sözge tüsin,
 Oylanşı, sırtın qoyıp, sözdiń işin.
 Irjañdamay tındasañ neñ ketedi,
 Şıǵarǵan söz emes qoy ańgime üşin (Abai, 1995: 222).

I've said a lot before,
 I thought deeply and worried.
 As the wise are ashamed usually,
 I thought people would be corrected.

The Kazakhs talk more than others,
 One quick mouth wouldn't listen to the other.
 With tears in the eyes, blood in the heart,
 One can't defrost the ice inside of them.

My people, understand the word without arrogance,
 Think of the meanings of the words rather than forms.
 What would you lose if you listen seriously?
 It is not a word for storytelling (Abai, 1995: 222).

These lines were given in Knyaz Khudashev's manuscripts as follows:

Talay söz munan burın köp aytqanmın,
 Tübin oylap, *uwayım* jep aytqanmın.
Aqıldı aldı-artın oylansın dep,
Oylanıp түzeler dep aytqanmın.

Qazaqtıñ özge jurttan sözi uzın,
Birinen biri şapşañ uğa ma sözín.
 Közdiñ jası, jürektiñ qanımenen,
 Eritüwge bolmaydı işki muzın.

Jurtım-ay, şalqaqtamay sözge tüsin,
Sirtın qoyıp, öleñniñ, bayqa işin.
Irjañ qaqpay tıñdasañ neñ ketedi,
 Şıǵarǵan söz emes qoy ängime üşin.

The lines *Aqıldılar arlanıp uyalǵan soñ, Oylanıp tüzele me dep aytqanmın* (As the wise are ashamed usually, I thought people would be corrected) given in the academic edition are presented in Khudashev's manuscript as *Aqıldı aldı-artın oylansın dep, Oylanıp түzeler dep aytqanmın*. This sort of difference can also be found in stanzas two and three.

These lines in S. Shormanov's manuscript coincide with the first two stanzas of the Academic Edition of 1995, and the second line of the third stanza *Oylanşı, sirtın qoyıp, sözdiñ işin* (Think of the meanings of the words rather than forms) is given as *Sirtın qoyıp, öleñniñ bayqaşı işin*.

And in the manuscript of Toleu Tugelbaiuly, the first two lines of the second stanza are not written at all. The scribe may well have forgotten to copy them.

Another poem written by Abai in 1895 is "Would hungry belly feel satisfied without rich food" as follows:

Asaǵan, urttaǵaǵa ez jubanar,
 Senimdi dāwlet emes sen quwanar.
 Eñbek qılmaı tapqan mal dāwlet bolmas,
 Qardıñ suwı sıqıldı tez suwalar.

Miner atın, kiyiminıp-ıqşam qıp,
 Sımbattanıp, simpiyıp tamaq andıp,
 Burandap jılı jüzin asqa satqan,
 Anturǵaǵa qosılmaı ketsin qanǵıp.

Köldirgipggew, küلكішіл, qalıñǵa usta,
 Kezegen iyt tım-aq köp bizdiñ tusta.
 Öz üyinen jiyrenip, qaşıp jürgen,
 Anturǵaǵa qosılma qapılısta (Abai 1995: 223).

The spineless feel comfortable with what he eats and drinks,
That is not a reliable wealth, with which you feel happy.
The wealth earned without labour will not last,
Like snow-water drains quickly.

Making his horse and clothes compact,
Looking graceful and slim to seek free food,
Acting cunningly to sell his friendly face for dinner,
Don't be fooled by the accursed, let him go away.

Humorous, funny, and witty,
There are too many stray dogs in our area.
He was disgusted and ran away from his own home,
Never come across such an accursed in a sudden (Abai, 1995: 223).

These lines are given in Knyaz Kudashev's manuscript as follows:

Asağan, urttağanğa ez jubanar,
Senimdi dāwlet emes sen quwanar,
Eñbek qılmaı tapqan mal bayanı joq,
Qardıñ suwı sekildi tez suwalar.

Miner at, kiyer kiyimıp-ıqşam qıp,
Sım kiyip, simbattanıp, tamaq ańdıp,
Burańdap jılı tüsin asqa satqan,
Kezeğip qosılmaı kel, ket qańğıp.

Quwlıqısı, küldirgiştew, qaljıńğa usta,
Kezegeñ iy tım-aq köp bizdiñ tusta.
Jiyrenip öz-özinen qaşıp jürgen,
Anturğanğa qosılma qapılısta.

Saduakas Shormanov's manuscript, which was copied in the same year as Knyaz Khudashev's, i.e. in 1897, is also different. The line *Öz üyinen jiyrenip, qaşıp jürgen* (He was disgusted and ran away from his own home) in the 1995 edition was given as *Jiyrenip öz-özinen qaşıp jürgen* in Khudashev's manuscript, while in Shormanov's it reads *Jiyrenip, öz üyinen qaşıp jürgen*.

Abai's poem *Would hungry belly feel satisfied without rich food* is titled *Käsip* (Trade) in the manuscripts of Khudashev and Shormanov, and copied as the continuation of the poem *Stealing, horror, cunning cannot earn wealth*. Only after the lines that we have presented above does the poem *Would hungry belly feel satisfied without rich food?* begin. And in the 1995 edition, *Would hungry belly feel satisfied without rich food?* and *Stealing, horror, cunning cannot earn wealth* are presented as separate works.

While studying the copied manuscripts of Abai's works, we noticed some differences between different editions. In this text comparison, we have examined the manuscripts of Knyaz Khudashev and Saduakas Shormanov, which were copied in 1897 during Abai's lifetime. Then we looked at the manuscript of Toleu Tugelbaiuly, which was copied between 1903 and 1914 after the St. Petersburg edition was released in 1909. This is because the manuscripts we have listed above can be divided into pre- and post-1909 lithographs. It is clear that although

the manuscripts of 1909 didn't have a direct influence on the later copies, they indirectly influenced them. It is easy to see that one verse was copied differently by the different scribes.

Conclusion

Abai's heritage is the pride not only of the Kazakh people but also of all Turkic nations. Over time, the works of the poet have passed through the tests of the ages and enriched the spiritual treasures of generations. Although the history of Abai studies dates back to the beginning of the last century, apparently there are still unresolved issues in this area. One of them is a topic that it was forbidden to study in the former Soviet Union, i.e. the influence of Islam on Abai's works, and the other is to conduct another comparative and textual analysis of manuscript copies of Abai's works.

Abai was a unique wise man. His uniqueness was in being able to accurately address the needs of the Kazakhs, and his wisdom was in embracing all mankind and calling for them to become fully fledged (perfect) human beings. The poet's legacy has been published in three alphabets (Arabic, Latin, and Cyrillic) in the last century. Although the alphabet was changed three times by the totalitarian system in order to erase the spiritual memory of the Kazakh people, the poet's legacy was not forgotten: it was copied and published in those alphabets.

In order to transfer the poet's legacy to the next generation, scribes (copiers) made manuscripts. Manuscripts of Abai's works, which began in the late nineteenth century, lasted until the middle of the twentieth. Although 12 manuscripts are known to modern scholarship, it is not known how many manuscripts are in secret boxes in the country today. At the very least, we can say that there is still a lot of work to be done by Abai scholars in studying the available manuscripts and passing on Abai's words of wisdom to the next generation without distortion.

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CHAPTER-IX

IRONY IN THE WORKS OF ABAI KUNANBAIULY

Yilmaz BACAKLI

Abai (Ibrahim) Kunanbaiuly is the first name of both Kazakh enlightenment and modern Kazakh literature. As an intellectual, Kunanbaiuly had all the equipment for understanding the past connections of all kinds of individual and social events that happened in the period in which he lived in terms of causes, future connections, and consequences. It is important to consider and read the works of Kunanbaiuly concerning individual and social thought accumulation.

The use of irony, which is one of the figure-of-speech techniques, in Abai's works is one of the main problem topics of this study. While we focus on irony in the first part of the study, the difference between this technique and a few other figure-of-speech techniques will be highlighted briefly and thus we will attempt to clarify the meaning and function of the concept. In this part, the relationship of the concept with literature will also be focused upon along with the purposes of using it as a technique in both oral and written texts.

The effort to understand why and how the concept of irony and its relation with literature, which is demonstrated in the first part, is found in Abai Kunanbaiuly's works is the second main problem topic of the study. Starting with whether the irony technique that said writer used in his works is related with the tradition, sub-problem topics like personal reasons why he preferred this technique and his skills in using the technique will be discussed.

The aim of this study is to enhance understanding of the role of Abai Kunanbaiuly and his works, who lived in a very critical period of Kazakh literature and intellectual life, especially in the effort to build a modern Kazakh society. Kunanbaiuly's view of the past and the present and his expectations for the future can be revealed more clearly through irony, which is a criticism as well as a figure-of-speech technique.

With this study, it will be possible to see the individual and social problems that Kazakh Turks experienced at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century in terms of being a part of Turkic geography to the extent that the technique of irony demonstrated. Thus, it is aimed to make a comparison between the understandings of life of Turkic communities living in different geographies at that time and to contribute to the effort to evaluate the processes that have passed from those days to the present.

Abai Kunanbaiuly's works in terms of the types of poetry and prose are at the center of this study. The universe of the study is the contemporary Turkic world literature and civilisation in the broadest sense. The sample subject to be examined in the study is contemporary Kazakh literature and civilisation. The poetry and prose works of Abai Kunanbaiuly are among the first products of this literature. In addition, these works show a feature that directly or indirectly affects the later products of Kazakh literature.

The study aims to analyse the artist's considerations on situations, perceptions, attitudes, and thinking regarding social life instead of personal feelings and biography and to provide some determinations about the situation of Kazakh people in the period when the works were produced as a result of this analysis. In this study, based on the principle of analysing the works of Abai Kunanbaiuly mostly in terms of content, the parts in which the irony technique was used in both poems and prose will be discussed without being separated from the general world of feelings and thoughts that is dominant in the artist's works.

In the study, publications cited from Zafer Kibar, whose citation details are given in the reference list, will be used for quotations from both poetry and prose works of Abai Kunanbaiuly. Therefore, for the in-text references of the quotations from the works, only the page numbers will be given in parentheses with the sign (a) for prose texts and (b) for poetry texts.

Concept of Irony

Irony, which is a concept mostly related to the art of speaking (rhetoric), is a method or skill of communication in which the opposite of what is said or done is meant (Ataç and Sevgi, 2008: 13). The irony arises from the presence of a state of incompatibility between words used in conversation and their meaning, actions, and consequences, or appearance and reality. With this expression technique, the indefinite and ambiguous is meant rather than the apparent and obvious (Bennett and Royle, 2016: 180).

Irony, which is used as a narrative technique not only in speech but also in written texts over time, is one of the most effective methods used by the artist to increase the strength of his word and impress the reader. Even though the irony gives the reader a funny feeling, it does not result in laughter. It can be assumed that irony involves pity or mercy rather than a sense of laughter, and therefore the artist is pessimistic about the present time. The main reason for the feeling of pessimism experienced by the artist is anxiety about not being understood. He tries to find insightful people who will react to indirect speech by using irony, as every word spoken directly strikes the ignorance of the society and returns to him. He weights

the reader by taking issues that are not serious seriously and underestimating serious issues jokingly (Kierkegaard, 2009: 271-272).

The traditional irony initiated by Socrates goes through a development process parallel to the increase in problem areas and the need for questioning. As a result of this development process, it gains a modern identity. Irony has been the technique most frequently used by people who have focused on the fundamental contradictions of life and society since the sixteenth century to express this awareness in a striking and limited way. In this respect, irony is a form of questioning as well as a form of criticism. Although the accumulation of knowledge in the common treasure of humanity is getting richer and developing day by day, the contradictory situation arising from the existence of the search for a new order that is dynamic and open to change is among the main areas of questioning and criticism of irony (Cebeci, 2016: 264-265).

Many negative situations such as habits, self-seeking, zanyism, and insensitive mimicry undermine the balance and development of social life. Irony is the way the artist stands against and defends himself against injustice and ignorance arising from negative situations in society and nature. Irony is the last ditch effort that the artist, who is incapable of correcting it by directly intervening in what is happening, applies in a tantrum. The writer or poet wants to alleviate the suffering of his despair by partly denying and partly belittling reality, which seriously disturbs the social environment thanks to irony. He tries to bring society back to its original rhythm with the shocking, combative, and humorous technique of irony. The artist, who at least shows his side by raising the contradictory and problematic areas to the level of consciousness with irony, firstly wants to relieve his conscience.

Although irony is a sarcastic technique, it is different from *derision*. The emergence of irony owes its existence to *despise*, even though it is anger in the form of false beliefs and behaviour that have become more established. Moreover, mockery is a self-centered attitude aimed at ego satisfaction rather than a social upbringing.

The concepts of irony and metaphor are also similar in that their apparent meanings differ from their implied meanings. On the other hand, the meaning implied in a metaphor is not intended to question, criticise, or subtract from the apparent meaning. On the contrary, it has a feature that expands it and enriches it with discovery. In irony, the apparent meaning and the implied meaning are opposite to each other. In irony, the reader, by questioning the writer's intention, must reduce these meanings (Cebeci, 2016: 298-299).

Irony and satire (lampooning) are similar in that they are based on questioning and criticism. Fundamentally, in most cases, lampooning is a form of expression that accompanies irony. On the other hand, lampooning criticises more current and local attitudes aggressively, while irony softly and implicitly criticises more permanent and universal attitudes. While lampooning imposes an imperious moral attitude on all readers, it uses a destructive funny feeling to insult moral thoughts and attitudes that it criticises (Cebeci, 2016: 182-185). In irony, on the other hand, there is no commanding tone and the submeaning is not shared with all readers. The funny feeling of the distinguished reader who can discover the

submeaning in irony is not meant to be offensive either. The funny emotion in this expression technique is result of the nature of the situation and is a technique the writer uses to share his emotional state with his reader.

Abai Kunanbaiuly's Interest in the Art of Irony

Societies build all their accumulations like manner of life and manner of action in the material plan on spiritual elements that can be summarised as faith, perception, value, and unique thinking. The common conscious that allows this accumulation to keep up and maintain its existence prevents a possible disorder by ensuring that every individual forming the society works for the same purpose (Türkcahraman and Tutar, 2009: 3-4). Understanding of existence which determines the life priorities of the society, and the state of common consciousness that consist of these sacred values and criteria can be named as the culture (Köseoğlu, 2012: 15).

What makes societies different from others in their own way are cultural elements such as history, language, faith, ethnicity, lifestyle, environment, tradition, economic order, and family structure. Culture, which plays an important role in determining the identity of the society, is the only dynamic that creates the specificity of one society compared to another through tastes, desires, perspectives, thoughts, and beliefs (Akdemir, 2004: 44). Culture-based identity is vital to society. Thus, for whatever reason a society is thrown from its own cultural content to another cultural content or is forced to do so, it causes an identity crisis. In these kinds of processes that mean change or complete elimination of social memory, social integration and harmony are lost. Instead, social diseases such as despair, indolence, hostility, disloyalty, violence, hypocrisy, greed, and finally wars, which mean the destruction of all social accumulation, emerge as a result of the deteriorating human nature (Bacaklı, 2017: 1138-1139).

In the depressed periods that are experienced because of interferences from inside and outside of the society, the emergence of leaders that will restore the right way of thinking and behaving to society is inevitable. These leaders, who correctly comprehend the problems of society and the sources of these problems, are well equipped in terms of finding solutions to these problems. Leaders who are not affected by identity depression, and who are consistent, hard-working, principled, self-sacrificing and have a strong voice, try to raise the awareness of society against deterioration and corruption. The thoughts of these people, who become the common sense of society in these troubled times, can have an influence on future generations as much as their contemporaries (Bacaklı, 2017: 1139).

Abai Kunanbaiuly is one of the important people that raised his voice in the nineteenth century when the Kazakhs, whose concrete and intangible cultural assets were threatened by the influence of the expansionist Russian politics, experienced an identity crisis like all Turkic communities living in the Turkic geography. Learning Arabic, Farsi, and Chagatay thanks to the madrasa education that he started at an early age, Kunanbaiuly was also interested in poetry at that time. He read the works of important names in Turkic and Farsi literature such as Nava'i, Nizami, Fuzuli, Firdausi, and Sa'di during his madrasa period. He knew both Russian classics and the poems of European poets thanks to the Russian he learned

in the Russian school that he attended for a while in Semei. He also translated the works he liked from those works that were new to his society (İsmael and Çınar, 1995: 9).

Kunanbaiuly was mentally well equipped to compare different cultures at a young age. According to Abai Kunanbaiuly, learning is a skill given only to human beings:

Without trying to fathom the mysteries of the universe, visible and invisible, without seeking an explanation for everything, one can never be what one should be – a human being. Otherwise, the spiritual life of a person will not differ from the existence of any other living creature (a: 32).

Thinking that humankind was created for learning, Kunanbaiuly believed that learning gives inevitable moral responsibility to humans. He was not an intellectual who learned knowledge for his own well-being, and lived for the personal pleasure of knowing. According to Abai Kunanbaiuly, who realised that knowledge is the greatest power to save a nation from remaining behind and ignorant, the price of knowing is to inform people of what they know. For this reason, while striving for new reading and experiences that would improve himself, he also sought ways to share with his people everything he had gained as a result of this effort (Erdem, 2001: 8).

Abai Kunanbaiuly attended important meetings and cases with his father who was an administrator. In this way, the poet, who saw many social problems closely, searched seriously for their causes and solutions. At the age of 20, he gained the identity of a democratic community leader who took a stand in favour of the public and discussed with the administrators of the period in the meetings he attended the solutions to social problems (Cengiz, 1995: 56).

With Tsarist Russia's invasion of their lands, the lifestyle of Kazakh Turks started to change from nomadism to a settled life, and livelihoods also started to change from animal husbandry to agriculture and trade. During the change process, which was sudden and was achieved by forcing the natural development process, the swings that occurred in traditions and customs negatively affected the nature of the society. Being an intellectual amid this hard transition process, Abai Kunanbaiuly endeavoured to put the deteriorated structure of the society on solid ground by highlighting the concepts of justice, humanity, art, and science in his works. The understanding of the new world, which included the moral values of the society and the value judgements of the age that would develop the tradition, was together and in harmony in his works. Kunanbaiuly, who covered all kinds of social problems in a very realistic way, believed that a society cannot develop unless national feelings, thoughts, and attitudes are complemented and balanced by modern, universal ones. He invited Kazakh people to think and work in order to realise the ideals common to all people in his works, in which he used a new style compared to the past (Çınar, 1997: 119). Writing for Kunanbaiuly was his responsibility towards his nation:

Finally, I decided to take companions, paper and ink, and to write down all my thoughts. Maybe someone will like any of my word, and he will rewrite it for himself, or just remember; and if not my words, as they say, will

stay with me. At this point I stopped, and I have no other occupation than writing (İsmaıl and Çınar, 1995: 181).

Kunanbaiuly, who was connected to his people by a sense of responsibility, used commonly criticising as a method in his works so that the problems in the society were understood correctly and these problems were solved permanently. Using irony as a tool for criticising, the writer aimed to raise his readers' awareness and convince them to solution without despising them and making them hopeless. Dedicating the 27th Word from The Book of Words with the title of "*the words of the great Socrates*" to *Socrates*, who is considered the first person to use the art of irony, Abai Kunanbaiuly knew *Socrates'* world of thought very well and was highly influenced by him. He also frequently used his "questioning" technique in his texts (a: 70-71).

People pray to God to send them a child. What does a man need a child for?
They say that one ought to leave an heir, a son to provide for his parents in their old age and to pray for them after their death. Is that all? (Ayan, 2017: 72).

It cannot be said that the art of irony was used as a criticism technique in Kazakh literature before Abai Kunanbaiuly. This technique, originating from the West, was not used much in this period, as poems that praised or talked about the grief of the time were more common in literature (Aymavıtoı and Auezov, 2016: 47). Kunanbaiuly, who is regarded as the founder of modern Kazakh literature due to the fact that he knew the classical sources belonging to the Eastern and Western civilisations as well as being fed by Kazakh national culture, exhibited a very realistic attitude towards all social issues belonging to the period in which he lived in his works with his multifaceted perspective. He inveighed against the traditional structure of his society that resisted development despite the changing world conditions, their values that had deteriorated because of not considering the differing human needs, their devalued status and their roles that depended on this status (Erdem, 2001: 15-16).

In addition to praise and grief, there were criticisms in works before Kunanbaiuly. However, in the works of this period, criticism was not made through the indirect meaning of the word, as required by the irony technique, but through the apparent meaning, i.e. directly, whereas, despite the simple language used in Kunanbaiuly's works, there was a mysterious and secretive discourse feature that did not reveal its meaning easily (Abdimanulı, 2016: 39-40). For this reason, the reader needed to reflect on the word in order to understand what was said:

Hey, my nation, understand the word without bragging, / Think inside of the word, not the outside (b: 279).

Although Abai Kunanbaiuly used irony as a tool of criticism, he was against the mockery that is similar to this art of expression. He thought that sarcasm was a state of unconsciousness, a state of drunkenness, far from being a method of nurture. According to him, "foolish laughter resembles drunkenness. Now, drunkenness leads to misbehaviour; a conversation with a soak gives one a headache" (a: 24-26).

Irony in the Works of Abai Kunanbaiuly

With irony, Abai Kunanbaiuly questioned the understanding of life institutionalised by the Kazakh society with established acceptances in his works. After questioning with an artistic self, he obtained the peace of being different as an individual by separating himself of what was happening around him, of the established beliefs and acceptances he saw as the cause of wrong things. Then the peace of being different turned into a heavy loneliness:

There are no people that understand my words. / Like a tomb of a baksy, /
I stand alone, I am certainly real! (a: 141).

Kunanbaiuly felt himself heavily responsible towards his society. The irony in his work resulted from the conflict between his personal peace and social unrest. As an intellectual, he almost gave up living for himself due to the social difficulties he witnessed. Kunanbaiuly, who was deeply sorry for every individual he could not reach, sometimes fell into despair due to this situation. The way he said he was hopeless, though, carried an irony in itself. Because the poet had a will that would never stop telling the truth:

Will has not approached me since I was able to think, / The one spending
day with useless efforts should not follow me. / Not following himself, not
giving freeness, people perished. / Protect, sleep well, listen to my words!

I am full of poison and flame inside, (though) I am pearly outside, / I am
going to the place cannot be arrived without doing anything, / Poet oh-
gossiper, spreading to people, / Let me stop my secret without telling it (b:
367).

With the technique of irony that he used in his works, Kunanbaiuly wanted to save qualified people who had the potential to notice the troubles of life but delayed or ignored it for various reasons from laziness. In this sense, the ironic narrative he used in his works did not address completely unconscious people that counted on incorrect beliefs and attitudes. Thus, while he used the means of lampooning to reveal individual and social weaknesses for sensitive readers, he also aimed to show the ways of raising awareness in some topics and solving problems in an easy and short way. This attitude did not mean that he discarded a part of society. Essentially, he tried to use the limited opportunities he had in the most effective way without wasting them in order to mobilise the first generation of a progressive change.

It is possible to evaluate the topics in which Abai Kunanbaiuly effectively used the art of irony in his works under three titles.

1. Irony Towards the Life of Ruling and Upper Class

Kazakh Turks are among the most intelligent and most influential of noblemen, who are descended from Genghis Khan and called aqsuyek (white bone), and again, they are ruled by a khan elected by these noblemen. Relatives of the khan in this class of noblemen, who are also referred as Tore, assisted the khan in the administration of the state. Among the ordinary people known as Karasuyek (black bone), talented, wealthy, and intelligent people serve as bey, bahadır, and

aksakal (white beard) in the administrative council, which is sometimes convened by the khan and called the Khan Council (Erofeyeva, 2013: 274-281).

In the Kazakh administration, which came under the influence of Russia from the middle of the eighteenth century, lands were divided into administrative units that were determined by the Russians. An “*aga sultan*” was appointed to each administrative unit from among citizens, contrary to customary practices. The father of Abai Kunanbaiuly was also appointed as the *aga sultan* of *Karkaraly*. In the administrative system that was reorganised, administrators called “*biy*” were determined. The new administrative system, which was carried out by the Russians for a specific purpose, affected prominently and negatively not only political life but also social life (Togan, 1981: 252-253). A wealthy class emerged that had not been present in society before, but whose influence was limited.

Abai Kunanbaiuly made the ruler type and rich class that emerged with the new administrative system formed by the Russians the subject of irony, but his main purpose was to criticise all badly functioning administrative systems and all kinds of rulers who were far from just through these models.

Abai did not specially criticise administrators in his poetry and prose works. In his works, administrators did not mean much more than representing the newly emerged administration understanding. For this, it was the administration understanding of the period that Abai mentioned with irony.

As a matter of fact, the poet narrated the process of becoming an administrator of a man named *Kulembay* to his readers, and in the aftermath, he described strikingly how much the administrative system had deteriorated. Witnessing this process closely through his father, Kunanbaiuly wanted to show the severity of the situation with expressions that could be seen as the confessions of an administrator. The success of *Kulembay*, who was very happy to be an administrator by winning the so-called elections, which was a part of the Russian-style administrative system, was not achieved with effort and talent. *Kulembay*, who became an administrator by buying the people’s will through bribery, was made to feel at the beginning of the poem that he could not be a good administrator:

At last, I’m the villagers’ head. / In bribes I gave all I could spare. / My
camels are humpless, half dead, / My horses are maneless, / I sold all their
hair.

I can’t do the job, though some people reckon, / I try with exemplary zeal.

I’m ready to run if the strong merely beckon, / But if some of the weaker
appeal,

I look sad and drowsy, such languor I feel, / I can’t hear a thing and my head
starts to reel! (b: 117).

Kulembay, who wants to be an administrator for his own interest, treats differently his superior administrators and the people due to his lack of skill and selfishness when he learns that there will be a meeting about the rights and needs of the people. But he reveals his hypocritical behaviour at that point. A serious problem of trust emerges. As a result, he cannot defend the rights of his people and he also makes loss. At the beginning, according to the administrator, the people who

constantly make complaints are mistaken. However, towards the end of the poem, Kulembay admits that administrative work requires a serious skill and he does not have this talent.

Mistakes increased, / Beauty wore off due to being rebuked. / I am not the one / Who rules this people, come, save me! (b: 123).

In Abai Kunanbaiuly's poem, not only are the way this administrator is elected and the way he continues his duty criticised by using irony but also the administrator, who is weak in all respects, although he should be strong. But the poet also makes us feel that it is not necessary to turn back. Because conditions and needs have been changed. Unlike old times, there is no longer a period when every word of rulers is law and accepted as correct:

Before the Russians, / biys will grin,
They'll nod and bow, / like grapes on vines (Özel, 1999: 439).

In order for the reader to fully grasp the situation, the poet avoids personally judging this administration type while describing the troubles. He proceeds with the questions he asks with an attitude of obscurity specific to irony. It is not actually something to be considered unimportant if the administrator is deceived by the glittering, fancy dresses like a girl, or speaks out of place with the taste of being praised with a child's intelligence, and walks around with arrogance as if he was a mature person without knowledge. Even though the poet seems to be drawing a caricature, he wants to make the reader understand by asking questions whether such administrators are the ones who sell the feeling of shame and honour in return for shiny clothes and praise:

Are they always good, / The ones whose act is admired? / Is brocaded fur enough, / for the ones who sell their honour?! (Özel, 1999: 439).

In *The Book of Words*, which is a prose work by Abai Kunanbaiuly, he gives advice to the people about the development of the society in terms of value and benefit. In addition to this advice that prioritises the people, it is one of the examples of the tradition of politics with the dimension which reminds the administrators and elite class of the period of their responsibilities and advises on how to improve their relations with the public.

Kunanbaiuly evaluates the problems of administrators and the administration system of his time by using irony in *The Book of Words* as he does in his poems. Accordingly, the administrative system in the period of the poet turned into a tool of cruelty rather than responding to the needs of the people. The administrators of the period, who turned administration into a tool of not serving the people, but of tormenting them, drew attention to the loss of value and moral damage. The corruption that occurred above, and the system's lack of justice and effort, caused the people to lose their faith and their morals to deteriorate. In this case, although some administrators wanted to serve and work, they could not find the opportunity due to the situation of the people:

The volost chiefs are elected for a three-year term. They spend their first year in office listening to all kinds of grievances and complaints: "Don't forget that we elected you!" Their second year is given over to fighting

possible future rivals, and the third year to their campaign for re-election. What then is left? (Ayan, 2017: 66).

Those who understand that re-electing or electing an administrator for the first time cannot be carried out by satisfying the people that have serious trust issues and are starting to apply devious ways, to be in cooperation with those who perform evil actions and become enemies of those who tell them the truth:

Will anyone heed our advice and listen to our counsels? One man may be a volost chief, another a biy. If they had had the least desire to become wise and learn sense, would they have sought such posts? These people consider themselves quite clever enough and seek power so as to teach and give guidance to others, as if they themselves had attained the heights of perfection and had nothing further to do but instruct others. Are they the kind who would have the inclination or spare the time to listen to us? Their minds are filled with other concerns: not to offend their superiors inadvertently, not to provoke the anger of a thief, not to cause trouble and confusion among the people, and not to land on the losing end, but to gain some personal advantage. Besides, they must be always helping somebody, getting someone out of trouble. They are always too busy... (a: 34).

This evaluation of Abai Kunanbaiuly concerning the administrators is quite ironic. He seems to excuse them for their idleness, arrogance, and cruelty towards the people. The poet also objects to the accusations of the administrators about their lofty character, which they supposedly believe to be innate. The evaluation that the administrator does not need advice is also a reference to the contrary to the truth.

The traditional Kazakh society lives a nomadic lifestyle and by animal husbandry. The hierarchy of society is formed according to criteria such as lineage, heroism, intelligence, and experience. In Kazakh society, where agriculture and commerce are not a common subsistence model, there are not huge differences between incomes. As a result of this situation, the existence of the rich class in Kazakh society cannot be mentioned until the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century (Klyashtorny and Sultanov, 2004: 353).

Settled life has become widespread among the Kazakhs, who lost their fertile pastures and animals due to the gradual occupation of their lands by the Russians and the implementation of a policy that upset their old way of life. The newly established cities enable the development of agriculture and trade. Thus, a rich class has been formed in the society.

Abai Kunanbaiuly also discusses this newly emerged situation, which worsens the hierarchy of the society, by using the irony technique. The expectation of the poet, who draws the immature attitudes of this new class and creates a sense of the comic that annoys rather than pleases the reader, is to prevent those who are likely to fall into this error from doing so, if not those who have already fallen. The poet asks a question about whether God, the only hope of the people, will accept this situation, after describing the rich type who is aimlessly collecting goods, who is quite stingy while spending, but who is very ambitious when earning from someone else. Another irony is that the answer to this question is not clearly pointed out by the poet but left ambiguous:

The rich live keeping the property they collect, / While trading by giving ten
from their hundred, / Pinning hope on the ninety of what they take ten, /
Did not God leave this people? (b: 39).

According to Kunanbaiuly, most rich people are arrogant, wasteful, and deceitful enough to lose their honour and be disgraced for their pleasure. The poet determines that the rich cooperate with the powerful and the people are often helpless against this cooperation. Moreover, he ironically emphasises that it is very common for the powerful and the rich to always be the winners:

The strong will win, the rich will earn since old times, / They surrender by
being exhausted (b: 39).

Kunanbaiuly is not against wealth. However, according to him, the increase in the number of people who earn from working in the society may turn into a serious problem of freedom for that society. On the other hand, people who work with determination, earn money by expending effort, and sweat blood without turning down a job are respected (Esim, 2016: 140-141). The wealth of those who aimlessly pile up goods with fraud, injustice, and theft, without endeavour, is temporary:

The property gained without making effort will not be the cure, / It melts
and goes like snow water (b: 283).

According to Abai, wealth should not be the goal. In other words, a person should not live just to get rich. Although the writer deals with this idea in many parts of his work *The Book of Words*, he does not say it directly. He tries to explain the irregularity of the current situation by revealing:

Parents, having increased their own herds, will do their best to ensure
that their children's herds grow ever fatter, so that the livestock can be left
in the care of herdsmen and they can indulge in a life of idleness – gorge
themselves on meat and koumiss, enjoy beautiful women, and feast their
eyes on fast horses (a: 20).

Believing that the greatest wealth of both man and society is *unity in the mind* (a: 28), Abai caricatures the wealth that is not accompanied by reason but is under the control of enthusiasm in a harsh way. The way of thinking of such people is so deteriorated that they are ready to “offer bribes even to God” to get what they want:

The rich? They want for nothing. Be it only for a day, they have wealth
and they think they possess the treasures of well-nigh half the world, and
they can pay in livestock for whatever they lack. They set their sights high
and their ambitions even higher. Honour, conscience, and sincerity are no
dearer to them than their herds. They are certain that if they own livestock
they will be able to bribe even the Most High (Ayan, 2017: 71).

2. Irony Towards Science and Cultural Life

The traditional lifestyle of the Kazakh society did not allow a regular education. The fact that the source of income was husbandry also led to the need for education to remain at a minimum point. Education became a necessity for the Kazakh society for many reasons, including the Russian influence, the changing lifestyle, and the needs of the day. In this new process in which science started to develop in the

modern sense, the highlighted point of the poet was the purpose of education and the state of the educated person.

Poetry has come first among the elements that form the cultural life of Kazakh society. In Kazakh culture, poetry is a traditional way of living and thinking that directly or indirectly affects every behavioural pattern of daily life, all-important, or insignificant decision processes. Also, the understanding of traditional poetry and the existence of an oral language, which cannot keep up with the changing conditions, are among the issues that Abai Kunanbaiuly discussed with the technique of irony in both his poems and prose works.

Abai Kunanbaiuly firstly targets young people who are not willing to learn about science. He cannot understand how young people, who are unaware of the benefits of science, live without any anxiety and do nothing in the name of love, friendship, and sacrifice. They are concerned with free-riding, looking after their animals, unaware of science and art in the old order they learned from their ancestors. Kunanbaiuly ironically implies in his poetry that the real world is very different from what they imagined, and that if a person does not do what he ought to do, he will lose what he has:

The one who grazes becomes a shepherd, / He idles with empty talk, /
Without endeavouring for what he deserves, / And grasping the importance
of art.

Now do not we lose, / everything that we need? (b: 171).

Another problem about science was the purpose of getting education. Most parents and the young people that they prepared for education aimed to win a position, to wear bright clothes, or to write slanderous petitions in Russian that would slander those who harmed their interests. This deviation of purpose, which raised arrogant and authoritarian people rather than establishing a just life order, who did not observe good and evil, does not distinguish between right and wrong, and thus deepened the ignorance of people, enrages the poet. In the poem in which the poet describes the situation of the young generation studying at a boarding school and his family's approach to this situation, the mould expressions of the period and the irony in the way of thinking gain an almost concrete dimension:

Mother and father boast, / Because their children learn the law, / (But)
they are not worried about, / Complying to Sharia law.

Their rush for learning, / Russian language and writing, / They try to write
a petition, (for complaint) / If they have enough power (b: 75).

These people, who do not think of ideal occupations such as being
translators or attorneys and who want to be soldiers in order to wear
brocaded uniforms and walk with arrogance, blame the Russians for all the
trouble they suffered (b: 75-77).

According to Abai, one of the biggest factors in continuing the current situation of his people away from education is the idioms and proverbs belonging to the tradition. Proverbs and idioms are precious words for the people in terms of their essence. However, some of these words that Abai wrote with irony are the words that lead the people to worse rather than better, especially due to the

misinterpretation of the belief. Immediately in the introduction of the 29th Word, Kunanbaiuly makes a striking evaluation of these proverbs: "Some Kazakh sayings merit attention and some do not, for they do not carry anything divine or human in them" (Ayan, 2017: 88).

Kunanbaiuly gives examples regarding the irregularities of proverbs in the fifth Word and many other writings. He states that the nurture of the society is deteriorated by these proverbs. There are quite a lot of proverbs, such as:

Even his father becomes a stranger to a beggar;

Cattle for the Kazakh is flesh of his flesh;

A rich man has a countenance full of light, a poor man – as hard as stone;

The dzighit and the wolf will find their food along the way;

The herds of exalted men are left to the care of others, except when such men have nothing better to do;

The hand that takes also gives;

He who has managed to get rich is always in the right;

If you can't rely on the bey, don't count on God either;

If you are famished, gallop to the place of a funeral feast;

Beware of a lake with no shallows and of a people that knows no mercy.

Now, what do they tell us? It is not learning and knowledge, nor peace and justice, that the Kazakh holds dear – his sole concern is how to get rich. So he will twist and turn to cajole some of their riches from other people, and if he does not succeed, he will see the whole world as his enemy. He will have no scruples about fleecing even his own father. It is not customary among us to censure those who gain possession of livestock by trickery, lies, pillage, or other crimes (Ayan, 2017: 68).

Abai stated that proverbs such as "If you live in need, forget your shame; If your name is unknown, set the field on fire; Even an angel will stray from the path at the sight of gold; A treasure chest is dearer than father and mother, but your own life is dearer than a palace of gold; A clever fellow can set even the snow on fire..." (a: 78) distract people from morality and religion. The questions that are full of sarcasm and confusion he frequently refers to while making these determinations are for irony purposes: "What will you earn with your name that you will make by burning the world?", "What should an angel do with gold?", "Isn't it the job of the shameless to change your parents to goods?"

In the traditional life of Kazakh society, poetry plays an active role in both lifestyle and critical decision processes. In particular, oral poetry directly affects people's life and thinking patterns. The sensitivity of Abai Kunanbaiuly to poetry is actually due to this value given to poetry in society.

Although Kunanbaiuly gives the necessary importance to the art of poetry, he considers that the old poetry understanding is far from meeting the needs of the day. The transformation of poetry, which was performed as an income-generating profession in the past, into a fairy tale and entertainment tool disturbs him.

Kunanbaiuly especially thinks that his poetry has a multilayered meaning and can be understood by intelligent young people who are sensitive to humanitarian issues. According to him, the duty of poetry is not to sleep, but to awaken:

I don't write poems for entertainment, / It is all for gathering the tale. / I write to educate the exemplary youth who have sensitive conscious and agile tongues. / Rude people don't understand this word but the enthusiastic do. / These are for open-hearted people without carelessness (b: 147).

The poet ironically criticises the problematic aspect of poetry, which is a form of acculturation, in Kazakh society through exemplary patterns that were popular at the time. It opposes the existing poems to keep the youth from thinking, despising old age, pessimism, and shallowness:

I say a poem "Ali and the Dragon", / There is not a girl with a golden jaw and yellow fleck.

By denigrating elderliness and desiring death, / I don't say so be it, the youth is shameless (b: 147).

Kunanbaiuly is aware of the importance of poetry for Kazakh society. However, he finds it ironic that this value is used as an exaggerated art of speaking, a method of obtaining benefits. Even though both the poetry and the poet who say it are important, the evil of purpose makes the words worthless:

When I analyse the speakers of old times, / They spoke by lining words and using proverbs.

Because poets unreasonable and ignorant, / They poetised silly things even if not necessary (b: 99).

Abai Kunanbaiuly is also ironic towards himself in poetry. Although it is not so, he complains that his poems are empty and for profit as in the old poets:

I am sitting like old speakers by saying empty words, / Always whining for interest like the old poets (b: 101).

Kunanbaiuly says that this worthlessness in his art life is not only brought about by poets, but also by the fact that the people prefer these kinds of poets. He tells in ironic tones that he was removed from the original poetry by this tasteless majority too:

If I narrated the hero raiding countries, / I narrated a girl by adorning and deepening the talk, / You would hang on my every word of, / the tales of spending time in vain (b: 101).

3. Irony Towards Social Life

Abai Kunanbaiuly thinks that society is corrupted in terms of its understanding of morals and politics by being unable to keep up with the times lived. Laziness, gossip, slander, disloyalty, cowardice, and self-seeking become widespread among the people. This social disintegration deteriorates the relation between the people and administration. This state of deterioration observed in every layer of society directly affects the life of thought and behaviour patterns. People who become ignorant as a result of their laziness and false belief patterns move away from their correct behavioural patterns and suffer from a serious inability to think.

The poet makes an ironic introduction to his poem that seems like a compliment to his people but in many ways blames them for being behind the times:

O my luckless Kazakh, / My unfortunate kin.
An unkempt moustache, / Hides your mouth and chin (b: 37).

The people demonstrated their cruelty as heroism, and that they secretly follow people and complain to harm them as braininess. Kunanbaiuly uses this fact in his poetry to show the state of social life in a striking way. The so-called questions asked to understand whether those who do not behave this way can become fortunate heroes are ironic:

Saying that I cheated, hit, and broke, / Does not he blather by laughing and praising? / Saying that I waited, / Could not he sell the trickery by raising its value?

The one with good behaviour is the worst coward, / Where is the title called "tricky" and "vigilant"? / No fame for the ones who are not impudent, / Where is the fortune of the one who is not a swindler? (b: 255).

The poet compares the hate of the Kazakhs toward each other to an ice mass and says that this hatred cannot be melted easily. He says in an exaggerated manner that the people are so talented and willing to say long words, and that they do not value short words, and that only long words can melt the ice-like cold in them, not even tears or bloodshed:

Kazakh's words are longer than any other, / They do not understand their words instantly. / It is not possible to melt this ice inside, / Even with tears and blood of heart (b: 279).

While Abai Kunanbayuly is fundamentally against the people to do only animal husbandry away from science and work, he again ironically expresses it as a success that his people cannot deal with animal husbandry, which they know best from being busy with cheating, hatred and persecuting each other:

There is no knowledge and no work, / At least you got away without looking to goods (b: 279).

Abai Kunanbaiuly ironically talks about his desperation and the irregularity of the order in terms of the value determinations through questions without direct judgement:

Is this dry cry yell? / A song to the ear? / Is wandering around without a skill? / Elegance for a man?

They are all ignorant liars, / Are they human however they say? / Does the one idling and being disgraced / deserve a life? (b: 353).

Abai Kunanbaiuly endeavours to guide his people to be saved from laziness and lead a life in accordance with the requirements of the age. For this, first, a modern understanding that prioritises working should be provided instead of the outdated understanding that makes them lazy (Hopaç, 2013, 3). According to Abai, traditional values and behaviour patterns that cannot renew themselves in the face of changing conditions and needs are far from giving peace to society. During this period, the Kazakh people, who were detached from the modern world, withdrew

themselves and remained indifferent to all the changes happening in the world (Erdem, 2001: 15-16).

Kunanbaiuly utilises irony in criticising the results of the corruption that Kazakh people experienced as a society. In the *40th Word*, he tries to draw attention to the deteriorating behavioural patterns of the society with the questions he asks to the reader. The answers to these questions, which are asked one after the other, are quite clear in the mind of the poet. For this reason, Kunanbaiuly strives to make his reader think and make him realise the correct answers with so-called questions:

Why do old folks live in peace with the young but constantly quarrel among themselves? (...) Why is it that two good men in the same family are unable to get on with each other, while two rascals always make friends? (...) Why do people yearn for peace and tranquillity, but should peace come to stay, they grow weary of it? Why on earth? (Ayan, 2017: 110).

The writer evaluates Kazakh people's humiliation of other societies for unrealistic reasons as avoiding self-criticism. In the *Second Word*, the poet mentions that since his childhood the Kazakh people have mocked and despised the Tajik, Nogai, and Russians, and uses an ironic language peculiar to a deceived person:

"My God!" I thought then with pride. "It turns out that the whole wide world has no worthier and nobler people than the Kazakhs!" Such talk rejoiced and entertained me (Ayan, 2015: 64).

Kunanbaiuly's expression that he humiliated others for a while, although it seems like a self-criticism, actually points to a common problem in society. The writer, who aimed to give the general effect of that period, wants to increase the influence of the criticisms at the end of the article with these expressions in the form of a confession of a personal regret. As a matter of fact, the writer states that the situation today is exactly the opposite of what the public says. At the end of the article, he asks a question whose answer is known, which will oblige the reader to make a desperate confession:

But this is what I see now (...) not we Kazakhs, though: we labour for their beys for a crust of bread. They will not let our beys into their homes. (...) We cannot hold a candle even to their servants. Where has all our erstwhile joyfulness gone? (...) Where is our merry laughter? (Ayan, 2017: 64-65).

Indeed, the people that Kunanbaiuly criticised for the corruption of their behavioural patterns are not only their own people. For today, there is a corruption in the world due to changing social dynamics. Kazakh people also live their share without this corruption. Similarly, to the scale of corruption, recovery must occur on a universal scale: "Who poisoned Socrates, burnt Joan of Arc, and crucified Jesus? Who buried our Prophet in the carcass of a camel? The masses, the multitude! The multitude is devoid of reason. Seek to direct it onto the path of truth" (Ayan, 2017: 95).

According to Abai Kunanbaiuly, the biggest problem of Kazakh people, who are on the edge of a new world in terms of cultural elements such as tradition, lifestyle, and belief, is that they remain ignorant due to the fact that they have remained far away from science and thought. Ignorance gives people a groundless self-

confidence and unfounded pride, instead of a lifestyle suitable for the conditions of the changing world, it follows temporary gains in a fraudulent and short way. Ignorant people are arrogant, liars, cowardly, and talkative, according to the poet:

They all tickle the master of words, / By exaggerating while sitting at home.
/ When they go outside, / They approve each other's words (b: 89).

According to the poet, ignorant people are diseased characters like fake heroes who surround people in good times and separate them from the right path and from their friends. For these characters that always seek their own interest, they not only do nothing for others, but also, they live like parasites; *"in your bosom when it rains, in your neck when it shines"* (b: 91).

The ignorant person that the poet generally uses in his poems is not considered a person with a lack of knowledge. This person believes that thinking is unnecessary for himself. The situation that Kunanbaiuly thinks is dangerous for his period is the high number of people who are too lazy to think (Esim, 2016: 164-165).

Beautiful girl and hero (Tale), / When he does not have a sharp mind, / He goes outside or sleeps, / Mind is a dirty towel for him (b: 127).

Abai Kunanbaiuly states in *The Book of Words* that one of the things that damages the life of thought is misinterpretation of religion. According to Abai, the understanding of trust in God is problematic in his era:

Muslims! The world is peopled by the rich and by the poor, the healthy and the sickly, the wise and the stupid, the good and the wicked. If someone asks why this is so, you will reply: "Such is the will of Allah" (Ayan, 2017: 88).

Abai, who determines the situation with these expressions and narrates the settled belief with mockery, subsequently criticises this belief by using irony:

It sometimes happens, however, that Allah bestows riches upon a despised loafer, while some person who worships God and toils honestly lives from hand to mouth and can barely feed his wife and children. A quiet, harmless man is often sick and feeble, while some scoundrel or thief enjoys excellent health. The same parents may have one clever and one stupid son. Allah exhorts everybody to be virtuous and live righteously. He directs the righteous along the right path, and sinners along the crooked path, rewarding the righteous with the bliss of paradise and sinners with the torments of Hell. Does this not contradict divine mercy and justice? Both people and their goods belong to Allah. And He disposes of His property as He wishes. How to understand His actions? (Ayan, 2017: 88).

Saying that those who use their minds and are not ignorant are the true Muslims, Kunanbaiuly shows ironic irregularities in the faith of people through comparisons:

You should understand and believe that good and evil were created by God, but it is not He who performs them. God has created wealth and poverty, but it is not He who makes human beings rich or poor. God has created diseases, but it is not He who makes people suffer from them. For otherwise everything would be dust and ashes (Ayan, 2017: 88).

Kunanbaiuly sees the claim of those who are ignorant because they do not use their mind and do not receive the necessary education to claim that the reason for this situation is different natures as trying to cover their crimes by slandering Allah: "What shall we do if Allah did not give reason? Did Allah create me and you the same?" (Kunanbayev, 2014: 138). It forces such people, who blame their ignorance on Allah, to understand the truth with so-called question expressions. It is really ironic that these people change the truth enough to claim that some of Allah's prohibitions prevent learning and thinking:

But did not God enjoin him to look and listen, and to remember what he sees and hears? Did God say: eat your fill, enjoy yourself, be content with boasting and turn into a beast, having lost all spiritual riches? (Ayan, 2017: 112).

He criticises the religious abuse of people who are not related with education and culture, lost in the darkness of ignorance, under the guise of clergymen or religiousness. Kunanbaiuly does not put up with the men of faith who should work hard for himself and his nation in terms of education and culture, but do not try to learn and research, and leave the world in ignorance by using religion as an excuse:

... I think that both the saints and the savants seek satisfaction in dispute just to gratify their vanity. Had humankind chosen the path of tarikat, the path indicated by the saints, the world would have fallen into desolation and decay. Who would have then grazed the livestock, who would have repulsed the enemy, who would have made clothes, and who would have sown wheat and extracted the riches from the bowels of the earth? (Ayan, 2017: 102).

Conclusion

Leading the way of modernisation for Kazakh society in general, and Kazakh literature and intellectual life in particular, Abai Kunanbaiuly writes his works with a complete sense of responsibility. He cannot be unconcerned in his works about certain problems that arose in his society in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Abai Kunanbaiuly uses all the tools he must to improve his mental equipment, believing that he should educate himself well against social problems. According to him, the only task of anyone who can reason is to be beneficial to his environment. Kunanbaiuly dedicates his works to bringing his people to a state suitable for the conditions of the century as a requirement of this task.

The artist generally uses the irony technique, which can be regarded as rather new for the time, in accordance with his thesis in his works, in which he puts the interest of the society at the center. Thus, he strikes at the public's awareness of ignored mistakes, not the disregarded truths like everyone else. Rather than making judgements about the values themselves, he asks questions that encourage the rational reader to think and contain meanings hidden as secrets to the word. Due to the nature of the irony technique – unlike a wise person, most of them

are really unaware but hungry for learning – Kunanbaiuly wants to impress his readers in this way.

The irony technique ensures that the work in which it is used is reproduced by the writer and the reader together with an inexhaustible richness of meaning every time. The writer and the reader, who are almost equal subjects of the work, think together and complete the work. The most important feature of irony is that the consciousness of the reader as well as the writer is clear and active. With this technique, the writer can provide the reader with the ideal sensitivity toward emotion, thought, and behaviour in a short time and permanently. It can be said that Kunanbaiuly uses this technique consciously and for exactly this purpose.

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CHAPTER – X

ABAI KUNANBAIULY AND FOREIGN POLICY OF KAZAKHSTAN

Fırat PURTAŞ

Every state has a philosophy of foreign policy. This philosophy is formed under the influence of social, cultural, and traditional values as a consequence of a historical process. Undoubtedly, foreign policy actions of states are determined under the influence of many variables, such as conjuncture (necessities of time), regional and global balances, the nature of the international system, and particularly power capacity. However, even the reactions of the states to external factors vary according to their social-cultural-political philosophy.¹ On the other hand, states search for references from their own world of thought and spirit regarding essential principles of international relations.

Kazakhstan, which regained its independence as a result of the dissolution of the USSR, is a state that has a deep-rooted historical background and a typical tradition of administration. Thus, most of the unwritten sources, such as the legacies of steppe empires like the Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, Gokturks, Kazakh Khanate, Rules of Genghis Khan, trade rules of the ancient Silk Road, main principles of Islam, customary law, which is reached today by conveying the pioneers of folk

1 Among the international relations theories, constructivist theory maintains that social and cultural values, the identity of leaders, and worldviews are influential in the formation of foreign policies. According to this approach, the national and international social and cultural environment of the relevant state plays an important role in the formation of foreign policy. Consequently, foreign policy is a process of social and cultural construction and is shaped under the influence of the social identities to which the relevant decision-makers belong and the worldview they have. See Ramazan Gözen (ed.), *International Relations Theories, Communication*, 2019, p. 27.

wisdom such as Akhmed Yasawi and Korkut Ata from mouth to mouth, have had an influence on the formation of Kazakhstan's philosophy of administration and foreign policy since independence. It is also possible to mention the influence of Kazakh intellectuals on Modern Kazakhstan's philosophy such as Abai, who is considered the founder of modern Kazakh literature, pioneers of the Alash movement like Magzhan Zhumabaev and Alikhan Bokeikhanov, and Mukhtar Auezov, who draws a portrait of an ideal society in the language of poets by staying true to Abai's advice.

Institutions cannot be considered independently from their administrators.² The architect of independent Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, is not only the theoretician but also the performer of the foreign policy since independence. When we analyse the philosophical basis of Nazarbayev's foreign policy, the legacy of the steppe empires, and the principles of the wise grandfather/ancestor, the "The Book of Words" of Abai can easily be seen here too. As Gorbachev expressed, Nazarbayev is a politician, the product of two cultures, whose roots and worldview are both Asian and European (Aitken, 2010: 300). Therefore, a portrait of Nazarbayev drawn without considering his Soviet background would be incomplete. In this context, Mukhtar Auezov's four-volume novel named "The Path of Abai", which is a world-famous work of Kazakh literature and is built on socialist realism, appears before us.

Kazakhstan, which declared its independence on 16 December 1991, aimed to strengthen its independence and sovereignty and become a respected member of the international community by following a multidirectional and pragmatic foreign policy in the period of independence, which has lasted for a quarter of a century. While the rich natural resources of the country provide an important advantage in terms of economic development and social welfare, it also led to competition among global and regional powers over Kazakhstan. In this competitive environment, Kazakh foreign policy has been designed to establish new partnerships and varying cooperation without deteriorating relations with its former allies.

If a classification is required, it is possible to analyse Kazakhstan's foreign policy in three periods: a) 1991-1997, b) 1997-2013, c) 2013 and after.

In the first period, which featured constructions of independence, significant foreign policy accomplishments such as elimination of nuclear weapons, and demarcation of borders with China, the CICA initiative was ensured in addition to establishing new state institutions and the protection of internal stability.

2 The "actor-oriented constructivism" approach within the constructivist theory puts emphasis on individual influences on identity. Accordingly, actors (states) in the international system have characteristic thoughts and identities. National identity, namely the identity that a state forms in itself, also determines how states perceive the other actors in the international system. Thus, states determine their behaviour towards other states in line with this perception. This approach argues that the beliefs and views of the political elite influence the behaviour of the state. See Shannon L. Blanton and Charles W. Kegley, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, Cengage Learning, 2016-2017 edition, p. 36.

In the second period, which began when the 2030 Strategy was brought into force in 1997, both economic development and foreign policy objectives were achieved earlier than planned.

OSCE term presidency, establishment of the Turkic Council, hosting the summits of organisations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, attracting foreign investment, construction of a petroleum pipeline to China, and making cooperation with many countries into strategic partnerships were the prominent accomplishments of foreign policy in 1997-2012.

In the current period, foreign policy has been modernised against new threats regarding national security in the zone of instability extending from the Middle East to North-East Asia. The fact that Kazakhstan became one of the states that conduct development aid with the establishment of KazAID, that Kazakhstan became a member of the WTO, that the first low-enriched uranium bank was established in Kazakhstan within the aegis of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and that Expo 2017 was held in Kazakhstan are the current accomplishments that have been ensured within the framework of the 2050 Strategy. The difference between this period and previous period is the studies carried out on “Spiritual Revival”. Astana, the center of the world’s traditional religions, has pioneered a “values diplomacy” at the global level, while conducting policies to promote spiritual values at the national level.

When principal actions in the field of the foreign policy of Kazakhstan in the independence period are considered, three main principles become prominent: a) Active peace diplomacy for sustainable stability; b) An economy-prioritised foreign policy for sustainable development and prosperity; c) Pragmatic foreign policy based on facts and balance for rapid adjustment to changing global and regional conditions.

In this article, references from Kazakh history and traditions regarding these principles will be demonstrated through Abai Kunanbaiuly. Our hypothesis that Abai’s philosophy formed Nursultan Nazarbayev’s and Kassym-Jomart Tokayev’s worldviews, and affected the administration’s understanding and foreign policy approaches, will be proved by the similarity between the three prominent characteristics of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy and the advice of Abai.

Administration Philosophy of Modern Kazakhstan: “The Path of Abai”

Abai Kunanbaiuly, who lived in the Kazakh steppe in the second half of the nineteenth century, was a versatile intellectual. Abai’s world of thought was shaped by the rich oral culture of the steppe and the main works of Eastern and Western civilisation.³ Abai, who studied at the modern Russian school as well as

3 In the speech that he gave on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Abai’s birth on 9 August 1995, Nursultan Nazarbayev explained the main sources of Abai’s philosophy as follows: “Abai not only turned his head to the outside but also, he evaluated and utilised the national cultural assets. Poems of poets such as Korkut, Asan Kaygi, Atalık, Sipira Kodantayshi, Kaztugan, Dospambet, Shalkiyiz, Matgaska, Jivembet; the advice of

traditional education, read the basic works of Russian literature alongside the Eastern classics. Abai, who knew the works of thinkers such as Firdausi, Nizami, Sa'di, and Ali-Shir Nava'i, learned about the works of classical philosophers such as Aristotle, Socrates, Spinoza, and Spencer thanks to Russian. Translating Russian writers such as Pushkin, Lermantov, and Gogol into Kazakh, Abai was in the same circle with Russian social democrats such as E.P. Mihoelisom, N. Dolgopolovym, and S. Grossom exiled to the Kazakh steppe due to their political views and activities, and was influenced by their thinking. Even though he was a member of a noble family, the needs of ordinary people and the sufferings of the people were reflected in the thoughts and writings of Abai. Prophet Muhammad's "The blessed of mankind is the one who is the most beneficial for mankind" hadith sheriff is one the most repeated words by Abai. In this context, he produced works that were useful to his people (Gongalo, 2013).

Being open to the outside and constantly communicating with different societies and cultures has great importance in Abai's philosophy. Knowing a foreign language is the first condition for this. With Abai's expression "*the one who knows the language and knowledge of a nation can make a claim of equality; he does not have to beg for it*" (Ayan, 2017). When we consider the period and conditions that Abai lived in, although he was a great philosopher who lived in the steppe one and a half centuries ago when communication with the world was very limited, he defended the human rights, freedom and friendship of the people, as well as goodness and good actions, and he gave advice regarding how a developing free society should be (Nazarbayev, 1995, in Ayan, 2017).

Abai's The Book of Words is also a book of politics and a book of advice. The "book of politics" tradition, which was common in Ancient Greece, India, China, and Iran, was also available among Turkic people.⁴ In this sense, Orkhon Inscriptions, Book

scholars such as Buhar, Tole, Kazibek, Ayteke; the works of Akhmed Yasawi, Al-Farabi, Yusuf Balasagun, Mahmud al-Kashgari, Muhammed Haydari, Dulati, Kadirgali Jalayir, Muhammed ibn Kays, and Husan Addin Barshinlegi affected the worldview of Abai. In this sense, the worldview of Abai was domestic and national. On the other hand, he studied Byron, Gete, Schiller, Lesaj, Dūmo, and Mickiewicz and tried to translate them into Kazakh. He even studied famous philosophers of Ancient Greece and Rome in detail beginning from Aristotle and Socrates to Spinoza and Spencer. He met with natural sciences by researching Darwin, studied the works of Chon William Dreper, professor of New York University, met the history of thought development, history of Europe, and the history of communication between Catholicism and science. An emotional poet, lively thinker, and philosopher, he tried to understand steppe life by comparing it with other world cultures. He re-evaluated Eastern poetry, history, and philosophy by reanalysing Arabic and Farsi books that he had learnt in his childhood. He especially underlined the works of Al-Taberi, Rabghuzii, Rashid ad-Din Sinan, Babur, and Abelgazy. He researched the Islamic Law with an Eastern mindset in detail. He became aware of the cultural and spiritual life of Central Asia and South Asia in his time." For the Turkish Version of Nursultan Nazarbayev's speech that has been published as a book in different languages, see Ekrem Ayan, Mirror of a Period: Abai Kunanbaiuly and The Book of Words, Akhmet Yassawi University, Edition No: 48, 2017.

- 4 "Writers of books of politics were inspired by Indian wisdom, Greek philosophers, and especially Persians' history and political tradition. Classical sources of books of politics comprised works like Hudayname and Ayinname, which tells the life stories

of Dede Korkut, and Kutadgu Bilig of Yusuf Balasagun can be accepted as the first examples of books of politics and books of advice in Turkic societies. Books of politics are usually written to be submitted to politicians. Their content generally includes issues related to ethics, social problems, and belief, as well as the art of administration. In this sense, Abai's *The Book of Words* is a "mind book". Abai makes determinations regarding various social problems and offers solutions.⁵ Nazarbayev also confirmed this point with these words: "We can find the answers to domestic and foreign policy of the state regarding today's international cases by analysing Abai" (Nazarbayev, 1995, in Ayan, 2017).

Also, Abai's thoughts substantially affected the pioneers of the Alash Orda movement. However, the mass migration and hunger experienced during the collectivisation process caused Abai to be forgotten among the people. In this process, the novel "The Path of Abai", first volume of which was published in 1942 by Mukhtar Auezov, played an important role in Abai's introduction to large masses in Soviet Kazakhstan.⁶ Auezov stated that while writing this novel, he received information from almost everyone who knew his fellow countryman Abai, and that the people, clans, tribes, and historical places in the novel were all real (Encyclopedia of Islam, 141-143). In the novel, through the biography and works of Abai Kunanbaiuly, the social structure, lifestyle, feudal relations, beliefs, customs, and traditions of the Kazakh people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are explained (Asa, 1997; 57). In this respect, "The Path of Abai" is also the encyclopedia of "steppe" life (Kudaibergenova, 2017: 26). With the expression of Chinghiz Aitmatov, "The Path of Abai" is a work that enables the new generations of the Kazakh people to look at their own history, while Auezov has become the Kazakh nation's own eye (Aytmatov, 1996, in Ayan, 2000). In short, Auezov is an author that could manage to convey Abai and his philosophy of life with a universal language.

In this novel, Abai is presented not only as an intellectual reformist but also as a political reformist (McGuire, 2018: 2). In this context, Abai and Mukhtar Auezov can be qualified as the intellectuals that prepared the bright future of the Kazakh people (Hopaç, 2013: 2). Nursultan Nazarbayev also emphasised this point as "Abai is not only an outstanding man that contributed invaluable to the spiritual treasury

of Persian kings, politicians of Persian origin, such as the Bermekids and Ibn al-Muqaffa who served as administrators in the early periods of the Abbasids, political rules and applications of Indian kings and philosophers, words and opinions of Greek philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle regarding ideal state theory, stories and political experiences of Arab kings before Islam, and the knowledge and experience of philosophers and kings from Far Eastern Chinese culture regarding the art of politics." Hasan Hüseyin Adalıoğlu, "Classical Sources of Books of Politics", *Osmangazi U. Social Sciences Journal*, V.5, E.2, December 2004, p. 1.

- 5 Nursultan Nazarbayev's work named "Seven Facets of the Great Steppe" is a work continuing the tradition of politics and advice, and reflecting Abai's influence on Nazarbayev's worldview.
- 6 The volumes of the work, which consists of four volumes, were published in 1942, 1947, 1950, and 1952, and were published together in 1956. It was translated into Turkish by Zeyneş İsmail and Ahmet Güngör.

of the Kazakh people, but he is also a man working hard for the sovereignty of his people" (Nazarbayev, 1995, in Ayan, 2017: 27).

As Harry Leeds pointed out, "the dream of Abai concerning the freedom, educational level, prosperity, and development of the Kazakh people has been substantially realised with the independence of Kazakhstan" (Leeds, 2020). Nazarbayev also expressed that it is necessary to act with responsibility when using these words:

... we are the closest generation to Abai who was a great philosopher, democrat, great spiritual reformist. This closeness gives us a great responsibility in the face of history. It depends on us whether the ideals that Abai bequeathed will not remain as dreams but turn into concrete reality and social existence. The humanism in his works, the glorification of humanity, and the reality staring straight at life, the spiritual maximalism that hates laziness, carelessness, cruelty, and greed should be the main principles of our endeavour that will succeed (Nazarbayev, 1995, in Ayan, 2017: 29).

Thoughts of Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kassym-Jomart Tokayev on Abai

Abai Kunanbaiuly, whose 175th anniversary of his birth was celebrated in 2020, is one of the philosophers who have influenced the domestic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan, which has undergone radical transformations since independence. This phenomenon can be confirmed by Nursultan Nazarbayev's (who served as President of Kazakhstan for 28 years) comments on Abai. In the speech of Nazarbayev in 1995, the laconic expression "We do not need to look outside for the reforms we need while a modern state, it is enough to look at Abai" shows this (Nazarbayev, 1995, in Ayan, 2017).

Nazarbayev decided to celebrate Abai's 150th anniversary of his birth with glorious events at national and international level in the early years of independence, at a time when risks and problems related to domestic and foreign policy continued. Nazarbayev, who personally opened the commemoration activities of Abai's 150th anniversary, called Abai a "steppe philosopher" in his speech and stated that he was inspired by Abai while implementing reforms in the direction of national development in Kazakhstan: "The world of Abai is like a lighthouse that will not make us lose for seven nights. We can evaluate the right and wrong of our existence by looking at this. Abai answered so many questions a long time ago, which do not leave us in peace. You can bring order to your country by reading Abai" (Nazarbayev, 1995, in Ayan, 2017: 29).

Deeply analysing the worldview and philosophy of Abai, Nazarbayev frequently used Abai's advice while building modern Kazakhstan. Nazarbayev emphasised how he attached importance to the thoughts of Abai in his book titled "Spiritual Legacy of Abai": "In terms of the minds and thoughts of people, we should all be like Abai. Then our rights cannot be violated, or surrendered by force" (Nazarbayev, 2017: 146). Nazarbayev also held Abai as a model for the modern Kazakh nation with symbolic steps like putting Abai's picture on the tenge, which is the national currency of Kazakhstan, and naming the opera building newly constructed in the capital after Abai. Kudaibergenova explained this point clearly: "My childhood

came across the national awakening period in Kazakhstan. Abai is a great statue placed on a stone, a legendary historical figure who touched every point that is the symbol of our national identity for me. As my childhood friends said, Abai is our blood, our life, our soul" (Kudaibergenova, 2020).

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev came to power temporarily with the resignation of Nursultan Nazarbayev on 19 March 2019, and then he became elected president after the elections held in June 2019. Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, a diplomat and one of Kazakhstan's first foreign ministers, was the foreign minister in 1995 when the 150th anniversary of Abai's birth was celebrated. Therefore, Tokayev conducted international events such as the declaration of the year of Abai by UNESCO. Tokayev, who also spoke English, French, Chinese, and Russian, became effective as one of Nazarbayev's closest executives in instigating initiatives that will make a significant contribution to the transformation of Kazakhstan, such as the Bolashak program, which provides state scholarships for Kazakh youth to study abroad.

When Kassym-Jomart Tokayev's duty of presidency that exceeded two years as of May 2020 is evaluated, it is seen that Kazakhstan attaches importance to a balanced and stable cooperation with its neighbours and other countries by maintaining its traditional foreign policy line (Topsakal, 2019). On the occasion of the 175th anniversary of Abai's birth, 2020 was declared as the year of Abai and resources were allocated with the decree of President Tokayev for celebrations at national and international level. Nursultan Nazarbayev and President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev attended the opening ceremony with the theme of "Kazakh People-Abai's People", which was held in Nursultan on 21 January 2020.

On the eve of this event, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev published an article titled "Abai and Kazakhstan in the twenty-first Century" in the Gazette of Kazakhstan on 9 January 2020.⁷ Expressing in his article that Abai's thoughts still maintained their relevance today, Tokayev listed what kind of lessons should be taken from Abai's words. He also recalled Nazarbayev's words about Abai in his article as follows:

Even if the shape of the world changes with the change of the periods, our people's love for Abai will not change, on the contrary, it will be fed with new secrets by revealing the unknown aspects of its greatness as time passes. Abai will live forever with its people and will continue to bring the Kazakh country and nation to the peaks for centuries.⁸

Jarkın Tusipkeboglu described Tokayev's article as an "ideological compass" of the society (Mamaşulı, 2020). This article has symbolic significance in terms of being the first article published by Tokayev as president and explaining the reforms he intended through Abai's words. Describing Abai as the "pole star of Kazakhstan's national ideal", Tokayev stated that Kazakhstan's reputation would continue to increase in the modern world by keeping his wise words high as spiritual values. He concluded his article by saying "Abai's advice and lessons will put Kazakhstan on the top in the twenty-first century" (Tokayev, 2020).

7 For the Turkish version of the article, see. <https://www.oncevatan.com.tr/abay-ve-21-yuzyildaki-kazakistan-makale,47612.html>.

8 Tokayev produced this quote from Nazarbayev's speech "About Abai" published in 1995.

Concept and Action Analysis of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy within the Framework of Abai's "The Book of Words"

Kazakhstan has entered the process of building a political and economic system after gaining its independence as happened in all former Soviet republics. These efforts, called "reform" or "transformation", followed a unique course in Kazakhstan. Nursultan Nazarbayev, as the founding president of the country, drew his own path of development in modern Kazakhstan. Nazarbayev adopted a planned administrative system based on realism and pragmatism for the development of Kazakhstan, taking into account the potential of his country, and global and regional developments. Kazakhstan 2030 was declared in October 1997 and Kazakhstan 2050 was brought into force at the end of 2012. "Kazakhstan's Concept of Foreign Policy" was adopted in line with these strategies, the first in 2014 and the second in 2020. The "Spiritual Revival" program started to be implemented. All these documents reveal the main routes of the specific development path. When examined carefully, the parallelism between the "The Path of Abai" and the development line of modern Kazakhstan can easily be seen.

Both Abai and Nazarbayev maintain a worldview that prioritises education, morality, work, production, trade, friendship, and harmony. As clearly expressed in "Kazakhstan's 2050 Strategy", the economy comes before the policy and the criterion of success is the increase in the living standards of the citizens (Kazakhstan 2050 Strategy). In line with this basic principle, a continuous and predictable foreign policy line has been determined in line with the national interests of Kazakhstan.

Active Peace Diplomacy for Sustainable Stability

The prominent feature of Kazakhstan's foreign policy is its humanist and "peaceful" character. In Kazakhstan, which has a society consisting of 140 different ethnic groups and 17 different beliefs, ensuring political stability, social peace, and national unity by preserving the integrity of the country marks the success of foreign policy as well as domestic policy. It is one of the most concrete indicators of Kazakhstan's peaceful policy that 14,000 kilometres of borders are determined within the framework of international law and that there are no border disputes with neighbours including the Caspian Sea. The global initiatives for nuclear disarmament, the stability of Afghanistan and the initiatives undertaken regarding the solution of the Syrian crisis are the concrete contributions of Kazakhstan to regional and global peace.

The advice of Abai, "see all people as your brother or sister, love the entire world", is the motto of the peaceful policy of Kazakhstan. Both Nazarbayev and Tokayev placed emphasis on these words of Abai in their speeches. A similar motto of Abai is "friendship brings friendship". In his speech that he made in 1995, Nazarbayev expressed his approach to this principle as follows: "We also give importance to looking at and respecting international friendship and friendship that is within our people, solidarity with all the people, and intercultural interaction as Abai did" (Nazarbayev, 1995).

As Aitken also detected, showing friendship to strangers is a Kazakh tradition and Nazarbayev especially enjoys repeating the words of two heroes on this topic (Aitken, 2010: 146). The first is the good life advice of poet and philosopher Abai who lived in the nineteenth century: "Knowing the language and culture of another nation makes you equal with those people...If you carry their hopes and concerns in your heart, then you cannot abandon them." Another scholar that Nazarbayev quoted is Akhmed Yasawi:

The Prophet has a desire
One day if you encounter a stranger.
Do not do any harm to him
Allah do not like the heathen.

Nursultan Nazarbayev interpreted the advice of Abai on friendship in 1995 as follows:

If we express the poet's point of view in today's language, the policy of friendship and solidarity with other countries is one of our priorities as a country. Do what other developed countries do, learn their science and culture, Abai says. Therefore, we must interact with other countries culturally, economically, and politically. The current equivalent of this is the politics of cohesion and integration.

One of the examples of active peace diplomacy in Kazakhstan foreign policy is the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, which has been held regularly since 2003. Representatives of traditional religions such as Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism attend this congress, which is held every three years. Eighty-two delegations from 46 countries participated in the congress that was held for the sixth time in October 2018 (The Astana Times, 2018). The Palace of Peace and Reconciliation, one of the buildings that are the symbols of the capital Nursultan, has been allocated to the works of the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions. Nazarbayev explained the meaning of this building built in the form of a pyramid as follows: "The four sides of our palace face the four main directions of the world. This symbolises the friendly embrace of independent Kazakhstan with all nations and all people of different faiths" (Religion Congress). Another example of the peace policy that Kazakhstan follows at global level is the "2012-2023 International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures" initiative. Kazakhstan has not only been the initiator of the process of accepting the Declaration of the International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures in the UN General Assembly but also played a pioneering role in its implementation by providing financial support (Purtas, 2017: 106).

One of the fields showing Kazakhstan's active peace policy is its efforts concerning nuclear disarmament. Nazarbayev unilaterally prohibited and shut down the nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk test site on 19 August 1991 before Kazakhstan declared its independence. When Kazakhstan gained its independence, it emerged as the fourth-largest nuclear power in the world with the nuclear weapons it had. Nazarbayev, who preferred to guarantee the security of his country with a peaceful foreign policy instead of nuclear weapons, returned these weapons to Russia in cooperation with the U.S. Thus, Nazarbayev became the architect of the

“Nuclear Free Kazakhstan and Central Asia” initiative. Nazarbayev led the nuclear disarmament efforts on a global scale from then on. In 2010, the General Assembly of the UN adopted a decision regarding the declaration of the “International Day Against Nuclear Tests” at the initiative of Kazakhstan (nti.org). In 2015, with the agreement signed between the International Atomic Energy Agency and Kazakhstan in Astana, a mutual agreement was reached on the establishment of the “Low Enriched Uranium Bank”. With this signing ceremony where representatives of the UN Security Council were also present, the world’s first international “Low Enriched Uranium Bank” was established in Oskomen, Kazakhstan (Nazarbayev, 2015).

Foreign Policy Prioritising Economy for Sustainable Development and Welfare

Another prominent characteristic of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy is an “economy-focused” foreign policy approach. Advice from Abai – “First of all, earn money. A hungry person does not have intelligence, shame or passion to know in his head” – reflected this point very well. Condemning idling and free riding in The Book of Words, Abai advises having a profession, being engaged in agriculture, doing business, and developing oneself with studying (Ayan, 2017).

Economic diplomacy has a special place in Kazakhstan’s foreign policy. The title “Priorities in the Fields of Economic Diplomacy” in the Foreign Policy Concept adopted in 2020 is in second place after the title “Priorities on Ensuring International Peace and Security”. Fourteen points are listed among the priorities of economic diplomacy. The main ones are as follows: Attracting international resources for the structural transformation of the national economy; Expanding international cooperation in the main sectors of the economy such as industry, agriculture, light industry, construction materials, mining, transportation and logistics, health, education, tourism, petrochemistry, refinery, chemical industry and metallurgy, transferring high-quality foreign investments and advanced technologies; Establishing partnerships in the field of new high technologies such as Digital Kazakhstan and Artificial Intelligence; Providing suitable conditions for transition to a green economy, etc. (Concept of the Foreign Policy, 2020-2030). According to analysis by Asset Ordabayev, the new foreign policy concept has been prepared on the basis of ensuring the economic development and security of Kazakhstan, and it is along the same lines as the foreign policy carried out by Nursultan Nazarbayev (2020: 82).

Thanks to the foreign policy approach prioritising the economy, Kazakhstan quickly overcame the economic and social destruction experienced in the first years of independence and increased its GDP per capita from 1,500 dollars in 1998 to 12,000 dollars in 2012. Foreign investments exceeding 160 billion played a major role in this development and welfare increase. Kazakhstan ranks first among the CIS countries in terms of foreign investment per capita. The distribution of these investments between different countries such as Russia, China, the U.S., India, the EU, and Türkiye is a consequence of the multifaceted and balanced foreign policy. The total export of Kazakhstan in 2018 was 54.7 billion dollars. This export figure has emerged as a result of the exchange with more than 50 countries (Tileuberdi, 2019).

Pragmatic Foreign Policy Based on Realities and Balance

Abai was a realistic intellectual who harshly criticised himself and the society he belonged to. Another prominent aspect of Kazakhstan's foreign policy is its realistic and pragmatic character. Strengthening independence and sovereignty required a multi-vectorial foreign policy line for Kazakhstan, which was a newly independent country. According to Nazarbayev, multi-vectorial foreign policy means developing predictable and friendly relations with all countries (The Astana Times, 2013).

In this context, Kazakhstan has been following a balanced cooperation policy based on mutual benefit with countries such as Russia, China, the West, Turkic Republics, and Islamic countries. A realistic foreign policy approach aims to eliminate all kinds of challenges that threaten the security of Kazakhstan. In this sense, the basic approach of Kazakhstan is a planned and coherent foreign policy based on a solid prediction where risks and opportunities are calculated well on a non-reactive regional and global scale.

Besides the 7,500 km border it shares, its large proportion of Russian population, and Moscow-centered transportation infrastructure, common historical and cultural ties have always caused Russia to maintain its priority position in Kazakhstan's foreign policy. Political, economic, and cultural relations with Russia at the bilateral level are being strengthened on the basis of the "Treaty of Good-Neighbourliness and Alliance in the twenty-first Century". The Eurasian Economic Union was established with the participation of Russia, Kazakhstan, the Republic of Belarus, and Armenia on January 1, 2015, and Kyrgyzstan became a member of this organisation in May 2015. Kazakhstan attaches importance to strengthening this union by not compromising its political sovereignty. The CSTO, which is led by Russia, is another structure that Kazakhstan is a member of and attaches great importance to the security of the region.

States such as China, U.S., Germany, EU, Türkiye, South Korea, and India have become the main partners of Kazakhstan in its independence period. Each of these partnerships may be evaluated as a success of Kazakh foreign policy, because these ties, which had never existed before, were established from scratch, and reached the level of commercial and political partnership in a short time.

Investments, starting with purchasing the Aktobe MunaiGas Company of the China National Petroleum Corporation in 1997, paved the way for the development of political and commercial relations with the Shanghai Five and dynamic developments in Kazakhstan-China relations. The oil, which is operated by the China National Petroleum Corporation, started to be sold to China with the pipeline built from Aktobe to the Xinjiang Uyghur Region, which started operating in 2005. The announcement of the "Silk Road Economic Belt" project can be described as China's second-biggest opening towards Central Asia, which was made by Chinese President Xi Jinping on September 7, 2013 at Nazarbayev University in Astana and it is an example that shows its importance and special position. With its trading volume exceeding 30 billion dollars, China is the biggest trade partner of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan-China relations, which are developing very rapidly, will enable Central Asia's international expansion through China's ports (Gallo, 2014).

Kazakhstan-U.S. relations have been institutionalised with the “Strategic Partnership Dialogue Commission” meetings held annually at the level of foreign ministers since 2012. The U.S. established such a mechanism only with Kazakhstan among the Central Asian countries. The fourth meeting of the U.S.-Kazakhstan Strategic Partnership Dialogue was held in Astana with the participation of former U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry. In this context, Kerry made a speech titled “U.S. and Kazakhstan: Partners of the twenty-first Century” at Nazarbayev University and talked about the New Silk Road Initiative that will connect Central Asia to South Asia. He explained that it aims to increase ties between Central Asia and South Asia in four key areas, namely trade and transit, customs and border operations, business contacts, and humanitarian contacts (Kerry, 2015). Former U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who visited Nur-Sultan on February 2, 2020, also emphasised the importance the U.S. gives to its strategic partnership with Kazakhstan (The Astana Times, February 3, 2020).

Kazakhstan has established strong commercial ties with the EU member countries, especially Germany and France. Kazakhstan conducts more than 30% of its foreign trade with the EU countries. More than 50% of foreign direct investments in Kazakhstan are from the EU countries. In October 2014, an Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement was signed between Kazakhstan and the EU in Brussels (Kuchins, 2015).

Exclusive Area of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy: Central Asia and Turkic World

The Central Asia region and Turkic world have always had a special place in the foreign policy of Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is the mastermind of the Eurasia Union. Considering the security and stability of the Central Asia region and the future of Kazakhstan together, Nazarbayev attaches great importance to integration between the countries in the region. In this way, he thinks that the potentiality of conflict in Central Asia can be reduced, socio-economic problems can be overcome, and issues like water, energy and border problems can be solved. In the “Kazakhstan 2014-2020 Foreign Policy Concept” declared in April 2014, it was expressed that necessary measures would be taken to ensure regional stability and security against new threats and challenges, and the ultimate goal is to transform Central Asia into a unique region in terms of international politics and economy by recognising the responsibility of Kazakhstan for the political stability and the economic and secure development of “Central Asia” (Concept of the Foreign Policy, 2020-2030).

While Central Asian countries do not have an existing exclusive regional organisation together, the Turkic Council, which Türkiye and Azerbaijan are also members of, can be regarded as the closest integration initiative for this purpose. Nursultan Nazarbayev is the architect of the Turkic Council, whose institutionalisation process started in 2008. It is symbolically important that on September 11, 2015, in Astana, the Turkic Council summit and the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate were held on the same day. One of the best responses to the discussions on the North and North-East regions of Kazakhstan, which started with the annexation of Crimea by Russia in the spring of 2014, was the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate.

The 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Turkic Council was celebrated in Baku on October 15, 2019 and the 7th Summit of Heads of State was also held. Important decisions such as Uzbekistan's membership of the Turkic Council were made at this summit. Kazakhstan's Founding President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who attended the summit, proposed to prepare the "Turkic Council 2040 Vision" in line with the determination of the future goals of the organisation. In the words of Nazarbayev, "The Turkic Council, which was believed by a few people 10 years ago and the majority were sceptical, has turned into an attractive platform in terms of regional cooperation" (Nazarbayev, 2019).

The membership of Uzbekistan as a full member and Hungary as an observer to the Turkic Council were important steps in increasing the prestige and value of the organisation. While the geography covered by the Turkic Council has expanded with the new members, its fields of activity have also expanded with concrete steps of cooperation from trade to science and tourism without transportation. Developments such as the establishment of the Turkic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the preparation and making use of the Turkic Council Modern Silk Road Joint Tour Package, and the opening of the European Office of the Turkic Council in Budapest show that the organisation, which has completed its institutionalisation very quickly, will progress rapidly towards diversifying and deepening its cooperation. The fact that the train departing from China arrives on the European side of Istanbul within 12 days is concrete progress in terms of the realisation of the "middle belt" strategy that is being developed by the Turkic Council.

Recently, the notion of "Greater Eurasia" has been maintained by Nazarbayev as a new concept. This concept was discussed in detail at the 5th Astana-Club meeting held in Nursultan on November 12, 2019 and directed by Nazarbayev himself. The Eurasianism of Nazarbayev is not defensive against any party, in contrast to Russian Eurasianism, it is open to the outside and inclusive. Nazarbayev expresses what needs to be done for the construction of Great Eurasia as follows:

A pragmatic cooperation provided between the Eurasian Economic Union, the European Union, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and the Belt and Road Initiative will provide a powerful acceleration for the political stability of the largest continent in the world and the formation of Greater Eurasia. It is unacceptable that it has not been able to establish a full dialogue between the Eurasian Economic Union and the EU, although it has been five years since its establishment.

Referring to the summit of the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe) held in Astana in 2010, Nazarbayev expressed the view that the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security structures should be transformed into a single community and thus a conference could be held to increase the interaction between the OSCE and the CICA (Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia) (The Astana Times, 2019).

Apparently, there are two important European-centered organisations, namely the EU and the OSCE, within the "Greater Eurasia" formation set out by Nazarbayev. Thus, Nazarbayev demonstrates an approach that includes the EU and the western values it represents to Greater Eurasia. It can be understood when Nazarbayev's

pragmatic and multi-vectorial foreign policy understanding is considered. According to Nazarbayev, the Turkic Council is a regional cooperation structure whose importance is increasing within the Greater Eurasian architecture. The Turkic Council is a consequence of the solidarity and struggle for existence among the countries of the region in the great power competition in Eurasia. As the Turkic Council grows stronger, it will serve regional peace and development by developing cooperation and partnership with its addressees based on equality and mutual benefit.

Conclusion

Just as Abai, who is the national pride of the Kazakh people, left an indelible mark on Kazakh history, he was also an intellectual that significantly influenced the Kazakhstan philosophy on foreign policy. Considering his ideas about Abai, what he wrote and said about Abai, it is possible to characterise Nursultan Nazarbayev as one of the most important “Abai supporters”. Similarly, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev emphasised that Abai’s thoughts still maintain their validity at the present time. Both Nazarbayev and Tokayev are leaders who expressed their perspectives, worldviews, and reform initiatives through Abai’s ideas. Thus, the administration philosophy of Kazakhstan formed by Nazarbayev with Abai’s philosophy, which is maintained with the same approach today, crosses at many points. Just as Abai was an intellectual who built a bridge between Western and Eastern civilisation and worked for the enlightenment of his people, Nazarbayev is a politician whose roots and worldview are both European and Asian, i.e. the product of two cultures. On the other hand, Kazakhstan carries out a friendly and harmonious foreign policy that is open to the world in four main directions.

As we have been tried to explain, the three prominent characteristics of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy are as follows: active peace diplomacy, an economy priority foreign policy, and pragmatism built on realism and balance. When these principles and priorities were determined, Abai’s universal advice that appealed to the whole humanity was influential in addition to basic rules that should be regarded in interstate relations. On March 6, 2020, Kazakhstan adopted a new foreign policy concept. The following paragraph in the concept shows the continuity of the foreign policy philosophy that we have explained so far:

Kazakhstan has strengthened its position before the international society as a peaceful and open state, and a reliable partner for global and regional cooperation in its independence period. Implementing a multifaceted, pragmatic, and proactive foreign policy, Kazakhstan is a country that makes a significant contribution to the establishment and implementation of the regional and global agenda in the field of security, cooperation, and development. The main focus of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy is to protect the national interests comprehensively and decisively and to realise priorities regarding foreign policy and external economy in a constructive way (Concept of the Foreign Policy...2020-2030).

While the foreign policy of countries is determined based on real politics that envisages the maximisation of national interests, the political culture of the society and the historical experience of the country also shape foreign policy. Because

geography is an unchangeable destiny, states establish their foreign policies in accordance with the environment in which they are located, without ignoring the developments in the world. After gaining its independence, Kazakhstan, which is an endless steppe country located in the heart of Eurasia, determined a foreign policy line in light of its historical background and in harmony with its neighbours and international society in a direction with targets such as strengthening its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, the establishment of internal and external peace, and acceleration of social development.

A Eurasian understanding that is in harmony with the world, multifaceted, pragmatic, and not closed to the outside forms the main axis of Kazakhstan's philosophy on foreign policy. Unlike other examples, the Eurasianism philosophy maintained by Kazakhstan is not reactive and exclusive; it is an inclusive ideology that is compatible with the realities of the country. The Eurasianism of Nazarbayev is an understanding that aims to unite East and West, all sacred religions, rival dominant powers, and different political and economic integrations, because Nazarbayev's Eurasianism is not built on any antagonism (anti). In Kazakhstan's foreign policy, there is only opposition to threats and risks that disrupt peace and harmony such as anti-nuclear, anti-extremism, and anti-terrorism. The most concrete evidence of this is that no conflict or hostility has occurred with any third country or party during the 28 years of independence.

Kazakhstan, a country that previously received development assistance, has become a country that provides development assistance within the scope of "Kazakhstan's 2050 Strategy". The process of establishing KazAID, which started in 2011, became official with the document signed between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan and the UNDP on 3 November 2014. Attracting attention, especially by enabling 1,000 Afghan students to study in Kazakhstan and providing assistance during the humanitarian crisis in Kyrgyzstan, the amount of assistance provided by Kazakhstan to other countries has approached 450 million dollars (Kaukenova, 2017). KazAID is notable for its first official development assistance (ODA) program among the Central Asian countries and its focus on its neighbours. The activities of KazAID are another proof of Kazakhstan's efforts to fulfil its responsibilities in supporting regional security with concrete steps (Sieff and Witte, 2020).

As Abai advised, the Kazakh nation created a state that conducts its interstate relations based on sovereignty and equality by working, producing, and sharing. The greatest assurance for the future of this state is the educated, well-equipped, highly self-confident, open-minded, competitive Kazakh youth raised during the 28 years of independence. Thanks to programs such as Spiritual Revival, the Kazakh youth continue their strong ties with the past. The fact that Abai is one of the best-known intellectuals among Kazakh youth is an indication that his philosophy will continue.

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CHAPTER – XI

HAKIMSHIP OF ABAI

Garifolla YESIM and Nurlan BAIGABYLOV

The main purpose of this paper is to conduct wide-ranging research among secondary sources through a hermeneutic approach, and to introduce the Abai as a hakim (an elite scholar). We believe that the exploration and presentation of the hakimship of Abai is a significant contribution to the literature. The leading figures of the Alash recognised Abai as 'Altyn (Golden) hakim Abai', and dedicated poems to this name. Through his rigorous analysis, Abai proposed a deeper understanding for titles such as 'saints, hakims and prophets'. Furthermore, he suggested a national way of thinking. Abai's intellectual hakim wisdom is similar to that of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, in that, through thoughtfulness, he wished to direct people to think for themselves. Through following this type of hakim tradition, Abai managed to lift the national wisdom to a global level. The importance of this article lies in its recommendation to define Abai not as a philosopher, but rather as a hakim in literature and among scientific circles.

The Concept of Hakim

There is value in the saying that in order to understand wisdom perhaps we need wise people. We should note that Abai was different from other Kazakh intellectuals in terms of his wisdom and way of using it. Among our intellectual lions, Alash Akhmet Baitursynuly and Magzhan Zhumabayev were the first ones who actually grasped the deep wisdom in Abai's work.

In 1912, Magzhan dedicated to Abai the poem 'Altyn Hakim Abai' in the magazine *Sholpan*, and in 1913 in the newspaper 'Kazakh' (No. 39–41) Akhmet published an extensive article in which he called Abai 'the leading poet of Kazakhs'. After 80 years since the publication of the two figures of Alash, the concept of calling Abai

as 'hakim' and 'the leading poet of Kazakhs began to be revived. There follow a few words about the concept of 'hakim'. When Magzhan wrote the poem 'Altyn Hakim Abai', he employed this concept for a reason; it was taken from the mentality of the Kazakh people as this word was understandable to many people. First, it can be stated that in the era of Abai, people understood the word hakim to be defined as a person who is able to use their thoughts in the most competent way. Second, Abai not only used the word hakim, but also enriched it. In his 38th Word, he said that 'hakims are those who are looking for the causes under every situation', and thus he called Socrates a hakim.

From Abai's perspective, the status of hakim represents great value. Therefore, he said that 'not every scientist is a hakim but every hakim is a scientist'. Moreover he explained the concepts of *gakliya* and *nakliya*. *Gakliya* words seek for the reasons for a situation, but on the other hand, *nakliya* words are general descriptive ones which communicate everything there is to say about a situation. From this point of view we observe that in many cases we cannot grasp the deep understanding of the Abai's Qara Sözder.

Despite the fact that some of the Qara Sözder of Abai includes *nakliya* elements we can consider all 45 of them as *gakliya* ones. Previously these words have been understood as *nakliya* words. However, over time we have abandoned this understanding of Abai's Qara Sözder. When we look at the concept in the Russian language, they still consider Abai's Qara Sözder to be a *nakliya* or as consisting of descriptive suggestive words, whereas it should be *gakliya* ones due to the fact that Abai was a figure who delivered thoughts about morality, rather than being a descriptive storyteller.

There is a reason for Magzhan calling Abai a Golden Hakim in 1912. During this period, the Kazakh people's faith in God was strong, and everyone spoke carefully when expressing their thoughts, as they were taking into consideration the consequences of their words. This is due to the fact that every word had its own logic, and they were carefully separating them as there was a place for comments from God to the people, words about God, and the words of people conveyed to other people. Therefore, Abai said every word has its own place and logic. Magzhan said that:

If the words are interesting / curious with their logic,
Why Prophet and God would deliver it to the people.

Therefore, as a result of considering the logic of Abai's words, Magzhan calls him a hakim. During the era with low faith in God, we disturb the logic of words and used words like 'Great, Divine, and Holy' in connection with leading atheist people, when later on we understood that these words should only be only used with reference to God.

The word Greatness has to be used only with reference to God. Magzhan and Akhmet knew about it therefore they did not use it. Nowadays, if we recognise the presence of God, we need to change our ways, and use words carefully according to their logic.

It is not a mistake to call Abai hakim; he not only gave a definition of this concept, but also considered the essence of it. He stated that in this world we will follow three types of people: the prophets (nabis), the saints, and the hakims.

Abai elaborates on each of them and starts by defining the word saints. By living in isolation, the saints fall in love with the guidance of God, and refrain from all the interesting and joyful parts of life. Abai does not advise this path and criticises them. He points out that God gave us a choice and temptation, and said marry, have a child, and take care of your animals and live. However, saints only surpass the temptation given them by God. Abai 'considers this way of living as a not righteous one'.

Abai calls people's interest in the joys of the world an 'obsession'. There is no one who does not search for pleasure in life, because obsessions are also created by the commandment of God.

Abai says that if we follow the prophets they tell us about 'this world's' dealings, such as who is going to look after the cattle, who will fight to stop the enemy, who will sew dresses, who will prepare seedlings, and who will search the richness which is created for the people?

Following the saints and the prophet, Abai talks about hakims. He says that if there were no hakims that continuously search honestly, then the world we are living in would be in chaos. That is why people like Abai are necessary, and we need people like him. If there were no people like him then we might not be able to make the right decision on what is right and wrong, what is necessary and what is not. As Abai says, justice needs to be felt in our words and therefore we need to be humane and just. In short, as Abai's thoughts suggest, we could not differentiate angels and demons.

Abai, speaking about the hakims, clearly shows his hakimship. As he says, without hakims the world would be in chaos, and he also points out that hakims could be people who believed in religions other than Islam. For instance he considers Socrates as hakim even if he was not a Muslim.

Abai does not limit the hakim status to purely religious domains, stating that it has a universal status and cannot be limited to religions. Therefore we need to consider the hakimship of Abai beyond only one religion and present him as a universal hakim like Socrates and Plato, both of whom are widely known throughout the world.

Hakimship of Abai

When it comes to Abai's hakimship, one of the biggest issues that cannot be ignored is related to angels and demons, and there are deeper thoughts about the latter. As we delve deeper into Abai's worldview, our previous ideas about the demons starts to change. Abai translated the first two parts of Mikhail Lermontov's poem 'The Demon' as Shaitan (Satan). It is acknowledged that Abai's translations are never direct descriptive translations. Easily, with great flexibility and capability, he translated a poem called 'shaitan' which consists of ten verses and was very difficult to translate. It seems that Abai was always only interested in the idea

of the poems. While considering M. Lermontov's work 'Demon', Abai provided a deeper analysis of the concept of shaitan.

At first Abai asked 'Who is a shaitan?' and gave an explanatory answer stating that shaitan is an angel who had been driven away by God. On this point there is no contradiction between M. Lermontov and Abai. There is also the question as to why God sent shaitan away. In this part he explains who shaitan is. The main reason as to why shaitan has been named thus, is related to his efforts to suspend the unmatched mighty power of God. Unmatched uniqueness is equivalent to loneliness, and being lonely is only matched with God. The secrets of being truly lonely could only be known by God, and for others it is a mystery.

The angel who aspired to become the devil tried to reach out to grasp this mystery. For the same action, the angel was doomed with a curse from God, and turned into a devil. Thus:

He is in a radiant paradise every day,
He was dreaming of angels (Abai, 1995: 57).

He lost his status and was called shaitan (Satan). The transformation of an angel into a devil is the beginning of world history. A new era has begun on Earth, the core of which is the opposition of angels and the devil to each other. There is no clear answer to why this happened, there is only a narrative of what happened:

The threshold was wide, the place was narrow,
You are thinking about sitting in the leading place alone.
Loneliness is only for God.
Due to your ambitions, you are cursed (Abai, 1995: 57).

He sees ambition as the main reason in this case. However, whether this is a satisfactory answer or not is open to question, although what is worse than ambition? The nature of ambition includes pride, determination, strength, and energy. What is the meaning of the problem without them? It is most likely that the reason for shaitanism is not only ambition, but it is the main reason.

In religious myths, it has been said that shaitan's protest was against the creation of people on Earth. Therefore, the sin of shaitan is the wish to intervene in the dealings, or doubting the skills, of God. In short, shaitan not only approved of God's creation, but also criticised it. This is how shaitan formulated such ideas.

Most likely, such ambition transferred shaitan from the creator himself, and therefore the reason for shaitanism is that the creator exists in his own being. The reason why we point out this idea, is related to the dealings of human beings who were created far later, and there are so many shaitanic actions around us. Kabil killed his relative Abil, and this is not the way of angels but of shaitan. Thus, we have touched upon the topic of the cause of shaitanism which is the secret of creator, and we wish to turn to M. Lermontov and Abai's descriptions of shaitan.

The first character, the shaitan, wanted to be alone. The second character can be expressed as shaitan's emptiness. Abai expressed it as follows:

He received the curse of God in his chest,
Love and faith left in the same hour (Abai, 1995: 57).

The third character, shaitan, is the enemy of humans. Abai expressed it as follows:

It started with the humans,
He found himself as immortal,
Whatever his dealing makes him happy,
Why he spread the badness to the world (Abai, 1995: 57).

The fourth character, the demon has no friends, and he does not know the concept of friendship.

How many thousand years have passed,
He did not find a friend without God, he did not find a secret (Abai, 1995: 57).

The fifth character, shaitan, is hopelessness. The sixth character, shaitan, is Rebellion. Shaitan never became fed up with evil dealings, therefore it should not be surprising that he is a rebel. The source of rebellion, which the human race knows, is revolution. Violence itself is born out of hunger for evil, and oathbreakers are the ones whose sense of love and faith fails. Such souls like oathbreakers are ready to create a rebellion. Abai describes this character of shaitan in the following verses:

No matter how many times the rebel during a day,
His work is not pleasing to his soul (Abai, 1995: 57).

Although rebellion is shaitanic, it is also in its nature a passion for ignorance. The reason for this is that rebellion is a social form of cognition. Therefore, in the early stages of the doctrine on which the rebellion is based, there will be many adherents. Rebellion is based on the consciousness of the masses, and leading them against human nature to start a rebellion is an action of shaitanism, but this is not the entire scope of the problem. Abai says that no matter how many rebellions they stage they would not be satisfied with their achievements, and they would not be happy with their results, because shaitan does not have a concept of content and repentance himself. If humans are saved from the web of shaitan's dealings, then they would have a sense of content and repentance themselves. If humans' decisions are captured by shaitanism, then they would not content themselves, and would not have the repentance (and therefore the difference) between humans, and shaitan would disappear. On these topics, Abai does not limit shaitan's dealings to rebellion. Whoever they are, someone could rebel at any time, and afterwards they could consider their sins and ask for forgiveness and repentance. We are talking about whether humans could resist shaitan's dealings, and thus we see that they have failed many times. On this point, Abai says no matter how many times shaitan tempts people to rebel, we should not give in to this or complain about it, because rebellion is in the nature shaitan, and without it shaitan would not have been shaitan.

Thus, Abai concludes his poem of ten verses with the question of shaitan, but does not answer it, because shaitan does not have respect for humans, and has an endless rage towards them. Humans might have a short lifespan and limited mindset but they have a secret which shaitan does not know, but which is known by God. It is that humans have hope from both worlds, but shaitan does not have

any hope. Hope is the love of humans for their creator, and their trust in him in is in their every dealing, in their responsibilities, for satisfaction in their lives, for repentance, and the following of a fair and just life. There is no place to worry when there is so much richness in the virtues of mankind, like those mentioned above. The Creator has given mankind happiness as well as anxiety. However, shaitan has only grief and pain, no hope and happiness. Shaitan is in a state of sorrow because shaitan is inferior to the humans in this context. Shaitan has only the sorrowful side of the coin, and he cannot receive the bright and happy obverse side; this was his curse. Sorrow is a mood which prevents happiness. Oathbreakers cannot be prosperous because God gave prosperity to humans but not to shaitan. However, God gave permission to shaitan to disrupt and distract the humans from the right path.

In Lermontov's poem about the Demon (Shaitan), the demon supposedly said, 'I am the king of the knowledge and freedom' (Abai, 1995: 64). In this context, Abai says about shaitan: 'Cannot grasp the scope of immeasurability'. Trying to measure something which is not measurable is a work of shaitan. What could fit into a measure, which was not limited? With hopeless efforts, shaitan tries to measure something immeasurable. The philosophy of shaitan on this point is to 'know everything' and to 'try to reach the unreachable'.

At the beginning of the article, we argued that shaitan was the first philosopher who posed a problem of absolute significance, but could not explain it. Shaitan's understanding of the problem capacity in terms of thinking and life is quite enough, but shaitan cannot understand the problem, and understanding the problem is left to the humans.

The two poets complement each other on the demon and demonship. For example, M. Lermontov explained the state of the demon, which he had not yet done:

He followed knowledge on from star to star;
Creation's heir, the first-born of all time!
He loved, he trusted in that happy prime.
Ah, little recked he safe from doubts and fears (Abai, 1995: 47).

The features of the first state of the demon included faith, love, and happiness, and there was no evil, there was no suspicion. Well, there is no problem here. The secret of humans' banishment from heaven might be related to bringing problems to the world. Life in heaven is unproblematic and unproblematic life is not interesting. Therefore, the devil brings all the problems to the world. The devil brings distrust, hatred, evil, and suspicion. Above all, the devil brings a suspicion to the harmony of the world and the mastery of God's skills. Suspicion is the starting point of all problems. From this era until now, as desired by shaitan, life on earth would become more and more complicated, with humans' rage towards each other increasing and taking many shapes, giving birth to many terms, concepts, and knowledge about it. 'Happy first created creature' spread badness to the world and afterwards they named this creature demon (shaitan).

If we continue our conversation about Abai's hakim talents, in Akhmet Baitursynuly's article that mentioned Abai as 'Leading poet of Kazakhs' he states

that many ordinary readers of Abai's words cannot understand the real meaning of them. Even those who read them a thousand times and learn them by heart cannot comprehend their true meanings. For instance, one of such verse is this 'The future before the blue fog' which is eight lines long.

Consciousness and soul is mine,
'I' and 'mine' meanings are different,
'I' there is no destiny to die from the beginning,
If 'mine' dies so let it be (Abai, 2012: 74).

Abai wrote this poem in 1887, but the philosophical question of 'I' and 'mine' was written about before in his 1895 poem:

Maybe nature is mortal, but man is not,
But it would not return as it is,
The separation of 'I' and 'mine',
Is considered as 'dead' by the ignorant (Abai, 2012: 82).

The problems that Abai raised have been studied by hakims since the time of Zoroaster to modern times. But none of these thinkers could get to the bottom of these questions. They did not have the answers to these universal questions. We know for a fact that when a person dies, 'mine' also dies, meaning the body, and we adhere the second 'mine' here as the mind of person to the eternity.

The history of the questions of 'I' and 'mine' is long, and to put it briefly, Abai does not explain it with the opposite concept. In the conceptualisation of Abai there is no contradiction between 'I' and 'mine', or between death and life. Abai extracts 'mine' from being, and from being life. If a person dies as a natural process, then what is the meaning of life? The eternity of humanity is the basis of the existence of life. After humankind is eternal, the world is true, after man is eternal, there is truth about man. The eternity of a person is a measure confirming the existence of God.

Man's eternity is the truth, but there is both understanding and explanation. Abai understood this truth, it is our duty as scientists to understand and deliver it.

We do not know where the mind and soul go after it loses its 'I', into what substantial state it falls. According to Abai, the parking lot of the soul is the place of God. However, how Abai understood this problem is unknown to us.

After recognising Abai as a hakim, we are looking for an answer to whether there are other hakims in the Turkic world, and we can say there are a lot of them. To name a few: Kultegin, Yusuf Balasagun, Al-Farabi, Korkut Ata, Akhmed Yasawi, Ali-Shir Nava'i, Asan-Kaigy, and so forth.

Abai's Humanism

Another facet of Abai's hakimship is in his humanity. The concept of 'humanism' is often used in the Kazakh language, but it does not exist in Abai; he talks about humanity, and we think it is better to use this concept.

Hakim Abai's humanism is based on the principles of 'Amal-i-Salih' (the good deed). In this sense, the humanity (humanism) and religious orientations in Islam

coincide for Abai. Abai relied on the hadith of the prophet, which says: 'Good people are the ones who have done good deeds to other people'. This is the principle of Islam. First of all Abai's humanism is identified with his Muslim ideas and is quite natural.

Second, Abai did not limit the freedom of thought for people. In the 38th Word he said that 'Life itself is real'. From the perspective of Abai, existence without human life is meaningless. Life is the reality. God gave life to humans and life is the first reason, idea, and opportunity. Opportunities need to be turned into reality by the actions of humans. There is way that does not spare any richness or lives, which is the path of science and knowledge, and this is the path of hakims, as Abai has stated.

A large number of articles have recently been published in various publications. All of these are full of good intentions, and there is sufficient richness in Abai's thoughts for them to be analysed to a great extent. However, we must be refraining from proposing light-hearted easy explanations of Abai's works. We must also be careful when describing him, as some have tried to overvalue his work and status, comparing it with that of prophets. Everyone should take their respected places in history, and it would be wise to fairly find the place for Abai in the history of humanity; this would be a good contribution to the literature.

The most difficult part of research like this is that of methodology it is not an easy task. If we repeat the previous Marxist-Leninist approaches, and try to confine Abai in a certain way, while adding and removing whatever we like, then we would be wasting our time and effort in this research.

This was a tough challenge at first but we managed to find a methodology which is a hermeneutical one. This is a way of analysing a specific text. The culture of speech, which constitutes understanding in the listener's mind, belongs to the highest level of Kazakh thinking. In our opinion, the Kazakh language has two levels of thinking: the first is understandable to the general public, the other is the language of the intelligentsia, which owns the culture of the word, and has the ability to perceive sublime thought. Abai used this second level of Kazakh thinking.

In Abai's humanism, understanding concepts and topics of humans and God had not been studied well enough previously. The reason for this is related to the development process of Abai studies, which started really well at the beginning. However, later some parts of Abai's thoughts were politicised and pulled in different directions which became a major historical issue. Research of Abai's humanism is indeed a precious area in which to conduct studies, in the context of our history of national philosophy development since his poems and words are constructed thoughts are in line with many national values and thoughts.

We need to consider Abai's thoughts about God from his perspective as a hakim. God is the main concept in Islamic philosophy. Abai called theology *marifatulla* (this means theology in Arabic). Abai often wrote about God and humans' unity in the later part of his life. Abai separates theology and belief in God. His thoughts on this topic are quite close to the ideas of current theology. In Islam there is a term 'kalam' which means God's words and is the name of an academic field of studies

that aims to explain God's words, which is close to the Western understanding of theology. Abai had a good knowledge of theology, and the most influential Islamic philosophical movement that affected his thoughts was Sufism. In his works, Abai considered God to be the absolute truth and the Creator of humankind, without any doubt. He said that 'God is real, his words are real. Real words never could be a lie'. If the studies of Abai were only limited to knowledge of God, then his wisdom would only be scholastic. At first, Abai wrote about humans and centered them in his poems. He was the servant of the people and wrote poems for them. Therefore, from Abai's perspective, the studies conducted about God are related to trying to learn the necessity of humans. Therefore we tried to look at the Abai's answers from his works on the topic of the relationship between God and humans, and their unity.

Since Abai is a hakim, he looks for the reasons for everything. In the poet's concept, God is the truth that exists before man. When we come to the topic of whether humans are able to understand the truth before their existence, Abai limits himself only to the recognition of God. He explains himself with these words 'God is great without any limitation whereas humans we have a limited ability to understand, so one cannot understand something limitless with its limited capacity'.

Given this opinion of Abai, it is quite possible to include him among the agnostics. This was the opinion of Abai's philosophers. But after we had found a continuation of Abai's thought about the knowledge of God in the 'three truths' of Shakarim, we came across a more detailed explanation of the essence of what Hakim (Abai) meant by the concept of the human mind being measurable.

Nothing in this world is created without a purpose, and humans also have their purpose. As Shakarim says:

The reason for everything is that there is no limit or measure to the knowledge and power of the God. My arguments are: nothing cannot move and exist by themselves. They cannot be created or move by themselves. There has to be a reason for them to be created and there is need for reason to every other reasons and if there is a cause without a root reason then the Creator will be the very reason (Abai, 2012).

This idea is close to the philosophy of Aristotle. The whole reason is the Creator, that is, the word of God. If there is a reason for the Creator, then his secret is mysterious, and is unknown to us. In Kant's language, reality is beyond human experience.

In the concept of 'a cause that exists without a cause', God allows us to say that the cause is the truth in itself. Then where does the connection with human existence remain? We find the answer to this question in Abai himself. He called the connection between God and humans love. God created humankind with love, and loving humankind was sweetly created by God.

Love is not only a connection between God and human existence, it is a cognitive gnoseological concept. A person recognises God only in one way, that is through love. This is the only way that leads a person to God. There is no other option. Then what is love? Love is a gnoseological concept and Abai accepted it in the same

sense. Although God created man with love, the Creator also gave him lust. There is no doubt that lust blurs a man's line of sight. Where there is lust, there is the devil, in a place with lust, the devil grows ever stronger. On this topic Abai defines the lust as the 'apprentice of [the] devil'.

The expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise is related to the lust, as well. Abai differentiated love and lust from each other and said, 'Love and Lust are two different paths. The same could be said for lust and passion as well'.

In terms of understanding, Abai's love (*mahabbat*) and love (*gashiqtik*) are not the same concepts. *Mahabbat* is a path to learn about God, whereas *gashiqtik* is a feeling between a man and a woman. However, in Sufist philosophy *gashiqtik* is part of a worldview and the Yasawi worldview is defined by their love of God. This version of a worldview has asserted its own influence over the Kazakh poems. For instance, sacrificing yourself for your loved ones is one of the proofs of this. For example, we can see this in Kozhi Korpesh Bayan Sulu, where Bayan Sulu sacrifices herself for the Kozi Korpesh, and there are many examples like this.

In the Kazakh worldview, the definition of *gashiqtik* is reflected by two directions: the first is in lyrical epics and in the artistic consciousness of the people, and the second is in philosophy, in *'Ilm al-Kalam* (*Kalam – usually foreshortened to Kalam or the Rational philosophies is the study of Islamic doctrine/'aqa'id*), in hikmets of Yasawi.

To love God requires loving humanity. All human beings are brothers to each other. First of all, Abai's humanism is proof of his vocation as a hakim. Secondly in Abai's thoughts there is the concept called *Kamil Müslüman* (perfect Muslim). In his The Book of Words, the 35th Word touches upon this topic. Abai says when they pass to the hereafter, God would separate hadjis, mullahs, Sufis, and jomarts (generous men) from people who live by their honest work, who honestly worship God, who live modestly, and who raise and grow children. The meaning of the above-mentioned example can be assumed to be that God's mercy is given in great order to people whom Abai defined as 'perfect Muslims'. Abai also points out that the 'perfect Muslims' are those who work modestly.

God gave people lust and nasip (he allocated prosperity), this is the commandment of God. Saints refrain from lust, is this the right way? According to Abai it is not. He recommends the way of hakims and the Kamil Muslims.

Abai based these thoughts on the hadiths of the Prophet, which states that: the good man is the one who does good things to other men. This is *آمال الصالح*

Abai's humanism is clearly reflected in his thoughts on Islam and being a Muslim. The first proof of these words are the ones which are written above, and the second proof is Abai's description of God's eight virtue saying that 'people you are the servant of God and if you consider yourself as a Muslim be close to God'.

It is man who proves the essence of God. Who needs the truth of God without humans and why? For raising such thoughts and ideas, we consider Abai as a hakim (these are scholars of special knowledge and insight). Therefore, we can find Abai among those who lead mankind to the right path.

The Poem Comes First

Abai considered the poem to be the king of words and their beginning where ayah (this is a 'verse' in the Qur'an, one of the statements of varying length that make up the chapters [surah] of the Qur'an and which are marked by a number) is a consciousness of the beauty of the world. Ayah is the beginning of the words, but it is not created by human thoughts as it was delivered to Prophet Muhammad as a type of poem. Ayahs are the proof that Muhammad became the Prophet. He announced that through revelations, he received the ayah from the God, and the collected ayahs eventually turned into the Qur'an. Here it is necessary to devote attention to a religious myth concerning the Qur'an, namely the religious legend that the prophet could not read and write.

We know that Prophet Muhammad could not read and write. We usually say that people who do not know how to read and write are illiterate. This is our understanding under normal circumstances. However, this question is much more complicated than our understanding. Knowledge is transmitted to a person through the system of cognition of letters, in other words reading, and also through learning, which is the traditional method. At the same time, knowledge can be transmitted to a person without letters, who has no knowledge of writing and reading. There have been very few people with knowledge but without letters, or the ability to write and read throughout history. One of these people is the Prophet Muhammad, and another is the Prophet Jesus. Abai said, 'The words of God are without letters, without sound...'. Consequently, the ayahs were preserved in the memory of the prophets as they were revealed. The ayahs are the words of God. They are, as Abai said, 'without letters and sounds'. The ayahs are consciousness sent down to the Prophet. This consciousness of the future took shape in the form of letters and sounds, and turned into the book of the Qur'an. The fact that the ayahs are not understood by the general public is a matter of common sense.

Understanding the 'words' of the Creator through language is controversial. Language is the treasure of humanity, which we learn and use as much as possible in life. However, ayahs are a different 'language'. This is the language of God. There are no letters in the language of God, it might be thought of as an energy, and certain people who can understand and explain it deliver it to us. In early times, Plato said that purpose of mankind's knowledge is to 'remember'. According to Plato the knowledge we know and which we are about to know in the future is set and known from the beginning, and we come to it by nature.

In the era of widespread development of modern education and science, we establish a paradigm consciousness called the principle, which is used to recognise those problems that we do not yet know about. When we say principle, we mean the definition of a path. Learning and choosing different paths begins with the ayahs. Ayahs act as a compass showing one direction – the right way, however there were attempts to divert them in different directions. Therefore, it is legitimate that ayahs are sent to the prophets. In his poem which starts with 'God is real and his words are also real', Abai continues by saying 'In time characteristics of people have changed therefore prophets are sent to them from time to time'. The reason why prophets are introduced to mankind is related to changes in time,

as we cannot stay still forever. Stability and eternity are concepts that only exist for the Creator. If we turn this topic towards mankind, we can say that stability cannot be found, but can be dreamt about. In Islam, it has been stated that Muhammad would be the last Prophet.

Of course, it is unreasonable to use such an approach to prove the truth of God's word. If this is not the case, will there be any suspicion of Muhammad's case? This should have been done in order to dispel the suspicion and strengthen faith. The main proof of this is that the verses were revealed to Muhammad.

Therefore, Abai said that 'Ayah is the first and Hadiths are leading the beginnings of the words'. In order to understand why ayahs are considered to be the beginning of words, we need to take into account three issues. Abai said that ayahs are the beginning of words and the foundation of them, but they are not the words itself. Being a prophet is to be a special soul that can transfer God's words (ayahs) into a human's words. Prophets are emissaries who receive the Creator's ayahs and who turn them into a human's words. When Abai says ayahs are the beginning of words he mentions their mystical nature. When saying ayahs are the beginning of words, we do not know anything prior to this process, and this is a mystery for us in which the essence of the ayahs is the secret of the Creator.

Second, ayahs are the Creator's secret which are revealed to mankind by God. When the Creator wants to reveal his ayahs to mankind, they have been delivered through a revelation. Afterwards it is the responsibility of prophets to deliver the ayahs. After the ayahs, the hadiths came as the beginning of the words, which are the sayings of the prophets.

There are a lot of tafsir (attempts to provide an explanation and interpretation of a clear understanding and conviction of God's will) of the ayahs in the Qur'an, and this is due to an attempt to deliver them clearly to the people. However, whether the secret of the ayahs can be fully revealed to a person is a subject for discussion. We need to think about whether the ayahs are the beginning of the words, and is there any way to explain it through humans' words?

Third, the ayah is a type of a poem. Therefore, the secret of Creation and its miracle becomes known to humans in the form of poetry. In this sense, the real poet is the Creator God himself, and poetry is one of his powers. When we say that there is something angelic in the poetic nature, we are talking about virtue, and, consequently, the beginning of virtue is in the ayah, which is the 'word' of the Creator God. Presenting Abai as 'the king of the poetry' might be associated with this line of thought. The source of poetry comes from ayah which is the beginning of the words, so let us contemplate a poem which touches upon this topic:

Ayahs and hadiths are the beginning of the words.
Role model words comes as well.
If the words are not interesting with their logic,
Why God and prophets would tell about them (Abai, 2012).

This is the third stanza of a poem consisting of fifteen stanzas, which begins with the words 'This poet is the king of the words and righteous words'. After talking about the ayahs in the third stanza we look at the fourth one. As it states, 'If the

words are not interesting with their logic, why would God and the prophets tell about them?’, therefore the logic of words are interesting indeed. Here by saying words Abai means ayahs and hadiths, and so far, it is understandable why Abai says it like that, and why and how words are interesting with their logic. What does the logic mean here? Some say logic is a rationale, and maybe this is close to the true meaning of it. If logic is similar to rationale, then it should be a rationale of ayahs and hadiths. But even with this explanation, the word logic – instead of serving the purpose of understanding or leading a way to logical assumption – itself became a puzzle to be understood clearly. It has been described as interesting with his logic, therefore it has been accepted as interesting. If the words were not interesting with their logic, then God and the Prophet would not say it. Here it has been pointed out that the interesting part is the logic behind the words. If we try to clarify this topic with this line of thoughts, then we need to pay attention to the concept of interesting.

After becoming part of our Kazakh vocabulary, this word turns into a concept defining the interest. Here, this word means the abundant existence of life. In other words, what is interesting in life ‘living it’, and why ‘living your life’ is interesting. Is there any interesting matter except life? Of course there is not. Therefore, an interesting part of the words are in their logic. In short, without going too deeply into the meaning of the word interesting, we just add them as suffix alongside many words, and say ‘lives full of interest’. On this point we need to use this expression correctly and instead saying interesting life we should say life itself is interesting. Here the word interesting is for the place of life, and without interest there is no life. Life is the form of interest that we know of it.

The real issue here is in the concept of interest instead of life. Therefore, logic would serve as an instrument for us to understand the interest. Thus, instead of referring to logic as a rationale, identifying it as an instrument would sound more proper. Then ayah is the ‘soul’ of life in the case of interest/curiosity, where it is the beginning of the words. In other words, it could also be said that ‘word’ – ayah is the word of God and the prophets which are interesting with their logic.

Time Drags Everyone

A poem of three stanzas states the following in its third one: the ‘Parrot is a colourful butterfly’. Time drags itself with everyone, so what is time? Where is the strength of time coming from in order to drag everyone with itself? In order to understand this, first we need to grasp what time is. Time is a timespace where people live their lives. Why we have come to this kind of conclusion, can be explained with the words of Abai. The reason for this is that Abai did not look at the time outside of people, nor did he look at it with them.

In the understanding of Abai, people and time are concepts that do not exist without each other. Where there are people, there is time, where there is time, there are people, or there are no people without time, and there is no time without people. The people called this wholeness a time. If time drags everyone, then this is his fate, that is, that people’s actions and movements lose their meaning. If so, where is our desire to live with our consciousness? Don’t we say that everybody is their own architecture of

our lives? Also, where we should put the thought of people either makes or destroys them. There are so many principles and among them, which ones would lead us to the truth and which ones would divert us from our paths, who could lay down the right path for us? When saying these words, Abai points out that everyone is dragged by time and if you do not have the power to stop it, what can you do? We would all be dragged by time, therefore we need to adapt to the changes which come with the time. In psychology, adjusting to time is called adaptation. Adapting towards the changes in time is not a right path, which is defined as becoming servants of these changes. Therefore, Abai calls people like these 'bad', and therefore when he says 'Badly tune into time' he points out the servant mentality which psychologically adapts to situations. The bad side of time is linked with its dependence, which does not have an independence. Bad people cannot be considered as citizens, and here, by citizens we mean people with independence. More broadly, these are the people who have many good virtues and are of good character, which could preserve themselves through time. In the second stanza of this poem, Abai asks the question of 'Who could rule time?' So, who could actually rule time? If no one could rule time, then how could we know about the content/purpose of time? Content cannot reveal itself, therefore it needs to be analysed, but who could do it? This issue comes from a very long time ago, and thus it is quite impossible to resolve. Of course, we could put forward an answer in the range of our current scientific knowledge, and say that rulers of the times are the leaders (emperors, khans, kings, prophets, saints, or hakims mentioned by Abai). There are also many studies from religious ones to those of atheists, which try to provide an answer to this question.

When we talk about time, we refer to it as time from history. First, we should not forget about the influence of time on time. Second, under the influence of time, the next event is formed in time. In this context, within the content of time, there is a similar trait to humans which is personality. Therefore, time is a great scaled appearance of events. The issue here is the events. The main characters in this are humankind who are being created by God. The circulation of events started with the complication of dialogue between God and his creature mankind. He sent an angel to earth who broke his oath and took the form of shaitan. In time with more events, time added to the time and people started to name time as events. During all these times many events occurred. Therefore, the question of who can rule time appears. However, as we begin to comprehend time as an event, and forget the meaning of the first main event, it becomes impossible to find the answer to this question. When God created humankind, he wanted them to rule time while ruling themselves, however mankind faded from this purpose, far, far away. On this point, we might wonder whether it was also the dealing of God for mankind to do what they did. Of course, this is just a saying.

Humans do not act to be bad in nature, but their faith might lead them to it. However, some people can stand up to their faiths and some cannot. In this context, we can roughly evaluate people in two categories, idealistic personalities (*tulga*) and others. *Tulgas* are personalities who aim to rule time. Abai named three different types of *tulga*: prophets, saints, and hakims. These are the ones who try to rule time. They are the citizens who have their own independence and special souls that cannot be considered within the group of bad people.

Bad people are also people, so if time makes them bad what is their fault in this circumstance? We need to think about this as well.

Colourful Laugh

In his fourth Word, Abai says lots of laughing is 'Is a colourful laughing for the purpose of cheering'. When we think about the meaning of colourful laugh we immediately think about the laughter of politicians. Their laughter is actually colourful. On this point we don't think there is any other explanation for it. Since their profession is politics, they embraced this colourful laugh. If you don't add a colour to your laugh, you are not considered to be a good politician because the politics itself is a colour/fake. When there was politics without a colour, we defined politics as the colour of truth (Please do not confuse the meaning here and come to the conclusion that politics is a fake illusion to fool people, we don't mean such a thing).

When we look at the topic from this perspective, we can understand why politicians' laughs are colourful. In this matter, we understand the words of Abai. However, what is the true meaning of these words? Let's think together whether politicians could embrace a laugh without any colour? Of course not, because is there a place for someone who truly reveals his secrets to anyone? Laughter is an instrument to disguise your secrets so as not to reveal them. Politicians' secrets are mysteries to others, and if they reveal them with their laughs their careers also come to an end. People who are in the political arena cannot show their kindness and cheerfulness, and talk about their secrets and truths. Every politician is a puzzle to other politicians, and their secret separates them from others. If their secrets are revealed, then their value as politicians also diminishes. People's values in society depend more on what they don't say than what they say. These people have two types of knowledge: one they tell the public, and another one is the secret knowledge they keep to themselves. Those who possess a great amount of the latter type of knowledge become politicians, therefore their character and their laugh is colourful.

Colour in laughter is learnt by experience, therefore we cannot observe colourful laughs in babies. However, when we think about it, is it really possible to have a laugh without any colour? We also need to consider the colour as a part of our lives. For instance, many animals try to survive by using their many different skills like chameleons. This creature changes its colour according to situations and in order to protect itself. On this point, we think we need to focus on the scope of the colour we use. Laughter is not only a person's expression, but also his worldview.

People, with their laughter, give you the opportunity to understand what kind of person they really are. There is no one without laughter and it is usually the key to understanding them. Therefore, politicians master their laughter to not give themselves away. These people train with specialists to develop their skills. For them it is not possible to talk among the public without any laughter, because the public would not accept anyone without laughter. Laughter is a dialogue between leaders and the public, therefore being able to laugh is a mandatory capability for them.

As we said above, there is no laugh without any colour and on this point, the purpose of laughter, as indicated by Abai, is for cheering the moment. On a second point, the purpose of laughter is used to disguise your secrets from others. Because

laughs could change the meanings and context of anything, when you add some colour content, anything would change as well.

Colours also have an effect on laughs, when we say colourful laughs, we mean not pure but 'civilised' ones, therefore it also a form of mastery, art, and culture. Colourful laughs come into live under our control where Abai presents them as a 'song of laughs'. Laughter has its own songs, and we need to find them where colours are actually our laughs.

Here, colourful laugh is a substance, and therefore there might be a thousand different variations and definitions which could be put forwards, and it is impossible to explain all of them. It is indeed infinite, and everyone has a different colourful laugh which is a different world. In short, colourful laughter is not only a cultural establishment but also a part of civilisation.

Colour here is not a single colour and even within a single colour there are the virtues of thousands of them. Therefore, the ones who could not understand and master their colourful laughs might divert from their paths in their political lives. People usually use colourful laughs in order to divert the topic to other issues where it could be considered as a defence mechanism of people. Therefore, Abai refers to the people with colourful laughs as 'unnatural made by themselves'.

Let me finish my words on this topic with this insight of Abai:

I don't praise many colourful laughs but among them there is one which is not come from inside that is created by God, but made by people themselves to cheer the moments by singing the songs of colourful laughter for sake of earthly dealings.

Due to the dealings of everyday life, they forget about what is being thought to them. Therefore, in every era wise people need to repeat their thoughts and wisdom to the people.

Man Comes Crying

In his fourth Word, Abai says that 'Man comes crying into this world and departs it in sorrow'. This thought has been said by otherwise people, before which Abai also supported this idea. Here he means mankind gathers all its learnt, heard information, and has to continuously tell it to others for them to not forget about them. Mankind does not purposefully forget them, but due to interests in their life-time needs they need a reminder of the wisdom said before. We are already familiar with the scene where babies cry when they are first born, but do we cry only when we are born? If we use crying in the physical (i.e. with tears in the eyes) and metaphorical sense, everyone cries during their lifetime. We have never seen anyone who cried in his or her lifetime. Our dealings and desires never end, and among Kazakhs, as we say, 'Poor tries to catch up with the rich and rich tries to catch up with God'. In a market economy era, every richness and power comes with competition. The purpose of life should not only be the increase of wealth and power. However, whatever they have seems to be not enough for people, thus they look for more and this motive becomes their purpose in life. Abai represented this situation in his words as follows:

Racing and competing with each other without considering the wonders of life, they spend their time for nothing, through such dealing they spent their life and at the end of their life they cannot buy back not even a single day of their life even if they give all their wealth in return.

By 'at the end of their life' Abai means the last phase of human life. Abai says by crying you spend your entire life and there is no time left for you. You might have your wealth, which cannot add one more day to your life. So, what was the purpose of your entire life? Maybe this is the reason why babies cry when they are coming into the world? The reason why they cry is that they come to a world where they will grow up, make mistakes and sin, and step forward to the presence of God with their sins. Events in life make us cry many times where there is nobody who does not cry. Abai says that 'People do not know the comfort in this life' which we also agree with. Wise people know that they cannot find a comfort in this, and hope to enter heaven while taking all the warnings to heart. Heaven is hope, and it is also the idea which does not allow you to put away the fire of hope. The real point here is not about whether you could find a heaven in this world or not, but through the idea of heaven calling people to the goodness and righteous path. These are my thoughts about people come into this world while crying.

In the second part we want to discuss the phrase of 'keyip oledi' (grief)-why people die, and for whom they grieve. We don't think people can grieve because they cannot know what death is in its true meaning. For those who are alive death is a mystery. There is no one on earth who has died and been resurrected. Experience of death is not included in the experiences of people. Humans did not experience death and talk about it. They only see the deaths of other people. The deaths of others might give them some knowledge, but not the experience itself. Therefore, when people grieve, perhaps they don't grieve about death but rather about their previous lives. Maybe they would grieve for the emptiness and pointlessness of their lives. Life is the experience of people, which they are aware of, and how they spent and deeply think about their whole life in the last moments of their life. No matter who they are, whatever they are doing in their last moments of their life, everybody thinks about their life. Much information is provided about this issue in the literature indicating that people think about their life and its green and red events, and its consciousness. Who could say that 'At their last stop of life' they could feel happiness, comfort? No matter how meaningless and pointless our lives are, what else is there to reach its interest level in our eyes? We have thought about it and cannot find anything to match it. Even in this case, living for justice and in a righteous way in this world of lies is an ancient problem that we could not find an answer to.

Conclusion

When we summarise our thoughts, we can say that Abai presented a unique example of national thinking. The model of thinking suggested by Abai is hakimship. Through this model, he raised national thinking to the world level. Abai's way of being a hakim is in a tradition similar to the ways of thinking of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Therefore, we need to keep our national thought at the same heights that Abai achieved, alongside Abai experts, in particular.

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CHAPTER – XII

RELIGIOUS VIEW OF ABAI

Dosay KENZHETAY

The history of Abai studies is an avenue through which we see the process and phenomena of the historical, political, ideological, and axiological layers of the development of the Kazakh system of thinking, and Abai's legacy is an indicator of the peculiarities of the Kazakh Islamic understanding and worldviews. This distinction has been distorted, however, by the various speculative positions of the former Soviet ideology. The ideology categories and value measures in Abai's works fell victim to the framework of scientific atheism. The theological, worldview, and anthropological concepts in Abai's Word "Kitab al Tasdyk" were presented as "atheist, deist, materialist" concepts. Literature was then studied with the principles of socialist realism, and morals were viewed through the Soviet code, and researched within the Soviet pedagogical fields, and were decorated with class dialectical platforms. Abai's concepts thus also could not get rid of Marx's ideas (Auezov, 1995: 14-24).

Abai's works were supplemented in the studies of the independence period with hermeneutic analysis and existentialism explanations. The attributes of the spirit in his Islamic philosophical views, which begin with "Mind and soul - I myself" were later proclaimed "Krishnaism". In short, Abai's legacy has been evaluated and analysed through all ideological frameworks except Islam.

Today it is essential to study the heritage of Abai in terms of Islamic theology and philosophy, through the Kazakh Islamic and civilisational character. It is essential to identify the place and role of Abai's legacy in order to scientifically and historically assess the traces of modern Kazakh religious knowledge and religious practice in the people's consciousness. A comprehensive review of, and a systematic historical and philosophical approach to, the concepts and categorical complex in Abai's

works therefore allows us to recognise his existential and religious-civilisational image. It must be realised by defining the genesis and definitions of the basic conceptual, cognitive, philosophical, and religious concepts in the heritage of Abai. In addition to ancient Greek philosophy, Islamic philosophy includes aspects of such sciences as kalam, tafsir, fiqh, and tasawwuf.

First of all, let's look at the conceptual complex of Abai's heritage; for example, the word "gıshıq" in Abai's works, in the Sufi worldview, means love for the Great Being. What he had written as "falling 'inferiority' and being 'gıshıq (in love)'" as well as "the almighty God, I prayed, lead me to you..." (Kunanbaiuly, 1995a: 336), is the divine love in Sufism and the spirituality of God, which are the main categories of Yasawi's Fakir philosophy, and this characterises the need for the grace and light of God, and the longing for God's meaningful food.

The Fakir philosophy - the tradition of "the incomparable poet" is the philosophy of poets whose souls are burning with the love of God, whose hearts are filled with tears, grief, and whose souls cry and mourn only to God (Kenzhetay, 2012: 203-208). It is a complex of worldviews based on the Khal teachings of Yasawi. The teachings of Yasawi are a school of spiritual perfection for the "Didar requirements". Didar is the Face of God; it is the path of "incomparable poets" such as Yasawi, Hakim Ata, Sufi Allayar, Fuzuli, Shamsi, Shakhali, Nava'i, Sa'di, and Firdausi, who long for the sight of God (Kenzhetay, 2008: 247-273).

In his 21st Word, Abai reveals the difference between "let's say" and "let's not say" (Kunanbaiuly, 1995a: 336). In the Sufi worldview, the group of "let's not say" is called "Malamatiyya", and the group of "let's say" is called "Mustasuifa". This notion is deeply rooted in history. When the Prophet Muhammad said, "I am the Umm," Yasawi upheld the principle "All are the wheat, I am the straw, all are good, I am bad." The main criterion of both Abai and Yasawi is the Great Creator. The perfection and wisdom of humanity lies in its attempt to measure itself by the attributes of God.

Abai reveals the nature and character of God in his treatise "Kitab al-Tasdiq". He also explains the science of conscience as the inner meaning of the Qur'an. "Look at the essence of the message, not the form," he said, referring to the basic tenets of Yasawi's teaching. Abai's cure for the sick nation is the Qur'an, the whole words, the science of conscience, which instils morality in a person. Abai's message is, first of all, ayahs, hadith. They are the beginning of any message, that is, the words that correct the nation are the words of God, the Qur'an, which is written logically in verse (fable verses).

Abai speaks to his listeners, the Kazakh people, "Love with all your heart Allah, who created humanity with love. Love all mankind as your brother, and love the way of righteousness. These three loves are of the faith flower, and you must know that the essence of faith is these three." The concept of "faith" here is the main feature of the teachings of Yasawi, is one motif in the Sufi worldview of such degrees of faith as "free faith, faith flower, faith light, faith secret" (Kenzhetay, 2017).

Abai means science, the pursuit of the essence of "God's science" through the "zerre (particle) science" in humans. Abai said: "... man's science and knowledge

are found in the passion for truth, the desire to know the essence and wisdom of everything.” And “the passion for science itself gives a person their own science.” This science is divine love. Science is one of the attributes of the all-knowing God, and this is the truth. The love of the truth itself is human and of righteousness. The essence of science is also revealed through love for this truth. Otherwise, the truth of science will not be found with the love of animals, pride, honour, and fame. This is Abai’s concept of science, which is different from the concept of science we use today. His science is a matter of wisdom today - the philosophy of wisdom of Yasawi.

Abai says, “there is no need to stop the admirers of the creatures of God from being inspired by those creatures. Rather, from the desire to know the cause of the creatures might grow “pure love”. There is a very important issue here. True Sufis fall in love with the Jamal (aesthetic) nature of God, which is why they call themselves “Didar demanders”. Abai, on the other hand, urges people not to fall in love with God’s Jamal, but to have “pure love”, that is, to fall in love with the nature of God’s creativity, and he urges people to be creative like God. After all, Abai’s time needed creativity, a mastery of technology, and new methods of education. Here we can see that the concept and doctrine of Abai’s “pure love” is a very valuable innovation in terms of analysing the historical development of the Sufi worldview in general (Kenzhetay, 2003: 98).

You see, Abai’s worldview begins with the distinction between good and evil, directly based on a social basis. It is said that a person can know God, themselves, and the world only after they deserve to be called human.

Abai’s religious knowledge is revealed through his philosophy of love. What did Abai mean by love in saying “the world without love is empty, join it to the beast” (Kunanbaiuly, 1995a: 336). What definitions and knowledge, and what data was it based on? Auezov, the chief Abai scholar who developed the theory of “Abai Ata” (Kenzhetay, 2008: 98) in order to preserve the national identity from the Soviet Russian assimilation, wrote the article “Abai’s biography”:

Fuzuli, Shamsi, Shakhali,
Nava’i, Sa’di, Firdausi,
Hodja Hafiz, all those,
Bless me, Oh incomparable poets!

Thus, he calls the spirits of his esteemed old poets. Judging by these names, Abai was undoubtedly acquainted with many well-known poets of the East in the early days “... It is good of him not to take only the example of Sufis like Yasawi, Baqirghan, and Sufi Allayar at the Madrasa” (Auezov, 1995: 24-86).

Based on Auezov’s idea, we first decided to turn to the concepts and definitions of love in Islam, because in order for Soviet ideology to accept “Abai Studies”, it was necessary to show Abai outside this realm (Islamic-Sufi realm). It is therefore necessary to look for a metaphoric and hermeneutic meaning in Auezov’s thought that “Abai’s religion is the religion of reason, the religion of critical thought...” (1995: 142).

According to Islamic sources, love is classified as “divine and human” love. Divine love is true love, and human love is also a figurative, transient love. Divine love is the most widely sung theme in Sufism. It is a value widely discussed in Islam, Sufism, and philosophy, and it is critical of kalam love. In general, in Islamic literature, the concept of love is so widespread in moral nature that a “literature of love” was formed. Abai also benefited from this literature. This is reflected in the fact that he said, “Bless me, Oh incomparable poets!” Although there is no concept of love in the Qur’an and the hadiths, there is the concept of “hub love.” Initially, the theme of a “fear of God” was more widespread in Islam than the “love of God.” The word “gishq love” was used in the late eighth century to describe the love between God and people. Mansur al-Hallaj (922/310) was the first Sufi to sing the theme of love, using the concepts of “hub, mahabbat, mahbub love” instead of “gishq, gashiq, mashuq love” (Kenzhetay, 2008: 157).

There are different types of love in Islam: animal, natural, spiritual, mental, and divine love. Animal love is the result of inciting nafs (lust), which satisfies the desire and passions of passion and lust. If it is not under the control of the mind and science, it will turn the world upside down, like an atomic bomb. Spiritual love is the love of the desires. It is a love of material and spiritual beauty, and shows the status of *arif*s, who can control their lust. Arif, or wisdom, is a spiritual degree. The world of mental love is a kingdom. The love of those who can enjoy the beauty of this world is also the door to divine love. Divine love is the greatest of all loves. Sufis accept any love, if it does not exceed the measure, and recognise it as a stepping stone to the ultimate goal - divine love. Passion is also love, but it is love that is influenced by human desires, such as lust and satanic desires, and therefore, Sufis do not accept this as love, but the desires of those who are driven by “lust and passion” and left under the influence of “nafs al-ammara”.

The theme of love in Islam is described in the philosophical, moral-cosmological, and psychological sense of the mind, soul, and body. That is, a person has life layers of “nabati”, “gazabi”, “natyki”, and levels of passion are determined according to these layers.

The phenomenon of cosmological comparison in Aristotle’s “Metaphysics” also influenced Islamic philosophers. For example, Al-Farabi, in his treatise *Madinat al-Fadila*, described love as the basis of the theory of emanation, and love for God as a “gishq, gashiq, mashuq.” Ibn Sina also devoted his work *Risale fi Mahiyeti’l-Işk* to this issue. He connects love with the idea of perfection; that is, he defines it as a passion for perfection. People choose “perfection and existence” as the greatest ideal between perfection and destruction, between all and nothing, and perfection and existence come from Allah and exist in Allah.

While Mukhtar Auezov, in his article “Abai’s lyrics”, explains that (Abai) says “I deliberately do not sing about gashiq and mashuq love... in the way of Sufism, which is widespread in the East” (1995: 142). Undoubtedly, he drew this conclusion as a way to get rid of the pressure of Soviet scientific atheism. In fact, Mukhtar Auezov considered the field of “Abai Studies” not only in literary terms, but also as a mechanism for the Kazakh nation, a platform for protection against Russian assimilation, adapting it to the Soviet ideological, atheistic regime, and first

formulated it in a philosophical sense. He therefore also tried to ignore the idea in Abai's "38th Word", that there is the relationship of love between "the Creator and the creatures"; knowing that God created people with love and mercy, and the created were moved by God's love for them, and this is called falling in love with God (1995). He understood that making Abai studies the basis of literary studies - a model of positivist science - is also favourable to Soviet ideology, and therefore, he paid attention to the poet's personality and tried to ignore his philosophical, religious, and theological views. In his article "Abai's Words" he said: "... when you think about the dialectic of nature, these opinions of Abai were a mistake, a negative opinion, and in the history of philosophy, they are old ideas that have long been obsolete, that the world was created for man" (Auezov, 1995: 208-220).

The feeling of love is a feeling of complete devotion and sacrifice. This feeling is neither good nor selfless. For those who have these feelings, there is no aim for any benefit, interest, or rewards. People have absolute aims such as self-devotion, self-sacrifice, risking death, suicide, and so on, and the state of complete devotion to the ideal is reflected only in love. Humans forgets themselves on the path of the great ideal, are driven by time and the lifestream, and do not know what the outcome will be. A person in love has the ability to lose himself or herself, to fall in love, to glorify, and to deify their beloved. They voluntarily surrender to slavery, which takes place without any pressure from elsewhere. It is a disease. A person who is sick with love suffers from a disease of both body and mind. Plato says, "Love is blind." "Love is a closed pot, when it is opened, it cools down. That is why secrecy is important in love. If the secrecy is gone, the truthfulness is gone."

Love is thus a great-unexplained definition that lies between mystery, and grace, in truth and spirit, between "language and non-language". Abai defined love: "the language of a lover is a language without language". Among such definitions without language, he defined not only love but also God as "short of praising language". Isn't "love and God" a mystery that cannot be defined by language? This also seems to me to be Abai's secret.

This is the concept of "gishq", love, or the word love used by Abai that has no definition. It seems impossible to explain this concept in a few sentences, as the essence of Abai's whole philosophy. According to Abai, love is everything, both visible and invisible: God is love; the created and nature are love; humans and all their feelings, moods, and actions are love; religion and faith are love; disbelief and self-importance are love; life and death are love; life and the hereafter are love; nothingness and everything are love... In short, the core and meaning of everything is love. Everything is the result of love, because the "Great Creator" created all these creatures with "love." This world, the earth, the sky, people, and the cosmos, are the result of love, and they all continue to exist only through love, because, according to Abai, love "isn't needed nowhere, isn't involved nowhere." He said in his words:

... we are not creators, but human beings who know the shadow of the Creator. We will draw towards that love and justice, and one is superior to the other with the knowledge of God's wisdom. I believe, does not mean I convince. The forefront of humanity is love, justice, feelings. They are

needed everywhere; they are involved everywhere. It is the work of the Creator (Kunanbaiuly, 1995b).

That is, he implies a person's pain and suffering, blessings and joy, and all their life is love. He said that not only man but also nature and natural phenomena are the fruit of love. He asserted that all the world is created for the benefit of people, and thus people also need to love the Creator:

Does this not testify to God's love for people? But if someone loves you, are you not obliged to reply in kind? Just stop to think: the sun sucks up moisture and turns it into the clouds that let fall the life-giving rain for seeds, grasses, and flowers which gladden the human eye and heart; all kinds of fruit and sugar cane ripen to sustain life upon the earth; the rivers that flow into seas and lakes quench the thirst of birds and beasts and serve as the home of fish. The Earth is the giver of bread, cotton, hemp, fruit, and berries; its bowels contain mineral wealth; birds provide man with down, eggs, and meat; livestock gives milk, wool, and hide. The waters yield fish, the fish - caviar, the bees - honey and wax, the silkworms - silk. Nobody in the world can say of these riches, "This is all mine!" All are meant for the good of people. Factories and machines, made by immense labour, are likewise intended to benefit man. Is that not proof of the love of the Most High for people? Is it not people's duty to requite love with love? (Kunanbaiuly, 1995b).

So far, based on Abai's legacy, we have concluded that the essence of everything is love and its fruits. Now, for Abai, we see that love is "a definition, without a definition" in his poem "... The language of lovers dispenses with words. With their looks, with an inner sense, they converse." How do we understand the loss of the language for loving someone? Again, in his poem, "If love comes, it will conquer your body and soul, sickens you like malaria" (Kunanbaiuly, 1995a), Abai shows that he cannot determine the state of love, even if he tries to depict it. Thus, for Abai, love is not something that is defined; on the contrary, it is something defining. A "definition" is not meaningful to a person, but rather makes a person meaningful. Because love is the essence and is original, it gives meaning to what is created in the space of being and feeling, to be "something". That is why, for Abai, the language of love is not defined, it is defining; it is not meaningful, it gives meaning. Love cannot be contained in a definition, and cannot be applied to any meaning.

This broad concept of love, however, which cannot be defined in meaning, nevertheless seems to be defined by "all created things", both ontologically and existentially, because love is everything. Thus, according to Abai, love is ontologically (existentially) a principle and essence. In other words, "love is the essence (core) of being (existence)". This is why Abai's recognition of love as an essence indicates a very important achievement in terms of the history of human thought in general. For example, no thinker, in the West or the East, has ever said that the essence of existence is love, even though the tradition of acknowledging the connection between being and love goes back to antiquity. Only Sufi thinkers in the history of Islamic civilisation, such as Mansur al-Hallaj, Khoja Akhmed Yasawi,

and Yunus Emre, have said this (Kenzhetay, 2008: 180). Abai therefore imbibed from this Sufi philosophy, and accepted it.

Plato and Aristotle, in particular, recognised love as a “cause” to explain this world. An active and “eternal (azali) deity” and “azali but inactive primordial matter (haiula)” ran into each other. Matter, affected by God’s activity, also fell in love with Him and gave in to emotions in order to be active. It was through these emotions that the first matter moved. God also gave this matter a “form-picture” to “be active.” Thus, the world and nature were created. Here love is the means, the cause, of nature; that is, love is not the essence of God or the original matter.

In the history of human thought, Plato, Aristotle and their followers, Islamic philosophers such as Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, and philosophers before Kierkegaard in the West, were idealistic philosophers. That is, for them, “something” comprises consciousness (substance or essence) and being (existence or phenomenon). Consciousness, however, always comes before existence. When asked what consciousness is, they defined it as a general concept of thought that represents a whole type of being. That is, the essence of being was itself, not inside, but outside, that is, in the mind, in the consciousness. In other words, consciousness is in the presence of God, in Him, in His mind. Plato, Philo, Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and many Muslims, as well as Christian mystics, did not go beyond the “great concept” of consciousness.

Existentialist philosophy, which began with Kierkegaard, made the exact opposite definition; that is, that existence comes before consciousness. Reality is first, and consciousness is second. Consciousness therefore appears in the process of life. The representatives of existentialist philosophy are divided about this: Religious representatives such as Kierkegaard, Jaspers, and Marcellus defined consciousness as absolute faith in God, while atheist members such as Sartre and Nietzsche defined consciousness and spirit as “the worst outcome”; that is, “death or nothing” (Bayraktar, 1994: 104). We have drawn to your attention to the prominent figures in the history of human thought because in our opinion it is an abuse to explain Abai’s general views in the style of existentialist philosophy. It was important, in our brief review of the question of meaning in the history of philosophy, to show the importance of the truth behind Abai’s definition of love as meaning.

The most important thing, according to Abai, is that love, which is perceived as the essence of being, is not the result of abstract thinking. It is something that exists in life, that is, a concept related to life. In life, it is existential love, and human nature in particular experiences it in the form of positive emotions such as love, happiness, freedom, faith, and as negative emotions such as agony, sorrow, suffering, and disbelief.

The concept of love in Abai’s philosophy is therefore a term with feeling, that is, an existential truth and an ontological truth. In general, Islamic philosophy divides love into “gishq love” and “gashiq love”. This is in line with the above classifications. Both classifications are used simultaneously in Abai’s works. For example, in the Turkic school of Sufism, the concept of “gishq love” is much broader in meaning than the word “love”. There is a qualitative difference between them. “Gashiq love” often means feelings, moods, and unconscious love, while “gishq love” means divine,

spiritual love. Ibn Sina made this classification in Islamic philosophy. Later, it became widely accepted in all Turkic Sufi schools. It should be noted that in the following centuries, the concepts of gishq, gashiq, and mahabbat love are not mutually exclusive, but are concepts in a descending rank of status and spiritual status. This is true for both Yasawi and Yunus Emre. As a result, the Turkic Islamic Sufi philosophy recognises love as the essence, the core, and the principle of everything. Abai was also a representative of the Sufi philosophy, a great representative of the Kazakh thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a wise man, and a philosopher.

The essence of Abai's definition of love, which does not fit into the ordinary definition, has two phenomenological aspects. The first is the aspect of love that makes things real. This means that without love, there would be no being, no people, no creation. The second aspect lies in the fact that love makes life real and gives it life. Without this love, there would be no life in existence, especially in human nature. Love, in the general sense, is a being, existence and non-existence, death, and a natural phenomenon. At the same time, love is the very spiritual and material phenomenon (phenomena) that makes up the life of beings, such as love and enmity, good and evil, kindness and revenge, faith and disbelief. We can thus talk about two interrelated loves in Abai's works. The first is ontological love. The second is existential love, that is, the love in life. This is the essence of Abai's idea that "life itself is the truth". Now, if we can explain these two types or aspects of love, we hope that we will at least be able to define Abai's concept of love.

In conclusion, there are no traces of humanism in Abai's "Words" (Kunanbaiuly, 1995a: 222), or in his poems, principles, or system of thinking, because there is no metaphysics, religion, God, faith, hereafter, or truth of the spirit in humanism, and Abai's worldview begins with "people", which includes all people, not just men. This means that Abai's main position is in his relationship with God and the world, and people are God. In humanism, however, the main pillar is people's place in the world of these phenomena, and people are considered to have nothing to do with God. We must be able to distinguish between "humanism" and "humanity." In humanism, morality is considered without God, in humanity, morality without God is not a value. In humanism, people find their own meaning. Abai believes that the essence of people is their dignity, which is also measured by the trust given to them by God; the source of wisdom, faith, and responsibility is associated with people's responsibility before God. This therefore limits people's desire for freedom in this world, and denies their unity with history, the past, the essence, God, the world, and themselves. It would be an understatement to say that Abai was a "humanist" and that he and that his knowledge was based on this.

In general, it is necessary to re-formulate at least the content of any notions and values that served the former communist regime, and to replace them with the notions and values that serve the narrative of today's sovereign country. Similarly, the concept of "enlightener" is a term from yesterday's humanism. At that time, those who turned away from God and religion were called enlighteners. There is no idea in Abai's legacy that separates the Kazakhs from religion and spirituality (Kenzhetay, 2011: 80-91).

Abai recognised those who believe in the love of God and humankind as the true religion, the true worship - as a friend of God, a perfect human: he explains, "my religion is love". This shows that Abai is the inheritor of the Yasawi tradition of "Do not be an abid (qul), do not be a Zahid (ascetic), be in love!", and Yunus Emre's "My religion is my love".

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CHAPTER – XIII

ABOUT MUSICAL REFORM OF ABAI

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There is an established opinion in the scientific circles of Kazakhstan that the song reform of Abai was the result of the influence of Russian culture and urban romance. The author of the article proves that the reform's premises go back to Kazakh roots and are the result of a mature and conceptual approach to oeuvre, thus refuting this opinion. As a result of a deep semantic analysis of the poet's poems about music, the author for the first time proves that the origins of the reform are associated with the composer's (purely written) type of work. The exclusion of the performing link in Abai's work gave rise to the need for detailed commenting on poetic texts in the performing and listening interpretation of his poems.

The music-aesthetic concept, which was the basis of the new poem style, is consistently described in a system of interrelated categories, which allows us to consider Abai's style as a result of conscious artistic and aesthetic innovation. In the course of a holistic description of the new musical aesthetic's parameters, one finds a tendency to formulate a poem status in a normative-genre manner. It is proved that the aesthetic concept of Abai's new poem model predetermined a new style for its performance and listening.

The musicology of Kazakhstan has significantly advanced in the knowledge of the artistic world of Abai's poems. A holistic analysis confirmed and rooted the idea of the novelty of his musical style. Meanwhile, the question of the reason for the emergence of a new poem style remains unresolved and controversial.

Knowledge of the stylistic specifics of many genres of folk music, as well as a deep and comprehensive study in recent decades by Kazakh scientists of aesthetics, methods of artistic expression and the origins of the musical semantics of the

folk and professional poem of the nineteenth century Sary-Arka, allow us to look differently at the phenomenon of Abai as a composer. The studies revealing the religious and philosophical views of Abai provide an opportunity for a new understanding of the worldview foundations of his work. In this regard, looking at the original texts of poems the article aims to identify the fundamental, key directions of aesthetics in the poetry of the thinker, to determine the essence and nature of creative priorities that led to innovation. Without rejecting the existing views, we take the courage to prove that the primary source and reason for the creation of a new poem style was a new philosophical and aesthetic platform, declared by Abai poetically. The close relationship of poetic ideas with songwriting, as well as their consistency and conceptuality, first noted by T. Ibragimov (Ibragimov, 1985: 25), made it possible to prove the complexity of the poet's musical innovation and its deep compliance with the principles of reformatory poetic declarations.

While respecting the complexity of this area, we will focus on ideas about Abai's music, which, in our opinion, are so harmonious and logical that they acquire in culture the status of a new philosophy of art ("önerdiñ jayı") and a new concept of poem ("änniñ jayı" – Abai, "änniñ mäni" – Shakarim). The Kazakh analytical and terminological apparatus of the research is entirely based on the original concepts of Abai's poetry. The chosen method of commenting on the original poetic statements of Abai is due to limitations in addressing issues of national musical aesthetics.

Abai and Kazakh Poetry

Kazakh poetry had already formed as an artistic phenomenon before Abai's time, and what is especially important is that it was understood by traditional poetry as an aesthetic phenomenon. Meanwhile, the rational-philosophical nature of Abai's attitude to the world contributed to the correction of ideas and assessments known to folk aesthetics, which was due to the new position of the poets in relation to the poem. An analysis of all of the ideas gives a complete picture of the novelty of the poet's views.

In 1887, in the poem "Öleñ sözdiñ patşası" (Poetic speech, the Queen of literature), Abai first declared: "Söz tüzeldi, tıñdawşı, sen de tüzel" (To speak of you, my reader, and improve your mind). The previous works of the poet had already prepared this premise. In the poems of 1886, the phrases "Abaylar ärbir sözün öz halınşa" (Yet twist them to their benefit some way) and "Säwlesi bar jigitter bir oylanar" (Jigits, cavaliers, heed those words and hear mine) convey unusual qualities of the new art's chosen successor, his special, careful attitude to the infinite depth and meaningfulness of a word.

Invoking "Äweli öner izdelik qoldan kelse" (literally, we will put the search for art at the head), praising the mastery and skilful work, Abai reveals his creative credo from the beginning of his journey.

Following his reformistic declaration, Abai defines the target landmarks for his oeuvre: "Maqsutım til ustartıp, öner şaşpaq, nadannıñ közin qoyıp köñilin aşpaq"

(I strive for polished verse and clarity, My message I address to people's hearts)
("Birewdiñ kisisi ölse").

In several poems, one senses the presence of gradual accumulation of ideas, where a system of reformatory principles is revealed and explained more and more fully. If the poems "Bilimdiden şıqqan söz" and "Men jazbaymın öleñdi ermek üşin" outline the qualities necessary for a representative of the new art, then "Özgege köñlim toyarsıñ", "Qulaqtan kirip boydı alar", "Köñil qusı quyqıljır şartarapqa", and "Dombırağa qol soqpa" contain important recommendations for the listener, focused on the Abai model of listening perception, ideas about the poetic ideal. In the poem "Adamnıñ keybir kezderi", he describes the moment of creative inspiration.

Multiple repetitions and additions to what was said served an unambiguous, accurate interpretation of the postulates, and the final character of the lines "Köñil qusı quyqıljır şartarapqa" (1895) gave to statements the completeness of the concept:

Bilimdiden ayaman sözdiñ mayın,
Altı öleñmen bildirdim änniñ jayın,
Ezdiñ bası qañğırsın, erdiñ köñli,
Jañğırsın dep oyladım jazğan sayın.
Kökireginde otı bar oyly adamğa,
Bul sözimniñ süwreti turar dayın.

A word to the wise I never begrudge,
Writing a verse to explain a song's sense,
Annoying the deaf who can't understand,
But bringing well-wishers a pleasure intense.
To those with a sacred spark in their soul,
My motives are clear, such men comprehend...

Thus, the years 1887-1895 became for Abai a fruitful period of immersion in the world of ideas about music.

The spiritual qualities of the creator present the generative basis of Sufi aesthetics. So, for Abai, the ideal of the new art's creator possesses a set of qualities: *talap* (diligence), *oylılıq* (rationality), *esti* (consciousness), and *köñili oyaw* (perceptiveness). The inner world of a Sufi is associated with metaphors of light, illumination, possession of an "eye in the chest" (lit.): "Säwleñ bolsa kewdeñde" (literally, if there is light in your chest), "Nurın, sırın körüwge kökireginde bolsın köz" (The truth stays unperceived, you'll find, By those of us whose hearts are blind), he is distinguished by spiritual purity: *jüregi ayna* (mirror-like chastity of a heart) and the strength of spiritual energy: *jılı жүрек* (warm heart), *ıntalı жүрек* (zealous, striving heart), *jüreginde otı bar* (fiery heart).

Abai clearly defines his positions:

Adam az munı bilip äñ salarlıq,
Tıñdawşı da az, ol ännen bahra alarlıq (Köñil qusı quyqıljır şartarapqa).

How few know the sense of the lays that they sing!
And even those few will not heed it for long (The bird of the soul flies to all parts).

So, the concept “änniñ jayı” encompasses the entire space of musical culture (Kunanbayev, 1957: 203).

The peculiarity of Abai’s concept is in its dialectic categories that clarify ideas about music. Spiritual revelation of truth is a component of Abai’s reasonable, critical attitude to the environment. M. Auezov’s definition of Abai’s attitude to the world as a “religion of reason” determined the general heuristic direction of the poet’s concept.

Abai’s idea of the need for synthesis acquired a crosscutting significance: the perfection of a form – parts and the whole – in conjunction with ideology seems to be an indispensable condition for artistry. The components of synthesis are the qualities of beauty and spiritual depth of the content, the latter being an addition to folk-aesthetic ideas about the ideal poem. For clarity, we present concepts found in Abai’s poetry that are grouped by the principle of paired synonymy:

1. **Oylı küy, tätti küy** – meaningful kui mellifluous kui (“Qulaqtan kirip”, “Köñil qusı quyqılır şartarapqa”);
2. **Sır simbat** – depth, mystery, grace, harmony, beauty (“Jigitter oyın arzan”);
3. **Sır (iş) sırtı** – internal, hidden external, accessible (“Men jazbaymın öleñdi ermek üşin”, “Talay söz budan burın köp aytqanmın”);
4. **Jaqsı, jaramdı än qur ayğay** – good proper song, vain cry (“Köñil qusı quyqılır şartarapqa”, “Jastıqtıñ otı qaydasıñ”, “Qur ayğay baqırğan”);
5. **Esti än eser än** – conscious song, frivolous song (“Köñil qusı quyqılır”).

The category “jaqsı, jaramdı än” generalises ideas about the poem ideal, and summarises the content of other pairs that relate to it as a part and a whole. So, we proceed to disclose the constituent parts of the concept of “jaqsı, jaramdı än”.

Tätti küy-oylı küy

Music is the artistic result of aestheticised contemplation; it captures all the twists and turns of life: from the first moment of launching into the world to departure from mortal existence. Therefore, the content of the poem is broad: “Ömirdegi qızığın bäri öleñmen, Oylansañsı, bos qaqpay eleñ-selen” (Thus, all the glad and sad events in life have songs to go with them. Why is it so?). The category “oy” (thought) is one of the leading ones in Abai’s poems. The eyes of the great enlightener are turned to the poem, awakening thought, completely transforming the depth of feelings:

Köñilge türli oy salar,
Ändi süyseñ menşe süy (Abay “Qulaq-tan kirip boydı alar”).

I forget my cares, I forget the world,
When the sounds of a lilting song I hear.

It is not accidental that Abai’s own process of creation is a long maturation of thought: “Munı jazdım oylanıp, Oyda bardan tolğanıp” (lit., my record is the fruit of long reflections). The performance should be preceded by an awareness of the infinite depth of meanings of the poetic word – “Adam az onı bilip än salarlıq”. Such an understanding and attitude to creative work will predetermine correct,

masterful performance of the musical and poetic content of the work: “Sözdi uğarlıq jan tapsa, aytsa jarar än salıp” (lit., the song should be preceded by an understanding of the word) (“Qız sözi” Abai).

The possession of letters is important for the listener. “The ear of intellect”: “Oysız qulaq ala almas onday sıydı” (A song contains all the joys of the mind, But by men hard of hearing it cannot be caught), rational orientation of perception: “Moyın salsın, oylansın” (lit., Pay attention after thinking), the ability to listen analytically: “Sol jerine oyınmen aralasşı” (Yet poignant the sadness that weighs on each ending) – all this is the essence of Abai listening “through the eyes of the mind” – “tıңdasañ oy közimen”.

Diving into the field of poetic content reveals the dialectics of the external and the internal, which are a way of understanding the depth and ambiguity of music.

Thus, “oylı küy” (meaningful kui) is a concept introduced by Abai for the first time. It captures many levels of the artistic process and creative communication: the writing process and the final result, which matures for a prolonged time; 2) in performing practice, the categories “oy, oylı” predetermine the emergence of the idea of “bilip än saluw” (literally, performance with knowledge), which leads to modification of the performing manner, in which knowledge of the subtext of musical and poetic vocabulary, the requirement that the poetic word be communicated, and the most important part of the content is recognised as the main artistic task; 3) idealisation of the thinking, analysing listener – “tıңdasañ oy közimen” – is the embodiment of the category “oy” in the field of listener communication.

Sır-Sımbat

The exterior can have regular, attractive outlines. Internal is a secret, closed to those who are unfamiliar, deep meaning. The categories “sır-sımbat” appear in two forms: a) complementary unity; b) opposition, in which the form is idealised to the detriment of content.

The category “sır” originates in love-lyrical songs, where it often denoted a bashful understatement of feelings. It acquires a different meaning in the poetry of zhyrau, including that of Dulat, Abai’s spiritual teacher. Singing zhyr (epic) is accompanied by a burst of spiritual potential, which is emphasised by the lines: “Teñizden tereñ sır”, “sırım... tumannıñ tunıq suwınan” (literally, A mystery deeper than the sea... my secret is like a mist over the bottomless waters) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 200-205).

Abai applies “sır” in the meaning of the infinite hidden depth of the poetic word, as opposed to “sımbat” – its external proportionality: “Jigitter, oyın arzan, külki qımbat / Eki türli narse ğoy sır men sımbat” (Tis laughter we should prize, not empty jests. Not in appearance, in the soul true value rests) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 38). Abai correlates them as antitheses: “Sırtın tanıp is bitpes sırn körmey” (Approach my poems with an open mind, and in them many answers you will find) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 96), “Oylanşı, sırtın qoyıp, sözdiñ işin” (Don’t think about the external form of words) (“Talay söz budan burın köp aytqanmın”).

The opposition “tübi tereñ – sımbat” identifies only extreme manifestations (depth and surface) of the text and extra-text layers of word and music: “Än salar, jatqa alar, Tübinde qur qalar” (They sing my songs, the words they learn, Their meaning they do not discern...) (“Quwatı ottay burqırap”). Focusing perception on external features, while not forgetting about the inner content of music – this is how the role of the listener is programmed, who, according to Abai, must have an inner vision, some kind of divine light, literally, “With an eye in the chest”: “Nurin, sırın körüwge, Kökireginde bolsın köz” (The truth stays unperceived, you’ll find, By those of us whose hearts are blind) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 86). A few conscious ones are endowed with this quality: “Onan dağı bir esti işki sırın aňğarsın” (To have a listener I long who would share my dream and love my song!) (“Özgege köñlim toyarsın”). Abai emphasises that a wise, capacious, deep word has extraordinary power: “Tübi tereñ söz artıq bir bayqarsız” (My love for men is genuine, My one ambition is their confidence to win) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 96).

Ayğay

Ayğay means two assessments of one artistic technique. “Qur ayğay” also has a prehistory in folk aesthetics. In Abai and Shakarim, this category reflected contradictions with the prevailing cultural ideas about the standard of a beautiful and truly artistic poem. Folk ideal sound includes “ayğay” as a popular concept.

The appearance of “ayğay” in different poetic contexts determined its polysemantic nature.

1. Often, “ayğay” serves as a tool to express various states of the soul of a poet-performer:

a) happiness, joy, ecstasy:

Aşşı zar awır şeri maza bermey,
Aqırı äñ salğızıp, **ayqaylattı** (Sinkiang qazaqtarynyn halyq anderi, 1959: 17).

Searing pain, a heavy groan haunted the mind,
Eventually they were allowed to groan,
To shout out this song.

b) served as an artistic expression of accumulated mournful feelings, negative emotions:

Aşşı zar awır şeri maza bermey,
Aqırı äñ salğızıp, **ayqaylattı** (Sinkiang qazaqtarynyn halyq anderi, 1959: 17).

Searing pain, a heavy groan haunted the mind,
Eventually they were allowed to groan,
To shout out this song.

2. “Ayğay” serves as a performance technique:

a) a kind of a musical gymnastics for the voice, with the aim of bringing it into working condition:

“Ayğay salmay dawısım aşılmaydı”.
I cannot take high notes until I shout aloud (literally).

b) Refinement of the performer, inspiring him to subsequent improvisation:

Öleñ şıǵar iştegi ayǵaylasa,

Nesin aqın bolamız ayta almasa (Orazaqyn, 1989: 179, 184).

A harmonious verse comes out with high intonation from inside,

Am I an akyn if I do not sing hereupon?

The art of folk singing comprises an ability to masterly hoist intonation, without this quality an akyn is not a professional:

Öleñ ayt tawir saylap osındayda,

Şın jüyrik ayǵay sıqpay qozǵala ma? (Orazaqyn, 1989: 45).

At this crucial moment, choose the best rhyme,

Without a high intonation,

Will this make the true pacer move?

The initial formula could bear an entirely individualised nature, be composed by some poet and called by his name:

Şırqayın Aqerkeniñ ayǵayımen,

Özimdey berik bolsın jigit serti (Erzakovich, 1994: 178).

I will sing with Akerke's intonation,

Let him be as solid as dzhigit's oath.

c) There was an intonation stereotype. Compliance with the formulae was mandatory for the model, an aberration from it could be not accepted by the public. The latter was understood as an empty cry:

Qırı ayǵay tük sıqpaydı bos uyqastan,

Öleñiñ köpsilikke unamasa (Orazaqyn, 1989: 30).

Nothing will come of the empty cry and senseless rhymes,

If the listeners do not like the song.

3. "Ayǵay" as a means of influencing the audience in a performer-audience communication:

a) Attracting the listeners' attention: "Ayǵaylap jıyıp aldım jannıñ bärin" (Bekhozhina, 1979: 77) (Listening majority gathered to the sounds of higher intonation);

b) To put themselves and the public in a special mood: "Boı qızar jüyriktiñ ayǵaylasa" (literally: The pacer's body warms up to the sounds of higher intonation) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 181);

c) "Ayǵay" as a deafeningly strong, higher sound. With the help of joyful approval of the audience, the performer lifts the mood and creates an atmosphere of celebration:

Kel, ekewmiz, dombıra qosılayıq,

Ayǵay salıp, än tartıp, josılayıq.

Dombıra, let us shout together, let us sing a song and blow off.

Biz keldik toy bastawǵa dombıra alıp,

Ketüwşi ek ayǵay salsaq toptı jarıp (Orazaqyn, 1989: 61).

We came with a dombra to the opening of the toy,
Leaving, split the crowd with a shrill cry (literally).

Öleñdi aqındıqpen men aytpaymın,
Az tamaşa bolsın dep ayğaylaymın (Orazaqyn, 1989: 151).

I'm not just reciting a verse like an akyn,
But with my loud singing I cheer you up (literally).

Abai understands “qur ayğay” in the context of aesthetics as unjustified empty virtuosity. Because of this, “ayğay” is used by them as a term denoting a phenomenon that contradicts the essence of their concept of art – “önerdiñ jayı”:

Qur ayğaymen äwre bop,
Önerdiñ jayın basa uqpay (“Jastıqtıñ otı qaydasıñ” Abai).

Little worth is there in florid speech,
Out of which no wisdom will emerge.

Abai is fighting against entertaining art, which has a flawed content, is meaningless, and therefore does not educate:

Öleñi bar önerli inim sizge,
Jalınamın munday söz aytpa bizge.
Özge tügil öziñe paydası joq.
Esil öner qor bolıp keter tüzge,
Sänqoy, dañğoy, oynasşı, kerim-kerbez.
Qanşa qızıq boladı öziñizge? (Men jazbaymın öleñdi ermek üşin).

My brother songsters, listen I implore,
Do not be tempted in your poems ever more,
By empty words, you will yourselves deplore.
You'll dissipate your talent, never to restore,
And tell me, are not you already bored,
With braggarts, woman chasers, and their lore?

A work in which only the external effect is the main thing cannot be called, according to Abai, artistic:

Qur ayğay baqırğan qulaqqa äñ ba eken?
Is an empty cry a song?

Uniqueness of Creative Process: Maturation of Artistic Conception

Starting to consider issues related to the creative process of Abai, it should be noted that he is innovative for traditional culture. Only the composer's specialisation of labour (excluding performance) and the transition to recording poetry were able to make such cardinal adjustments to understanding the creative process. From the memoirs of Abai's relatives (recorded by M. Auezov from the words of Turagul, Kokbai, Madiyar, Katka, the manuscripts of Kamaliya, Arkham, and Wasila, stored in the funds of the Abai Museum), one can get an idea of the features of this new type of creative process for culture (Auezov, 1984: 126-256; Beisembayev, 1988: 33).

Abai composed most of his works in summer and winter: “Köbinese ölenđi qıstıgünü jazuwşı edi” (Mukhamedkhanuly, 1993: 218) (He mainly wrote poetry in winter). “Teginde ölenđi köp jazatın uwaqıtı qıstıgünü men jazğa salım bolatın. Keybir 89-90 jıldarda tınıştıq alıp otırğanda, köp änderin de bir-aq qısta, jazğa salım şığardı” (The time of intense creative work was winter and summer. He composed many of his songs in silence, calmness of summer and winter 1889-1890) (Auezov, 1984: 216).

Only complete peace and quiet awakened the poet’s imagination, so the opening hours fell on early morning or night. Uwäsila: “Äkem köbinese tañterteñ erte turıp, jazuw jazıp, ne kitap oqıp otıruwşı edi. Künde qonaqtar men üy adamdarı jatqan soñ, özi de jeke otırıp oqıytın, ne jazatın” (Wasila: My father usually preferred to get up early in the morning, and write or read. Every day, after guests and home inhabitants went to bed, he would sit by himself reading or writing) (Beisembayev, 1988: 67). According to Arkham:

Abay kündiz oquwğa, jazuwğa köp köñil bölmeytin. Keybir kezi kelip qalğanda ğana bir-eki bet öleñ, yakiy Qara Söz jazıp tastaydı. Ädette kitap oquwı, jazuwı şam jaqqannan keyin ğana bolatın. Abai tünde köp uyıqtamaydı eken, tösekke jatqan soñ birer saġat öter-ötpesten şamdı qayta jaġıp kitap oqıp otıradı, ne qaġaz jazıp otıradı. Azdan keyin şamdı öşirip jatıp qaladı, köp uzamay taġı da şam jaġıp, kitap oqıp otıradı. (During the day Abai did not pay much attention to reading or writing. Occasionally, when it was the time, he could write down 1-2 pages of poetry or prose. Habitually, reading and writing took place after lighting a candle. Abai did not sleep long: a couple of hours after going to bed, he relit the candle and wrote or read a book. After a short time, he relit the candle and read the book) (Beisembayev, 1988: 67).

All table accessories were conducive to solitary work, creative work detached from worldly concerns:

Aldına döñgelek stol qoyılıp, ertengi şaydı soġan jasattıradı, kitap, qaġaz, qarındaş qoyıladı. Olarmen qatar beti aşıq, sırtı şoyın qara saġatı, usaq jazğan äripterdı iri körsetetin tompaq şını, nasıbay salġan müyız qara şaqşa turadı. Biraq olardı köp qoldanbaydı, kerek bola paydalanadı. (Morning tea was served on a small round table on which there were books, papers, and pencils. Together with them, an indispensable attribute of the table was a black cast-iron clock, a magnifying glass, a black bone snuffbox with nourishment. But they were not used much, only as needed) (Beisembayev, 1988: 67).

The poem appeared to him like an inspiration, a lightning-like moment of inspiration:

98-jılı osı öleñ jazılğan soñ “Ölsem ornım qara jer siz bolmay ma” ğana öziniñ budan jazğan barlıq öleñderin “jıynalsın” degen. Bizge bul jumıs qanşalıq ġajayıp körinse de, osı 98-şi jılğa deyin Abaydın öleñderi bir araġa toptalıp jıynalmağan bolatın. Abai özi bir jazıp tastağan öleñin qaytadan jaqtap, jıynap otırmağan. Ärqaşan keyde kitap oqıp otırğanda, qolına bir tabaq qaġaz ben qarındaş alıp, aytpaq öleñin jazıp tastaydı eken. Sonı qasında otırğan balaları, inileri, ya jay adamdar bolsa da, qaltasına salıp jürip ketedi.

Sodan birden-birew jazıp alıp jattaydı. Keybirin änge qosıp dombıramen aytıp jüredi. (Only after 1898, when the poem “Ölsem ornım qara jer siz bolmay ma” was written, he said to collect all his poems he had written before. It may seem surprising to us, but until 1898, Abai’s poetry had not been grouped and stored. Abai himself was not in the habit of collecting, storing up poems. Always, while reading a book, he would take a piece of paper and a pencil to write down a poem unexpectedly. Those sitting next to him - children, brothers, anyone really - could put this piece of paper in their pockets and leave. From that, people copied it from each other and memorised it. Some of his poems could be sung as a song accompanied by a dombra) (Auezov, 1984: 197).

In moments of inspiration, the transfigured face of the poet, his eyes and mouth reflected the hard work of thought, inner experiences:

Öleñ jazarda şıyrek tabaqtay aq qağazdı aldına alıp, qolında qarındaşı bir musağa mingen kisidey öñi qaşırqırıp, azıraq entikken kisidey, tanawı kebiñkirep, közi jasawrañqırıp, ändetip küñirenip otıradı. Sol küñirenüwdiñ arasında esiter-esitpes qılıp, kübirlenñkirep kelip, jazıp ketken soñ köp oylanıp toqtalmaydı. (Before writing a poem, he put a small white sheet of paper with a pencil in front of him, like a rider turned pale, his nostrils inhaled frequently, he gasped, eyes were watering, Abai sang with inspiration. At such moments he whispered something barely audibly, and when he started writing, he did not stop. What was written he did not correct much) (Auezov, 1984a: 222).

The memoirs of Turagul are not the only evidence that after writing down a verse, Abai did not subject it to subsequent revision, editing: “Abaydıñ ädetinde bir jazğan öleñin tüzep, jazıp, qaytadan qarastıruw maşıǵı joq. Jalǵız ğana Segiz ayaq degen öleñin basın qayta bir türli qılıp aytıp edi degen bar”. Basqa jalpı öleñderi tuwralı: “qayta jazsam, budan jaqsıraq, tolıǵıraq bolar edi, dep qana aytadı eken” (Abai was not in the habit of looking through, rewriting, rereading, or editing written poems. As some said, he subtly corrected just the beginning of “Octaves”. Generally, with regard to poems, he limited himself to intentions like: if I wrote it again, perhaps it would be fuller, better) (Auezov, 1984: 198).

Thus, the creative process of Abai, in comparison with the improvisational nature of folk verse, has undergone not so significant changes and was a kind of recorded improvisation. Separation of the composing from the performing led to the need for Abai to appeal not only to performers, but also to listeners with urgent wishes, demands directing them to the perception of songs’ deep meaning. The poet’s thoughts about an ideal listener, about correct listening, are far from accidental. Creating a thoughtful listener is an important part of his aesthetic reform.

Idea of Judicious Listening

The recommendations of the educator, addressed to the listener, called him to a demanding, critical attitude towards what he perceives. Many relatives of Abai draw attention to this quality in their memoirs:

Äkem qızıqtı, duwmandı, qönıl-qalınđı öte jaqsı köretin. Öz zamanında el awzına ilinip atağı sıqqan äñši-küyşi, önerşilderin äkeme kelip önerlerin körsetpegeni kemde-kem-aq şıǵar. Äli esimde, Qarqaralı jaqtar Mawqay deytin äñši keldi. Mawqaydı bir jıl ustap, köp sıy-sıyapatpen qaytardı. Özimizdin elden Mayekennin Muhamedjanı, Älimqannın Muqası, Aǵaşayaq, sıbızǵışı Qıyasbaylar kelgende äkem bir jasap qalatın. Balaların jıynap küy tıñdap, biy körsetetin. Tıñdap bolǵan soñ, sın aytıp, tüzetetin. (Father was very fond of fun, interesting meetings and conversations with humor and laughter. Perhaps there is not a single famous and gifted singer or kyuishi who would not perform in our village. I still remember the singer Maukai from Karkaraly. He stayed with us for a year, and we paid him honour. From our district – this is Mukhamedzhan, son of Maiken; Mukha – son of Alimkhan, Agashayak, sybyzgist Kiyasbai. When artistic people visited us, my father shone. Gathering children, he listened to kui, and the children danced. After listening to music, he made comments, corrected) (Beisembayev, 1988: 66).

Äñşilderin änin tıñdap bolǵan soñ, ol äñ tuwralı, äñši tuwralı özinin pikirin aytatın. Sondıqtan da äñşiler äkemnen ännin kemşiligin surap, tüzetip alıp otıratın. (After listening to a song, the father gave his opinion about the song and the singer. Therefore, singers, having asked the father about shortcomings of singing and song, corrected them) (Kunanbayev, 1996: 78).

Özi birewge uzaq ängime, uzaq jır närselerdi aytqızǵanda eşuwaqıtta basqa böten närselerge awmay, taza köñilmen ülken ıqlaspen tıñdaytın. Jäne ärqaşan sondaydı tıñdap bolǵan soñ, sol närsenin maǵınası men jönin uǵındırıp, sın aytatın. (Having asked to perform a zhyr or tell a story, he was never distracted during the performance, but immersed himself completely in the process of listening. And after listening he always clarified the meaning of the heard, and also expressed criticism) (Auezov, 1984: 216).

Al eski ängime, ertek aytqan adamdardı jalıqpay tıñdap arasında bir jerin teris aytsa, onı tüzetip otıratın. (He never got tired of listening to stories, ancient legends and fairy tales, while, if something was wrong, he corrected it) (Auezov, 1984: 234).

The systematisation of Abai's statements about listening to music, dispersed in verses, allows us to see in them reflections on the three main phases of the communicative process: 1) the personal qualities of the listener, his inner world (pre-communicative phase); 2) the actual listening process (communicative phase); 3) the result of the impact of music (post-communicative phase).

Each of these phases will be analysed below. We are aware of the well-known conventionality of such an analysis; in living practice, the perception of music is an integral, inextricable process. The method of phase analysis used by us allows us to more clearly outline the poet's thoughts about the flow of listening time, to reveal the commonality and differences in ideas about the impact of music that exist in folk aesthetics (poetry) and in the poet-reformer. This comparison allowed us to more deeply understand Abai's innovation. He was the first in Kazakh culture to turn to the problems of listening perception and immediately appeared as a deep and subtle psychologist who outlined in poetic form the contours of a system-analytical approach to the issue of listening.

Pre-communication Phase: Kupshilik – Tolyk Adam (Personal Qualities of the Listener)

As Abai himself believed, in his contemporary listening environment, the ideological, edifying, and educational functions of art began to weaken. This is connected with the poet's complaints about the dull listener: "Tıñdawşymdı uğımsız qılıp tññrim bergen-di" (lit., Tengri bestowed a dull listener upon me) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 117). "Tıñdağış qanşa köp bolsa, söz uğarlıq kem kisi" (But very few my words will hark...By fewer they are understood) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 132).

The concept of listening to poets was developed through the personal experience of the birth and creation of innovative art. Art, the perfection of the form and the depth of the content of which were achieved thanks to the idea of the equal unity of poetry and music, which inspired the poet. The listener, naturally, was not prepared for the perception of a new cultural phenomenon, the aesthetics of which was not based on the paradigms of popular thought. For Abai, the main goal of his whole life, and not just poetry, was educational service to the people, improving their morals. Therefore, he saw how important and difficult the task of educating his listener was.

In the poetic texts of folk songs, the personality of an individual listener is not highlighted. Quite typical is the appeal to the audience – "köpşilik" (akyns and zhyrau). It was understood, listening to the music by the majority, as a single society – "şarşı top, älewmet" (akyns and zhyrau) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 32). In other definitions, there is a tangible desire to single out a certain group of people as the chosen ones, the best among the best. Such is the appeal in the songs "qara öleñ – bağlandar" and "tıñdawşı töreşi jurt" (audience is a judge), where the listener acts not as a faceless mass, but as a creative connoisseur, the main judge of the artistry of the work (Nurlanova, 1987: 174).

The latter, possibly, serves as a prerequisite for a qualitative reassessment of the listener's status, which took place in Abai's understanding. Contrasted with the image of the multifaceted horseman of folk poetry – "segiz qırlı, bir sırly" – there is a long commentary on the psychological qualities of a creative personality in Abai.

The poet, referring not to the audience but to the individual, repeatedly emphasises the selectivity of his listener: "Tıñdawşı da az ol ännen bahra alarlıq" (lit., few can understand this song), asserts the unusualness of such a listener: "Şıqqasa mıñnan birew talğap-talğap" (Where in a thousand hardly one is honest?), "Bul sözdi tasır uqpas, talaptı uğar, Köñiliniñ közi aşıq, sergegi üşin" (Men who have vision and are quick to give response will understand the message in my verse), "Mıñ nadan, bir estı, işki sırın añğarsın" (lit., not to thousands of ignoramuses, but to one conscious, understanding, the hidden meaning is intended).

Abai insists that creative perception is the unity of thought and feeling, which is characteristic of a perfect person ("toliq adam") (Myrzakhmetov, 1982: 196), whose heart (jürek) and mind (aqıl) are in harmony. And each of them – "jürek" and "aqıl" – dominates in its own sphere. The area of feelings is "sezimpaz köñil", kökiregi sezimdi are the functions of the heart (jürek), chest (kökirek, kewde),

soul (köñil). The area of the rational (teren oy – deep thought) is the functions of the mind, consciousness, brain (aql, es, mıy). And only their unity allows one to comprehend the deep mystery (sır) of the verse.

Thus, Abai asserts a different, new view of art. His thoughts are directed to the thinking, judicious:

Qulağın oyılı er salsın.
Salsın qulaq uqqandar.

Let the thinker listen.

Let listen those who understand (Abai).

Sensual perception is inconceivable without rational comprehension. Not only intuition, but analysis, their unity, emphasised by the phrase of Abai: “Jürek terbep, oyatar basta mıydı” (Touching the soul, provoking new thought...) is the basis of a full-blooded harmonious perception of the poem, understanding its musical and poetic content. This unity is the whole essence of Abai the thinker, who exalts a thinking listener, a person who realises deep, meaningful art: “Oysız qulaq ala almas onday sıydı” (But by men hard of hearing it cannot be caught). *A sensed thought or a meaningful feeling* – this is how one can characterise the balance of two principles in Abai’s aesthetics. The central figure in the “idea of judicious listening” is a reflecting, thinking person who possesses a special ability to listen. Musical perception as a spiritually rational work underlies the idea of judicious listening put forward by the poet.

Communicative Phase: Oyılı qulaq (Ear of Intellect)

Having a special mood “qulaq” (ear) is one of the key concepts of Abai’s aesthetics: “Köñilsiz qulaq, oyğa olaq” (So deaf are their ears, so dull is their brain!) (Segiz ayaq). It reveals continuity by folk views.

In folk aesthetics, various states of the ear are recorded: at times, it is submerged listening – “qulaq salu” (literally, attach the ear) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 200); at other times, it is the purpose of a poem that aims to find a way to it – “öleñniñ qulaqqa baruwı” (Literally, poem’s path to the ear) (Erzakovich, 1994: 223), and there are times when phrases with the word “qulaq” contain calls for listeners to turn to the source of the sound: “köpşilik qulağındı beri salğın” (lit., many, take it with your ear) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 193). An invitation to a hearing emphasises the importance of the moment, creates a kind of framework between everyday life and the act of artistic communication.

The orality of culture predetermined the formation of such a listener “quyma qulaq” (capacious, receptive ear; literally, an ear that can be poured into) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 187), whose ability to quickly assimilate and memorise, the ability to instantly and accurately reproduce what was just heard, created favourable conditions for the transmission and preservation of the spiritual heritage orally.

“Qulaq” is not just an organ of hearing, but of listening to music (qulaq qurşı) (Erzakovich, 1994: 219; Orazaqyn, 1989: 76; Sandybaiuly, 1989: 16), which being delighted can make one saturate one’s soul with spiritual food (jan azığı) (Orazaqyn, 1989: 22).

Following the previous aesthetic experience, Abai recognises a role of the ear (hearing) in the perception of artistic information: “qulaqtan kirip; qulaq saluw” (Kunanbayev, 1957: 119-265). Expanding the framework of folk ideas, he notes the special qualities of a true listener, his intelligibility, a consciously analytical attitude to the sound: “Qur ayğay baqırğan qulaqqa än be eken?” (lit., Is an empty cry a song?) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 215).

“Qulaq”, as an organ of hearing in conjunction with other sensory organs that send impulses to the brain, helps in cognition and understanding of the external world: “Közben körüp, qulaqpen estip, qolmen ustap, tilmen tatıp, murınmen iyiskep tıstağı dünyeden habar aladı” (lit., listening with ears, touching with hands, tasting with the tongue, smelling with the nose, the world is cognised) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 216). Among other sensory organs, the “ear” is singled out as a sensitive analyser of musical sounds: “Qulaq bolmasa ne qanğır, ne küñgir, dawıs, jaqsı ün, küy, än-eşbirinen läzzat ala almas edik” (lit., the ear helps to get a true pleasure from voice, beautiful sound, kyui) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 182). Due to the subtlety of auditory sensations, a person has an opportunity to receive pleasure from sweet and deep, perfect music.

In Abai’s poetry, there are phrases that capture the varying degrees of attention and the strength of the sound absorbed by the ear: “Qulağınan ötedi, Qur ayğay salğan sänderi” (pierces ear with an empty ostentatious cry) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 132), “oylap-oylap qulaqqa il” (think and listen) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 45), “ıqlastı qulağıñdı qoy” (listen carefully, with concentration) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 196), listening is so concentrated that it can perceive rustles and whispers of the past: “esitkendey boladı qulağım eski sıbdırdı” (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219).

A special mood of the ear – “qulağıñıñ köñili” – develops into a higher quality – “oylı qulaq” (rational perception; literally, thinking ear), possessing which, it is easy to discern where is a good song, and where is the one that cuts the ear – “qulağın keser” (literally cuts the ear), allowing separation of the fully-fledged listener from the failed one. Calling the latter “boyküyez” (not attentive, lazy) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 86), Abai emphasises that he does not include the will of his heart and mind in the process of perception: “jüregiñmen tıñdamay, qulağıñmen qarmarsıñ” (not listening with heart, but simply catches with ears while listening, without delving into it).

Abai’s statements are summed up by the idea of deliberate listening directed to the mind: “Jaqsı äñdi tıñdasañ oy köziñmen” (literally, listen to a good song with eyes of the mind); “Sol jerine oyınmen aralasşı” (Yet poignant the sadness that weighs on each ending) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202).

Music was one of the highest values of traditional Kazakh society. Love for epic legends, kyuis, and songs, a reverent attitude to sound, and, as a result, a high culture of listening to music were noted by all outside observers. The fact that the value of listening was realised by society is evidenced by texts of folklore songs, which record the utmost concentration at the moment of listening – “ıqlaspen tıñdaw” (Erzakovich, 1994: 207), “köñil qoyıp tıñdaw” (listen attentively) (Erzakovich, 1994: 207), “üyip tıñdaw” (listen carefully). These texts captured the listener immersed in the music so much that his body froze in immobility. The

passionate intensity of feelings observed in the aitys – “qızbaydı köp ortası aqın kelmey” (literally, the atmosphere in the audience does not heat up until the akyn appears) – inspired by complete support and approval of people – we find such descriptions in texts of qara öleñ: “Köpşilik qolqalap tur ayta ber dep; Jurtşılıq ortağa alıp qolqalasa, Mindetim öleñ aytuw” (lit., if the people around me support and insist, my duty is to sing) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 47; Orazaqyn, 1989: 38). All of this is evidence of collective co-creation that has developed in the atmosphere of traditional music-making (Nurlanova, 1987: 174).

Abai's descriptions of the individual-personal feelings of the listener are far from the nature of collective, mass listening, described in folk poetry. Abai shares his auditory experience in the poems “Qulaqtan kirip, boydı alar”, “Dombırağa qol soqpa”, “Qöñil qusu”, and “Özgege köñilim toyarsıñ”.

For a poet, contact with music is such a complete immersion in its spiritual and artistic being that for one “immersed in music” the material world recedes and even ceases to exist altogether: “Düniye oydan şığadı” (I forget my cares, I forget the world) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219). The soul is absorbed in the process of listening: “Qulaqtan kirip, boydı alar, jaqsı äñ men tätti küy” (literally, a good song and a sweet-voiced kyui flow into and absorb all being) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219); sounds awaken the innermost thoughts about the past: “Eski ömirdi tırgizer” (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219); “Tiriltip ötken kurğırđı” (The dreams and memories of the past, Come to life before my eye) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219), “İşip tereñ boylaymın, ötken künniñ uwların” (All that I went through comes back again, Half-forgotten trouble and care revives) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219) “Qayğılı köñlim qaydağı, burıñğımdı jañğırtar” (Do not remind me of the past, Do not call forth its blinding tears) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 249); fantasy awakens: “Joqtı bar ğıp jürgizer” (All seems to be well at last) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219), “Adam oyı türlenip awğan şaqta” (When a man is sunk deep in reflection) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202); music affects all 62 blood vessels: “bar tamırdı quwalar” (To call an echo they are bound) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 221); (Kunanbayev, 1957: 221); becoming a part of the poet himself: “Düniye oydan şığadı, özimdi-özim umıtp. Köñilim ändi uğadı, jüregim boydı jılıtp” (I forget my cares, I forget the world when the sounds of a lilting song I hear) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219). Immersion in sound matter excites the heart, excites thought and emotional experiences: “Uyıqtap jatqan jürekti äñ oyatar, ünñiñ tätti oralğan mäni oyatar” (A song awakens the deep-sleeping heart, Soothing the soul with sweet music heard) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202); “Jürek terbe, oyatar bastap mıydı” (Touching the soul, provoking new thought...) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202).

Jürek (Heart)

Jürek (heart) is one of the essential facets of a poet-lyricist's spiritual world. It is impossible to imagine “tolıq adam” (perfect person) of Abai, possessing aql (mind), “kayrat” (energy of will), but deprived of jürek (heart). The heart is one of the first organs that receive musical and artistic information and its sensory analyser, hence its qualitative components are so important: “ıntalı” (aspiring), “jılı” (warm), “ıstıq” (hot), “ayna” (clean as a mirror). The owner of such a heart

can be considered a true listener: Orıssa, “vpechatlitel’nost serdtsa” deydi, yaǵnıy jürekti kirletpey taza saqtasa, sonda sırttan işke barǵan är nârseniñ süwreti jürektiñ aynasına anıq räwşan bolıp tüsedi (...called “sensibility of the heart”. Should you manage to keep your heart from four vices: conceit, cupidity, frivolity, and carelessness, the impressions that you receive of this world will be clearly reflected in the mirror-like chastity of your heart) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 217).

Hearing with the heart presupposes empathy: “öz jüregim tolǵansın” (excites one’s own heart) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 119), the will of the heart inspires the mind: “Jürekte qayrat bolmasa, uyıqtaǵan oydı kim türtppek” (If there is no will in the heart, then who will awaken a sleeping thought) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 224). The different power of music influence is connected both with the inner state of the listener and with the degree of closeness of a poem to his aesthetic ideal. A poem can awaken the heart: “Uyıqtap jatqan jürekti än oyatar” (literally, a poem will awaken a sleeping heart) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202), bring into motion: “jılı jürek qayda bar qozǵalarlıq” (the energy of the heart brings into motion spiritual impulses) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202), to make it tremble – jürek terbep (literally, lulls the heart) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202), and even make the heart beat violently – “Jüregim soqpa, kel toqta” (Oh, my heart, stop, don’t beat like that) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 249). The manifestation of harmonious perception is associated with the effect of a poem on the rational and emotional impulses of the soul: “jürek terbep, oyatar basta mıydı” (lull the heart, awaken the thought) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202), which often induces tears of purification: “Jüregim, soqpa, kel, toqta, jas keler közge jür-jürlep” (Do not beat, my heart, stop, tears will spill out in a stream) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 249). These tears are a catharsis, purification of the soul, and this is the highest moment of listening.

Norms of Performing Aesthetics – Bilip än saluw (Meaningful Singing)

“Adam az onı bilip än salarlıq” (there are very few of those who sing with knowledge), exclaimed Abai. Understanding the purpose of the art “önerdiñ jayı” allows one to perform the poem with knowledge of the matter – “bilip än saluw”, such a performance does not contradict Abai’s concept of art: “Qur ayǵaymen äwre bop, önerdiñ jayın basa uqpay” (Agonising empty cry because of non-understanding of art’s purpose).

One of the memoirs, recorded by M. Auezov, testifies to the exactness of Abai, the listener, the presence of his own criteria for performance: “Abaydıñ aytuwınşa, Birjan aqın emes äñşi edi. Al äñşiliginiñ ereşeligi, dawsı öte zor edi. Qıstawda otırıp salǵan äni Tizesuwda estiletin (bul eki ara qozı keş jer)” (According to Abai, Birzhan was not an akyn (poet), but a singer. The peculiarity of his singing was in the strength of his voice. A song that was performed at the wintering was reaching the town of Tisesu) (Auezov, 1984: 231).

The poet’s musical and poetic school introduced norms of the new aesthetics of performance into the performing environment, and Abai’s successors were rightfully the true propagandists of the new poem style:

Bertinde Äset, Muqanı ustap, balalarına da än saluw, dombıra tartuwdı, skripka tartuwdı üyrettingen. Muqa Abai ölgenşe qasınan ketpeytin joldası,

ənşi, dombraşısı bolğan. Abai änderiniñ köpke tarap, alğaşqı erekşelik qalıptarın köp özgertpey saqtap qaluwına osı öz qasında än salıp, dombra tartuwsılardıñ köp bolğandığı sebep boladı. (After that, Aset and Mukan were his guests and taught his children to sing, play the dombra and violin. Until his last days, Mukan was an inseparable friend of Abai, his singer and dombrist. The reason for Abai's poems to get around, popularise among the people, and at the same time not be exposed to significant changes was that there were always many singers and dombrists nearby) (Auezov, 1984: 231-232).

The moment of “transfer” of the composition took place as follows: “...öleñine qosılğan ändi özi dombırağa tartıp, ün qosıp birer aytıp bergen soñ, mañayındağı jigitter qağıp alıp ketedi” (Initially, he sang accompanied by the dombra, then his listeners memorised the poem right away) (Auezov, 1984: 231).

Emphasising the novelty of Abai's poems, M. Auezov notes: “qulaq küyge uqsağan qoñır bayaw änder” (similar to kyui calm, soft in timbre poems) (Auezov, 1984: 200-201). Apparently, a specific staging of the singers' voices who surrounded the poet is associated with a new performing style: “Än dawıs sıyaqtını Äygerimge Abaydıñ özi de üyretken eken. Täñirberdiniñ Maqulbay degen balası ölgende, Äygerim Abai üyretip bergen dawıstı aytıp jüripti” (As for the song, Abai taught this to Aigerim himself. And when Makulbay, Tanirbergen's son, passed away, Aigerim keening lamented him with a voice that she learned from Abai) (Auezov, 1984: 231). The depth, the mystery of a poem is difficult to comprehending and unreachable by everyone: “Än salar, jatqa alar, Tübinde qur qalar” (lit., He will sing the song, memorise, but will not understand the deep essence) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 221). Therefore, the main purpose of the performer is in his ability to comprehend its meaning:

Munı oqısa kim tanıp,
Jüregine ot janıp.
Sözdi uğarlıq jan tapsa,
Aytsa jarar än salıp (Kunanbayev, 1957: 206).

The one who reads,
And understands the true meaning of words,
Whose heart will ignite,
Only he would sing the song for real (literally).

Abai harshly criticises art that is sold as a commodity and, addressing its “creators”, who, out of a desire to please the public, replicate low-quality works exclaims:

Öleñi bar önerli inim sizge,
Jalınamın munday söz aytpa bizge.
Esil öner qor bolıp keter tüzge,
Sänqoy, dañgoy, oynassı, kerim-kerbez,
Qanşa qızıq boladı öziñizge (Kunanbayev, 1957: 96).

My brother songsters, listen I implore,
Do not be tempted in your poems ever more,
By empty words you will yourselves deplore.
You will dissipate your talent, never to restore,

And tell me, are not you already bored,
With braggarts, woman chasers, and their lore?

Constant self-control in the performance process will allow the avoidance of artistically unjustified means: “Kerim tolğap tawısar qoñır-küñgir, Sol jerine oynımen aralassı?” (They capture the heart elating the soul, Yet poignant the sadness that weighs on each ending) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202).

Such close attention to the performance of a poem, such a developed system of requirements for the performer, suggests that Abai realised that he needed a new type of performer – not an improviser, but an interpreter. And, perhaps, he realised what a deep tectonic shift in the system of musical culture he had caused.

The structure of the oral-professional musical culture of Kazakhs was dual: zhyrau-listener, anshi-listener, kyushi-listener, in the activities of zhyrau, sal/sere, anshi and kyushi, the composer and performer were merged into one person, and the existence of a particular piece of music is a succession of numerous improvisations on the invariant. With the poet’s efforts, this system began to turn into a trial system: the composer-performer-listener, in which improvisational changes in the invariant at the level of pitch-rhythmic are unacceptable, and thus, the performer’s freedom is limited by boundaries of the first realised phenomenon – the musical text.

Thus, Abai’s reform not only created a new poem style, and changed the poetic and musical language of a poem, but also made the first steps towards the destruction of the traditional syncretism of the composer and the performer, founding the future transformation of the oral-professional music of Kazakhs.

Post-Communicative Phase: Impact of Exposure to Music

This phase is described by Abai in the spirit of continuity with folk-aesthetic ideas:

1. Music “opens the soul” – “köñil aşar”, which introduces the listener to a state of uplifting, inspiration;
2. The enjoyment of music is associated with body relaxation, softening, dissolution: “balquw”, “erüw”, “eljirew”, in modern terms, a state of complete relaxation, which is practiced in various religious systems as a necessary condition on the path of spiritual improvement;
3. The consequence of the first two states – uplifting and relaxation – is the uplifting, purifying, healing effect of music on the human soul, catharsis.

In the poem “Özgege köñilim toyarsın” Abai describes his feelings, generated by music, exactly like this: the dormant spiritual forces awaken – “qara köñilim oyansın”; soar, kindling a flame in the chest – “äwelesin, qalısın, ot-jalın bop şalqısın”; uplift the soul – “köñiliñ köteriler”. Such descriptions testify to the significance of the category “köñil” in the co-creation of the performer and the listener.

Köñil aşar

In folk poetry, especially in the genre “qara öleñ köñil”, it is understood as a kind of substance of a person’s inner world, sensitively reacting to various manifestations of the external world and creating a special spiritual and mental mood. “Köñil” is closely related to communication, in which the main thing is to find the key to the interlocutor’s soul, to accommodate so that the communication is mutually favourable: “köñilin awlaw, köñilin tabuw”. Such a psychological attitude was a consequence of the Kazakh’s conscious attitude to his guest situation in this world (“Qarasam bul dünüye şolaq eken, adamdar bir-birine qonaq eken – qara öleñ”).

As part of musical communication, köñil is the addressee for directed influence of music. It is generally accepted that music is performed for “köñil”: “keteyin öleñ aytıp köñil üşin” (I will sing a song for köñil) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 696). They refer to köñil as a kind of spiritualised beginning that requires a reverent attitude, otherwise “köñil qaladı” (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 104; Orazaqyn, 1989: 41) or “köñil qaytadı” (“köñil” will be disappointed, lit. “köñil” will die) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 149, 178). Popular understanding of art’s purpose, recorded in the phrase “köñil köteruw” (entertainment) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 134, No. 46-703), is intended to emphasise the initial height and significance of spiritual communication for the inner world of a person. In turn, “köteriñki köñil” (joyful mood) (Sandybayuly, 1989: 36) ideally defines the ultimate goal of the musician-performer.

Music, which revives feelings and emotions, is, according to Kazakhs, a panacea for stagnation and even pollution of the soul: “köñil kiri”, “köñil şeri” (Orazaqyn, 1989: 43, No. 164). It dissipates the accumulation of negative emotions: “köñil şerin tarqatuw” (dispel sorrow), awakens the soul, the soul soars like a bird: “köñil uşıruw” (soul flies) (Orazaqyn, 1989: 44, No. 174), “qustay aspandağan köñil” (soul, hovering like a bird), “köñil qalqıtuw” (soul hovers). The result of musical communication should be considered the achievement of complete “disclosure” of “köñil” (openness of the soul), which is a true pleasure for a person: köñil aşuw (Erzakovich, 1994: 227; Seydimbekov, 1989: 194, No. 58-687). Thus, the inspiring potential of an oeuvre is contained in the power that can bring a person into a state of being beyond beingness: “köteriñki köñil” (joy), luminosity and joyful, spiritual acceptance of the environment: “köñil jadıraw” (elevation of feelings) “köñil jarqın” (literally, soul is enlightened) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 201, No. 67-650). It is not accidentally said: “Än-küy köñil azıǵı” (Song and kyui are spiritual food) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 161, No. 290), “dombra köñil tazartqısı” (dombra purifies soul), which testifies to understanding music as an inexhaustible source of spirituality.

Abai associates “köñil” with superlative degrees of admiration for music, which are expressed through images of elevation: “Jabırqağan köñiliñ köteriler” (drooping soul will rise again), growth: “Aqıldınıñ sözindey oyly küydi, Tıñdaǵanda köñildiñ öseri bar (when listening to thoughtful kyui as a wise word, soul rises), Köñil qusı quyqılır şartarapqa, Salǵan än kölenkesi sol köñildiñ (Soul will soar like a bird. The song is the shadow of soul’s state)”.

Specific for Abai is the combination of “köñil” with the concepts “oy, uğuw” (thought, understanding). “Köñil oyaw” – awakening of feelings – is a special mental and spiritual mood of the listener, which manifests itself in the phrases “uğar köñil” (literally, understanding soul) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 87), “köñilge oy saluw” (literally, putting thoughts into soul), and “köñiliniñ közi aşıq” (literally, an enlightened, educated soul) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 96). These phrases, sounding so unusual for Kazakh folk poetry, are intended to denote not just a sensual perception of music, but an evaluative understanding of what is sounding, explained by the line: “Köñilim ändi uğadı” (My soul understands the song) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 219) – this is what makes Abai’s concept of “meaningful listening” deeply individual, innovative, and holistic. Only music that corresponds to “esti än”, exciting thought “oylı küy”, is able to multiply the spiritual in a person: “oylı küydi tınğağanda köñildiñ öseri bar” (listening to a “mindful” kyu awakens positive emotions) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 202). It is not by chance that at difficult moments, looking for calmness, restoration of peace in mind, Shakarim played Korkyt’s kyui. As he himself wrote in the poem “Qorqıttıñ sarını”, “Zarlasam köñlim tınadı” (as I sing a sorrowful melody, my soul calms down).

The State of Ecstasy: “läzzat” (pleasure), “balquw, erüw” (softening, dissolving)

Folk aesthetics considers one of a performer’s goals to be pleasing the listener’s soul, which is associated with the expressions “köñilge jağuw, qulaq qurışın qandruw” (pleasure from listening) (Sandybayuly, 1989: 26). The state of spiritual harmony, mental and physical relaxation after listening, corresponds to metaphors of melting, dissolving, and a softened state: “mayday balquw” (literally, melt like butter) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 264; Sandybayuly, 1989: 34), “erüw” (to melt), “jannıñ eljirewi” (softened state of soul). In ancient times, the ability of music to induce such states was associated with Tengrian ideas about the opening of 62 tamyr of the body – blood vessels, energy channels – of humans or animals, which was practiced in the healing practice of shamans. So, the ethnographer A. Toleubaev writes about the use of such a method for facilitating difficult childbirth, when the “baksy” (shaman) Berikbol, sitting in front of a woman in labour, continuously played saryns on kobyzy. This would make 22,000 tamyr of the woman become weak (1991: 57).

The idea of the benevolent influence of music, contributing to softness of temper, found wide embodiment in legends.

For Abai, the state of mental openness, acceptance of the surrounding world as a result of the beneficial effects of music spreading over the body: “Bar tamırdı quwalar” (Will pour through all the veins) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 221), “Şımırլap boyğa jayılğan” (literally, It spreads over the body, thickening it) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 88), is also inherent in the sensation of dissolution: “Janıñ erip, Jabırqağan köñiliñ köteriler” (soul will rejoice in melting) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 20), “Jel soqpay, qus şuwlamay bəri jım-jırt. Änge köñil jiberip turdı eljirep” (And the wind did not blow, birds did not rustle, everything fell silent, listening and melting from the song) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 165).

Mental Purification, Healing Power of Music

Another manifestation of the influence of music was the immersion of a person in a state of grief, sadness, bitterness (*muñ-zar*), causing tears of spiritual purification: “Jılasın, közden jas aqsın” (Let them cry, let the tears shed) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 119), “Jas keler közge jür-jürlep” (continuous stream of tears) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 249), “Kökirek tolğan qayğı, kisiniñ özine de biyletpeydi, boydı şımırlatıp, buwındı qurıtıp, ya közden jas bolıp aǵadı, ya tilden söz bolıp aǵadı” (mourning of soul, out of one’s power, will be shed with tears and verses, occupying whole being) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 162).

A belief in the purifying power of music was based on the idea of its divine origin. Sufi scholars of the medieval Muslim Renaissance sought to prove that the Qur’anic ban on the performance of music was not categorical. Justifying listening to music, Ibn Sina wrote: “Music is based on achieving the most perfect in order to delight person’s soul” (Zhumaev, 1992: 19). Therefore, “... refined natures and even the pious, who are allowed to listen to her”, did not do without listening. For this, the tunes must be “ordered and organised, because the soul more readily perceives order” (Zhumaev, 1992: 19).

Abai’s demand for rational understanding of artistic activity and result, supported by the concept of “*esti än, oyılı küy*”, is close to the ideas of Sufi theoreticians of the Central Asian Middle Ages.

Sufis of the tenth century considered music to be a source of energy, which subjects “the spirit of the heart to various psycho-emotional metamorphoses” (Nazarov, 1992: 50). Among them, the state of “*läzzat*” is mentioned (Nazarov, 1992: 50). Abai interprets “*läzzat*” as pleasure, which consists in searching for and a feeling of absolute, divine truth: “Sensiñ – jan läzzatı, sensiñ – tән şarbatı, sulıwdı süymeklik. Payǵambar sündeti” (To my heart you are the joy, to my body you are the sweet, the highest delight of the Creator, the light of his kindness) (“*Közimniñ qarası*”, translated by A. Kodar) (Kunanbayev, 1996: 77).

“...Oyın-külki tügil, dünyedegi бүkil läzzat bularǵa ekinşi mäртеbede qalıp, bir ǵana Haqtı tappaq, әrbir nәrseniñ sebebin tappaqpenen läzzattanadı” (all the beauties of this world are incomparable with pleasure of search for Truth, the cause for everything and everyone, only its search gives delight) (Kunanbayev, 1957: 204). These ideas of Abai are akin to ideas of the ethos of music set forth in the “Canon of Medicine” by Abu Ali Ibn Sina. The performance of *makoms*, intended for certain diseases, was considered both as gymnastics, affecting the body, and at the same time as musical therapy for the soul (Vyzgo, 1981: 197-199).

Ibn Sina’s aesthetic treatises on the power of music can be considered a continuation of his medical practice. Like Dervish Ali, who, according to legend, healed by playing the *chang*, so Ibn Sina’s prescribed music as a treatment for dryness and fever (Rashidova, 1992: 55). The healing effect of chants was understood as purification by music, as, according to Dervish Ali Changi and Kavkabi, only one who has attained spiritual purity can comprehend it (Rashidova, 1992: 63). In Kazakh traditional medicine, the forerunners of such a practice are healers-baksy (see the kui legend “*Nar iydirgen*”). In the depths of folk medicine, belief in

the purifying power of music was added to the fear of word's magic. Folk legends have exhibited the consoling (jubatuw), conquering death, saving, healing power of music (legends of the kyuis "Äwppay", "Qorqıt"). In the folklore of the peoples of Central Asia, there are various modifications of legends about the arrival of a musician to a person who lost his only son, a loved one, or a beloved horse, in order to console him with the power of music ("Erden", "Han jubatuw", "Aqsaq qulan", Iranian legend about Borbad, the legend of the kyui "Qosbasar" by Tattimbet). But these are not just beautiful legends, but rather a widespread custom (for example, there is evidence of how musicians told Sultan Chingiz Valikhanov about the death of his son Shokan).

Poetically expressed ideas about the psycho-therapeutic effect of music are found in songs of different genres: in the tradition of zhyrau – "İştij şerin tarqatuw" (to dispel inner sorrow) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 325), sözi em (the word heals) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 22); in qara öleñ: "aydaydı qasiret-muñdı iştigi uwday" (expels the poison of inner worries) (Seydimbekov, 1989: 185), "köñil şerin tarqatuw" (dispels negative accumulations, grief of soul); the sala and seri sing about music that can abate grief, dispel melancholy, drive away the poison of grief and sorrow: "dertim keter" (pain will be relieved), "qayğın kemir" (will reduce worries) (Koramsauly, 1988: 38; Sandybayuly, 1989: 24), "tarqaydı iştij şeri" (will dissipate inner worries). A belief in the life-giving inspiring power of word and its healing properties penetrates into love-lyric poems: "söziñ dertke därmen" (will heal pain) (Erzakovich, 1994: 196), in the poetry of akyns: "sözderi sıypa sıraqawğa" (words are medicine for disease) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 459), "jaqsıñın sözi em bolar" (a good word can be a treatment) (Bes gasyr zhyrlajdy, 1989: 113). Abai writes about the healing power of word in the poem "Bilimdiden sıqqan söz":

Jaqsığa aytsañ janı erip,
Uğar köñil şın berip,
Dertti işine em körip,
Nege altındı desin jez.

Your songs, O bard, save for the few,
Possessed of heart and feeling true.
By their unerring instinct led,
They will distinguish gold from lead.

Music flows into soul, fills it, absorbing pain, dispelling sorrow, heals mental wounds:

İştigi dertim qozğalsın.
İştigi dertti joyarsın.
Qara köñlim oyansın,
Jılasın közden jas aqsın,
Omırawım boyalsın (Kunanbayev, 1957: 199).

Set the wounds in motion,
May they heal,
And the grieving soul will wake up.
Let the tears flow,
And the soul will be cleansed (literally, washed).

The power of catharsis is not only possessed by an oeuvre, it is possessed by a moment of inspiration:

Kirlemegen jürek öz işin,
Tura almas äste juwınbay.
Sonda aqın belin buwınıp,
Aldı-artına qaranar.
Düniye kirip juwınıp,
Körinip oyğa söz salar (Kunanbayev, 1957: 204).

Sings away unrestrained,
As a swift mountain stream,
And in childlike delight,
Greets the wonder of day,
With a torrent of sound,
With a rich interplay.

Conclusion

Thus, turning to Abai's poetry and prose as a source of music philosophy, we discovered a lot of new and valuable things. The philosophy of Abai's music, new to culture, gives a complete picture of the new poem model. This is reflected in the new for culture categories "oylı küi" (meaningful, wise kui), "sır-sımbat" (secret, hidden, undetected essence and orderliness, proportionality of external forms). Statement of idea about poem properties as an artistic phenomenon, in which beauty, skill, virtuosity, perfection of forms and thoroughness, depth are commensurate, determined treatment of a poem as an eternal, wise, inescapable secret. Qualities of the national sound ideal are continued in discussions about specifics of the creative process.

Analysed poetic and narrative sources clearly reflect a process of maturation of artistic conception, which occurs gradually. Poem writing is preceded by a huge, intense internal work, although outwardly, for others, it looks like a moment of inspiration, a momentary improvisation.

Descriptions of the poet's own listening and the qualities of a true listener characterised by him affirm the ideal listener-analyst who knows how to "listen reasonably". The attractive force of poetically stated "theory of listening" lies in the idea of "a thinking ear", where the balance of sensory-psychological and rational factors ensure the integrity and completeness of musical perception.

The coincidence of Abai's musical and aesthetic views with the traditional ones is found in the recognition of the magical, purifying, healing power of music. The state of openness ("köñil ašar"), merging with the world as a result of listening is conditioned by the traditional philosophy of life, where a conscious attitude of a person to his guest situation on earth is primordial.

The new philosophy of Abai's music became the ideological platform of his work, predetermining the novelty and even the radicalism of the poetry reform. This philosophy gave birth to a new poetry model in culture, predetermining also a completely new style of its performance and listening. The poet's music philosophy resulted in such convincing musical creations that they formed an independent direction for Kazakh poetry.

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CHAPTER – XIV

IMAGE OF THE WOMAN AND MOTHER IN ABAI'S WORKS

Raikhana DOSZHAN

This article analyses image of the woman, mother and wife, who have a special place in the rich heritage of the great Kazakh poet, thinker, philosopher, and educator Abai Kunanbaiuly. The great mother Zere, who took good care of Abai as a child; his mother Ulzhan, from whom Abai's ingenuity and eloquence in his words were inherited; and Aigerim, who later spread the song heritage of Abai across the land – these are the historical figures who influenced the life of the poet. The image of a woman in the works of poets of pre-Abai epochs is shown. Also considered are historical and social situations, literary heritage on the topic of women in the ancient world, the social status of the woman-mother-wife in different periods, etc. The image of a woman in Abai's works, the poet's skill in creating the image of a woman, the artistic features of the poems, and the impressive chants of the image of the mother are described in depth. The poet analyses the diversity of themes of the poems, the inner and outer layers of female beauty, the beauty of body and soul, and the manifestation of deep feelings like the struggle of feelings of love, the pain of a girl in love, inner sorrows, and secrets, etc. with evidence.

Well-known scientist, one of the giants and unique in the field of Abai studies, Kazhym Zhumaliev, once said about Abai Kunanbaiuly:

One of the main issues that needs to be addressed when talking about the realistic aspects of Abai's works is the poet's attitude to women. This view of Abai was combined with the aspirations of the leading Kazakhs of that time, the aspirations of the whole nation, ... the moral outlook of the world. In this regard, we can fully say that Abai was the first Kazakh poet to defend the freedom of women (Abai Studies, 2015: 156).

In general, there is almost nothing that Abai did not say, did not see, that was out of Abai's sight. That is, the theme of Abai's works covered all spheres of life, even the most insignificant. One of them is the topic of women. Abai could not ignore the problem that has been going on for centuries regarding the place of women in society.

The female soul is a deep and mysterious topic. Is it possible to fully understand it? Of course not! There is no doubt that women's philosophy is a deep world too. In fact, it should not be forgotten that the prestige of any nation and its political weight in the eyes of the global community is also recognised by the role of women in that society. Abai was well aware that the role of women, especially of mothers, in society was not what it should have been. Therefore, he took this issue from a realistic point of view. A person who paid attention to Abai for a moment, under the works of his poems on motherhood and love, would understand that there is the saying: "Do not despise the women, respect them!" This, of course, was a great revolution for Abai's time. It was almost a surprise to everyone around him. "My life has been a struggle, a thousand goes I braved!" That's probably why he was sorrowful.

Such an image of a woman in the Kazakh written literature had not existed before Abai Kunanbaiuly. Abai showed a new example of eulogising on the theme of motherhood. Scholars of Abai studies often say that Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly, in comparison with his contemporaries, not only understood the situation of women in general, but also eulogised it boldly and raised it to the heights of Kazakh poetry. When the genius Mukhtar Auezov came to the topic of Abai's motherhood, he described the heights that Abai conquered as follows:

... For the first time in the history of Kazakh literature, a new point of view about the family, parents, upbringing of the younger generation, especially women, is expressed with such clarity and moral depth.

The tragic, unhappy situation of Eastern women, described in folk poems and folk songs, takes on a new meaning in Abai's work. In his poetry, Abai shows the soul and heart of a woman, which is rarely mentioned in previous poems and songs. Abai shows how touching, pure, and deep the love of a woman is, that they are persistent and strong in the struggle for the happiness they have achieved with difficulty. Abai extols Kazakh women and mothers as the backbone of the family, and praises their selflessness, wisdom, commitment to sincere friendship, and the integrity of their faithful and wonderful soul. Wholeheartedly opposing bride price, polygyny, and the detention of a woman in slavery, the poet fights for women's equal rights in society in his poems (Auezov, 2008: 106).

Who knows the place of women in other societies? But the place of the mother is different for Kazakhs. They always gave their mother a special place in the family and showed great respect and attention. A mother is not only a woman, but also the nucleus of the family, and the warmth of the home. Such proverbs as: "Mother shakes the cradle with one hand and the world with the other", "A woman did not come from nowhere, she is also a man's child, neither did a man, a woman is his mother", "Pink flowers are the beauty of the earth, a noble woman is the beauty of a man", and "Even if you take your mother to Mecca three times, you will not be able to get out of her debt" are proof of what we have said.

In the same way, the Kazakh people highly value girls, believing that “a girl is destined to another family”, and raise the girl under protection against all kinds of dangers. They loved girls more than boys and tried not to disappoint them in any way. From such concepts as “a girl is the breadth”, “she is the beauty of the nation when a girl grows up...”, “the fortune is on the girl’s brow (mood)” it is possible to see how high the respect for a girl, a woman, is, and a mother is in the Kazakh sense.

We can find the special attitude of our people to women in the versions of oral literature – epic, lyric-epic songs, legends, and fairy tales. The images of woman in such ancient inscriptions as “Kultegin”, “Bilge Kagan” in the Orkhon Monuments, and in the epic of “Oguz Kagan” are always respected. The same can be said about the heroes of epic poems – Alpamys’s Gulbarshin, Er Targyn’s Kurtka, Kara Kipchak Kobylandy batyr’s Akzhunis, Kambar batyr’s wife Nazym. These beauties were not only the beloved spouses of the heroic sons of the country, but also their reliable companions and mentors.

All great characters, like heroes and masters of various arts, conquerors, khans, kings, who are firmly rooted in the minds of the people, depend on women. A woman would always give a hand in times of trouble or at critical moments. Women also often help some to rise to the rank of national heroes, or to survive, or to be released from prison. Kurtka’s ingenuity is also needed for Kobylandy to find the land of Alshagyr and win. Similarly, when the Kalmyk khan Karaman invaded the Nogai land and oppressed them, Kambar helped them fight back the truth is, it was thanks to Nazym.

Isn’t the wisdom of Kenzhekey, the bride of Er Tostik, enough for us? Speaking of wisdom, the background of the legends about Tole Biy’s daughter-in-law Danagul is also sure to be very thought-provoking. And there are many others: the famous Zhirenshe Sheshen survived the harsh criticism of the khan Zhanibek with the help of his beloved wife, mentor Karashash. Wouldn’t Zhanibek Khan, who recognised the greatness of Karashash, finally come and give in to her?!

There are also myths about the Saka queens Tumar and Zarina, and Kunsulu who fought the enemy at the age of 12, and at the age of 14 commanded a thousand men.

Similarly, wouldn’t the characters of ancient epics, legends, and fairy tales, as we mentioned at the beginning, escape from the clutches of various evil masters, such as the seven-headed monster, the giant, or the old witch, thanks to the advice of magical fairies or their spouses?

From the fact that, in every age, women were not only put alongside men, protectors of their country, but they were also highly praised, we can see that, even in the earliest times, the social role of women and men was considered the same, and the mother, who was the leaven of the whole family, was always given priority.

It is also important to note that not only in ancient poems, but also in the history of literature in general, women were considered one step lower than men and to be the originators of evil in the world. This is evidenced by the fact that proverbs such as “A woman’s hair is long and wisdom is short”, “A woman is one of the seven enemies”, “A man with a copper head is better than a woman with a golden head”,

and “Do not believe in your wife even if you do in your horse” are frequently used in our everyday speech.

It is no secret that women are by nature passionate about change and innovation. And this is a fact that has long been proven. Our people have gone through a lot of hardships and setbacks over the centuries. We went through disastrous years, wartimes, times of abundance and prosperity, and the famine that almost wiped us out. For two and a half centuries, we fought against the Kalmyks, and we experienced the Sino-Kokand massacre, the Russian tyranny, that is, the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia. The consequences of all these, of course, were severe.

Soon the world changed, and human society began to restructure, abandoning the old and traditional system. The notions of capitalism and socialism came to the minds of our people, whose whole existence was associated with nomadic life and the four types of livestock. Now we are in the middle of globalisation. Of course, we could not avoid this process. After centuries of hardships, Kazakh youth began to seek knowledge and follow the path of civilisation from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Cities were built and production facilities were opened in the vast steppe from Altai to Atyrau. It is known that in all these changes there have been women alongside men. They participated together, walked in the midst of any difficulties. As a result, civilisation also involved women in terms of knowledge, science, education, etc.

Unfortunately, the Kazakh society was not ready for such changes. In fact, it is still happening. Women’s activism and innovation is one of the most difficult topics for Kazakh society. From the very beginning, it was strange for a Kazakh woman to be in power, to be at the forefront, to be on a par with men. Things such as a woman’s desire for happiness and freedom have long been considered immoral.

Episodes about such immorality are also reflected in the versions of the oral literature, and this trend is not unique to the oral literature. It can be seen in the works of poets who lived in the nineteenth century and lived in the same period as Abai. Although the new generation of “Zar Zaman” poets, such as Shortanbay, Aubakir Kerderi, and Dulat Babataiuly, who passed through the Zhyrau tradition and formed the basis of written literature, sang in their fiery poems, such things as homeland, country, freedom, and the aspects of women’s freedom in general were slightly different. We notice that there are some differences compared to Abai’s point of view.

For example, Aubakir Kerderi sings about his time like this:

The girl lost her shame,
The devil attracted her soul.
The wife disobeyed,
What her husband said,
And did not serve the husband.
And left at the sound of harsh words (Ush gasyr zhyrlaidy, 1965: 382).

The same is true in Shortanbay:

The wife telling what to do,
To her husband in her arms,
The woman complaining,
That she hadn’t joined her lover...

We think it would be useful to quote Dulat Babataiuly as well:

Disapproving what the mother said,
Favouring what the sister-in-law whispered,
The girl took off her clothes,
Just like a shaved mare... (Poem "I have words but I have no eyes").

It should be noted that such topics as woman, wife, and love seem to be quite free in the genre of aitys in oral literature. Our poetesses, such as Sara, Yryszhan, Togzhan, Ulbike, and Akbala, managed to captivate the audience with their fiery language and gentle deeds. Based on the aitys, a number of issues related to women were brought to the public's attention. Of course, we say this based on the opinion of the contemporary critic Mukhtar Omarkhanovich Auezov:

Obviously, the richest genre in Kazakh folklore is aitys. If we look at hundreds of aityses that have been recorded through writing, we see that most of them are between men and female, girl poets. About half of all the treasures of poetry born in the style of aitys were created by famous akyns: Akbala, Kunbala, Togzhan, Sara, Zhanteli, Yryszhan, Tabiya, Makta. It is observed that women, who are constantly involved in singing at parties and celebrations, get a little freedom in aitys (Aitys, 1965: 17-18).

Before Abai, we saw that the world of women's equality and freedom, as we said at the beginning, was measured around the most difficult concepts, such as "immorality", "contrary to tradition", and "deviation from tradition". To be clear, we would like to quote one of the giants of Abai studies, Kazhym Zhumaliev:

If we look at pre-Abai oral literature and some versions of historical literature, we can see that there were two different views on women. The first is people's, the second is feudal. Public opinion values women, and in many ways, women are given more priorities than men. At the same time, both in folklore and in the history of literature, there are many variants that define the old feudal attitude to women. Proverbs such as "A man with a copper head is better than a woman with a gold head", "A woman is one of the seven enemies", "Do not believe in your wife, even if you do in your horse", and "A woman's hair is long, but her wisdom is short" reflect the feudal view that women are inferior to men (Abai Studies, 2015).

Undoubtedly, this opinion of Kazhym Zhumaliev was based on the political views of the time. But it was a fact that we would confess anyway. Abai himself did not hide it, he was against all such things. Abai tried to justify such serious accusations with the concepts of "Mahabbat" and "love". He said the concepts of love, feelings, and affection were not something that you can buy or sell; they have to be arisen voluntarily from the point of view of true morality.

He who would live thout love is less than man,
To envy him no beggar rightly can.
He who is loved and loves, though poor he be,
Will never know the depths of misery.

In other words, Abai, whose heart was "forty patches" from the world around him, finally began to openly propagate the principle that "love is the beauty of life". In

his poems about women of that time, he was able to convey these facts with great realism.

For example, the life of an “old man” who wanted to marry a young girl in the poem “A beautiful girl lived in the hands of the khan” is proof of this. Abai prefers that the girl drowned before she got used to such insults:

The fool marries a young wife,
But the young hides her grief.
There is no love between them.

Abai not only severely criticised such things, but also raised the issue of motherhood to a very high cultural level. Abai, who speaks fluently on any topic, brought a simple housewife to the level of a mother. Abai avoided the simple notion that “woman is a creature who formed from the ribs of man”. That is why all the women in Abai’s works are described as a loving wife, a wise person, and a person of great wisdom.

The images are so beautiful, so lofty. The women in Abai’s songs are usually “with a soft neck that the sun does not cover”, “with clean and polished teeth”, and “the words she speaks are polite and meaningful”, or “with long dark hair like silk willow”. Is it possible to refuse to sacrifice yourself for such a woman?! In the poem “Love and passion – they are different ways” is written:

I fell in love because there is no one better than you,
Whatever happens to me, you stay safe! (He sacrifices himself for her),
One may be adorable for some, and not for others.

But you are the only one who is loved by all – he says, bowing his head in front of the beauty. Unfortunately, many of Abai’s contemporaries were not fortunate enough to understand this feeling.

It is impossible not to admire and worship the image of a woman-mother, who is so deeply rooted in the heart of no one but Abai!

Abai considered the woman as an honourable person, because Abai himself lived in the hands of a loving mother like Ulzhan, and with a grandmother like Zere who was a source of wisdom and epics, with the loyalty of wise souls like Dilda and Togzhan, and with the warm love of a woman like Aigerim. In other words, his grandmother, Zere, his mother, Ulzhan, and his beloved spouses, Dilda, Togzhan, and Aigerim – none can be replaced. Of course, we can’t deny the upbringing of his father Kunanbai. That would be a great abuse. But who knows whether Abai would have been a different person without his noble mother Ulzhan, who gave birth to him, and Zere, who raised him with all her heart, embraced him and taught him what she knew?

Nobody but Abai’s grandmother, Zere, influenced him to be passionate about poetry from an early age. Respected by all Tobytqy as “Old grandmother”, the grandmother introduces Abai not only to poetry, but also to the traditions and customs of the Kazakh people. This passion allowed Abai to become a poet, and what he saw and learned made him become a great genius (Zhubanov, 1934).

This is probably why the well-known researcher Kudaibergen Zhubanov pondered deeply in his article “Abai – a classic of Kazakh literature”, saying, “one of them is

the mother's lullaby, the father's *Sal bilek*, a shepherd's songs, a girl's whining, the mourning of the widow, and such folk literature had a great impact on him."

It is known that Ibrahim's mother Ulzhan was also from a noble family. By the way, one of our Abai scholars, Kaiym Mukhamedkhanuly, said the following about his mother Ulzhan: "She was the daughter of the Shanshar group of the Karakesek tribe in Argyn, which was famous for its eloquence and humor" (Mukhamedkhanuly, 2005: 138). Similarly, in Ramazan Tokhtarov's novel *Abai's Mystery* there is a place where Ulzhan is described as the only educator of Abai, who directed the child to greatness from his birth.

Now let's take a closer look at the images of mothers in these works of Abai:

Abai's poems on the general lyrical theme of mothers/women were published in 1990 as a special collection. This collection, published by "Zhalyń" publishing house, is called "I probably do not have a partner like you in the world". The two-part collection includes 74 poems on the theme of love and infinite feelings for women. The first part of the poet's poem "Ayttum sälem, Qalamqas (A heartfelt greeting)" contains love lyrics like "Onan da jılı jüzinmen (With a warm face)", "Esiñde bar ma jas küniñ (Do you remember your youth?)", "Gaşıqtıñ tili tilsiz til (The tongue of lover is wordless)", "Keyde eser köñil qurğırın (Sometimes excited)", "Em taba almay (Can't find a cure)", "Sen meni ne etesiñ? (What do you do to me?)", "Qor boldı janım (My soul was humiliated)", "Qızarıp surlanıp (Blushing)", and "Men sälem jazayın (I greet you)", while the second section, "Jastıqtıñ otı jalındap (The Flame of Youth is Burning)", includes poems calling on young people to set an example in terms of honesty, morality, hard work, education, and science (Abai, 1990: 125).

Looking through such collections of poems, we realised that Abai has about 30 poems on such delicate themes as motherhood, passionate love, and love for a beautiful girl, which cannot be expressed usually or easily. Almost all of them are described in a typical way and can be considered as a general image of a woman of that time, not just one person. In order to analyse and study these characters at their own level, it is necessary to write several books and volumes of work. However, in writing this article, we realised that the issue of the image of motherhood in Abai's poetry is one of the topics that have not yet been fully explored.

As we said at the beginning, the main idea of the poet is to raise the spirit of women. Looking at about 30 of these works, it can be seen that Abai lay emphasis on such as nature of woman, the perception of beauty and love of woman. Abai's poems that raised the image of a woman to the level of reality (the image of a beautiful girl) are as follows: "Bilektey arqasında örgen burım (Braids on the back like the wrists)", "Qaqtagan aq kümistey aq mañdaylı (With white forehead like broiled white silver)", "Közimniñ qarası (Black in my eyes)", and "Yüzi rawşan, közi gäwhar (Rose-faced, diamond-eyed)", among others.

His great works like "Jigit sözi (young man's word)", "Qız sözi (girl's word)", "Qızarıp surlanıp (Blushing)", "Jarq etpes qara köñilim ne qılsa da (Whatever you do, my heart does not shine)", "Sen meni ne etesiñ (What do you do to me?)", "Tatiyananıñ Oneginge jazğan hatı (Tatiana's letter to Onegin)", "Süyine almadym, süymedim

(I could not love, I did not love)", and "Masgut poemasy (Masgut's poem)" are a revelation of a woman's devotion to love.

Several poems, such as "Kandai kyzda lazzat bar jan tatpagan (Within what kind of girl is the greatest pleasure)", "Jigitter, oyun arzan, külki qımbat (The game is cheap, laughter is valuable)", "Äbdrahmannıñ äyeli Mağışqa jubatuw (Comforting words to Abdurakhman's wife Magysh)", and "Balası ölgen anağa sıgarğan joqtaw (Mourning for a mother whose child is dead)" are lyrical things that give some information about the inner world of a woman.

The nature of women in Abai's works is usually very special. According to research, the image of a woman in pre-Abai literature is lyrical. Abai also has lyrics, but, as a whole, the priority is given to a woman's external personality and inner soul. Let's take a look at the poet's poem "Bilektey arqasında örgen burım (Braids on the back like the wrists)":

Of her long, thick braids she may well be proud.
Hung with silver coins, from her beaver hat.
They sway as she walks, soft and raven-browed.
Have your eyes ever seen a beauty like that?
Clear, transparent as mirrors, her soft, dark eyes,
Caress your glance and your soul excite.
Have you ever met such a skin as hers?
Or such pearly teeth, or a face so white?
You will seldom see such a slender waist,
Such dainty hands and such tiny feet.
She is always standing before my eyes.
Like a ripe red apple, mellow and sweet.
If you ever happen to touch her hand,
Your heart starts beating beyond control.
If your face approaches her lovely face,
Her nearness sends a thrill through your soul.

Undoubtedly, these are the pearls of words that reveal the beauty of her thick hair, black brows, white throat, and curly eyebrows. The poet exaggerated this beauty with a beautiful hat and silver gold ornament around her wrist-like braids. It was amazing to compare a beautiful girl with a slender waist and small legs to a ripe apple. But Abai thought that appearance and simple beauty were not enough. He knew that good behaviour, conscience, and upbringing were needed too. And the idea is clearly stated in the song "Jigitter, oyun arzan, külki qımbat (The game is cheap, laughter is valuable)":

Don't let a woman's beauty turn your head.
To peril by blind lust do not be led.
Find a woman's character before,
You marry her and take her to your bed...

Or he advises:

Don't woo a rich man's daughter for her wealth.
Don't scorn a poorer wench for scanty pelf.
But if she comes of wise and worthy parents,
She will bring you peace of mind and health.

And he concludes what he intends to say like this:

My praise to him who acts and shows his pluck.
Who keeps his head high, whether in or out of luck?
Shameless and the womanising fool,
Can only gossip, wallowing in muck.

In other words, Abai says that “nature” and “posture” are two separate worlds, and a woman’s soul and external beauty must be in harmony. As we have seen, this requires not only a pleasing appearance but also a gentle demeanour and a modest upbringing that does not embarrass parents. The poet describes the image of a beauty that was able to combine all these qualities:

Her brow is proud and clear as polished silver,
Her eyes are dark, and shed a tender light.
Her eyebrows are so slim, and arched so finely.
They’re like the crescent in the sky at night.

Her speech is suitably reserved and clever,
Her laugh a nightingale could not recite,
And when she tilts her head, you feel you’ve never.
Seen Swans with necks as supple and as white.

Or:

There is a childlike softness in her hands,
The fingers strangely capable and strong.
Her hair which falls in heavy, silken strands,
Is wavy, raven-black and wondrous long.

This is, of course, the image of a beauty whose external beauty is in perfect harmony with her inner world. Of course, through such poems we can see that the great Abai followed the idea of creating the essence of the Kazakh girl. This is a unique feature of Abai Kunanbaiuly’s poetry.

Here we recall the opinion of a well-known researcher, Fatima Ismailova:

The evolution of female images in Abai’s lyrics went from an external ornamental description and imitation of oriental samples of classical poetry to more and more penetrating and deep female characters, embodying the best national features of a Kazakh woman, expressing her humanistic ideals in this image (Ismailova, 2006: 254-267).

Abai’s poems, such as “Bilektey arqasında örgen burım (Braids on the back like the wrists)” and “Qaqtağan aq kümistey aq mañdaylı (With white forehead like broiled white silver)”, are not only aimed at creating a portrait of the beauty of the Kazakh girl. Above all, it reflects Abai’s attitude to beauty in general, as he was able to worship humanity, kindness, and love and put the image of a mother above all else. What is beauty for Abai? We can find to this question in his poems “Jigit Sozi (Young Man’s Word)” and “Ayttım sälem, Qalamqas (I hail your slender brows)”:

I hail your slender brows, your eyes!
There is nobody like you beneath the skies.
A radiance like yours, a light so clear,

Has not been shed upon the world for years!
 I long for you so terribly,
 Tears dim the universe for me!
 Your image in my heart I keep,
 It haunts me even in my sleep.
 To you alone my heart belongs,
 I sing your beauty in my songs,
 For you I'd forfeit youth and wealth,
 I'll love you till my dying breath.
 And neither foes nor tongues of venom,
 Nor the appeal of other women.
 Will ever cool in me the trace.

If it is true that the soul is beautiful and spiritually pure, then why not sacrifice for the sake of beauty. Of course, understanding it may not be easy for you and for us. But for Abai, this is the culmination of his thoughts on women's philosophy.

Another feature of Ibrahim Kunanbai's poems on the image of women is that he places himself into the state of the other side. For example, in "Mourning for Abdurakhman's wife, Magysh" and "Mourning for the mother whose child is dead", Abai mourns and sings on behalf of the sad, widowed mother who lost her child.

Similar features are reflected in the love letters between Onegin and Tatiana, translated from A. S. Pushkin, the ancestor of Russian classics:

I have no choice, but to tell the truth.
 But how can I spit it out?
 My pain is burning me every day,
 And now I'm ready for whatever happens.
 My heart belongs to no one,
 Other than you, in the world.
 The destiny is decided by the Lord,
 And the lord is no one but you for me.

Even Abai Kunanbaiuly surpassed Pushkin in singing the soul of a woman. Here are a few excerpts from the original to prove our point:

Ya vas lyubil: lyubov' yeshche, byt' mozhet,
 V dushe moyey ugasla ne sovsem;
 No pust' ona vas bol'she ne trevozhit;
 Ya ne khochu pechalit' vas nichem.

I loved you: yet the love, maybe,
 Has not extinguished in my heart;
 But hence may not it trouble thee;
 I do not want to make you sad.

That is, the equations in the original are not so saturated and playful. The poet's imagination raised Tatiana to the heights of wisdom that great Pushkin himself did not know. Probably, there is no one other than Abai, who made the wife bow down to her husband, saying: "The destiny is decided by the Lord, and you are my lord."

Yes, no one ever surpasses the poet Abai distinguishes beauty as love and womanhood. Never before in the history of written and oral literature has there

been a poet who raised the prestige of a Kazakh woman as much as Kunanbaiuly. According to Kazhym Zhumaliev, Abai said that a beautiful woman should be sought in terms of “decency, morality” (Abai Studies, 2015: 160).

In other words, in Abai’s opinion, a woman is the owner of both the body and the soul, and the creature whose inner world is artistic and mysterious. The woman is the possessor of beauty “with a broad forehead like white silver”, “as her beauty is, so is her wisdom”, “one can sacrifice everything for her”, that is, it is a precious concept given by God with great wisdom.

My sorrow will not pass, not even if the Moon,
Through nature’s whimsy at the Sun is hurled.
Even though to me another you prefer,
None do I dearer hold than you in all the world.
My faithful heart that loves but you alone.
From you will bear, tormented though it be,
Most cruel slight, yes, even broken vows,
And undeserved neglect and mockery...

Although there are only two couplets, the picture is very rich and has a great meaning. He sang at a high level of love and purity without any grief or sorrow. Of course, we can’t say more than Abai. Therefore, we decided to limit ourselves to the opinion in Abai’s encyclopedia that “whether his feelings find harmony in her heart, he will not back down, he is ready to sacrifice his fiery love and suffer all the pains of his heart” (Abai, 1995: 245). The unique poet sang his great hero above himself. It requires a bold heart. In his poems, Ibrahim Kunanbaiuly also emphasised the social role of women in Kazakh society, saying that women are the pillars and advisers of men.

My praise got to her who knows your soul,
By heart, who gives to you her whole.
Sweet life and time and being, who attends,
Your every heartbeat, and will be for you your all.
Fools who destroy their families with strife,
Can’t see how one can love and be loved by one’s wife.
A prudent husband and a wife of modest ways,
Are always warranted a happy life.

To the ones who understand, here lies the proverb that a woman is a blessing, a reliable companion, a landing fortune.

No food for gossip will a proper woman bring,
The burns of slander to her skirt will never cling.
Sweet-smelling as a many-petalled rose,
Her every movement breathes of happiness and spring.

Of course, the content of this work (the game is cheap, laughter is valuable) was written with the intention of advising young men, but it is easy to see that the idea is “everything of men depends on women”. In the same way, the meaning of the epic “Masgut” is similar. After rescuing himself from the clutches of death, the mysterious old man offers the protagonist Masgut three kinds of white, yellow, and red fruits, and says:

The white one makes you wisest of all men,
The yellow makes you wealthy beyond ken.
But if you choose the fruit that's coloured red
All women in the world will love you then.

Masgut thinks for a while and says, "I'm determined to eat red fruit." "What motivated you to make such a bold decision?" Masgut, the hero of the saga, answers the question:

But if I eat the red one, loved I'll be,
My conscience clear, my breast of worries free.
And who would not be glad to have as friends,
The better half of all humanity?
It is quite clear that every person ought to.
Have somebody – a mother, wife or daughter,
And one of them is sure to take my side.
Against ill-wishers, tsars or simple mortals.
The world is full of enemy and strife;
Feuds and dissention poison people's life.
If any man plots to ruin me,
I'd be defended by his daughter or his wife.

Kazhym Zhumaliev summarises the essence of this poem as follows: In the epic "Masgut" Abai highly values the role of women in family and social life. Abai's view is far from narrow-minded and selfish. He deeply understands the equality of women and men, the unity of the family and the role of women in society, and looks at the issue from this perspective. That's why his hero Masgut will eat red fruit. This means that women, who make up half of society, have and should have a big role in social life. The poet was able to see that women have a great place not only in the present, but also in the past (Abai Studies, 2015: 157).

The images of women in Abai's works are also diverse: from a beautiful girl, a faithful wife, a close friend, a kind mother, a wise grandmother, to ordinary housewives. They are also addicted to noise and gossip, greed, complacency, and extravagance. Accordingly, the poet's equations and vocabulary are different. There are many types of hyperbole, epithet, metaphorical equations, such as "Your sorrow is winter, your happiness is summer", "Your scent is a flower", "Your light is the sun", "White silver", "Solid gold".

It is true that in order to reveal the secrets and beauty of the female soul, there are also some exaggerations in some poems like "Qandaz qızda läzzät bar jan tatpağan", "Jigit sözi", "Qız sözi", "Qızarıp, surlanıp", "Jarq etpes qara köñilim ne qılsa da", "Sen meni ne etesiñ", "Tatiyananıñ Oneginge jazğan hatı", and "Süyine almadym, süymedim". But here, too, he showed the height of girls' place. In this way, the author seems to want to give a worthy place to the role of a woman.

It should be noted that Abai does not discriminate against women. Abai Kunanbaiuly does not make such a mistake in versifying the image of women. It is replaced with "irony". There is some criticism in a number of ironic poems, such as "Shripke (To Sharip)", "Kim eken dep kelip em tüye kuwğan (I came to know who chased the camels)", "Baymağambetke qatınıñ atınan şıǵarılğan (Made up to

Baimagambet on behalf of his wife", "Qızdarğa (to girls)", "Qatını men Masaqbay (Masakbai and his wife)", "Äyeliñ Medet qızı, atı Örim (Your wife Orim, daughter of Medet)", and "Qara qatınğa (To the dark wife)". It is not difficult to understand that Abai wanted to reveal some aspects of his time, using only a kind of ridicule.

Conclusion

The intertwined issues of beauty, love, and womanhood are the eternal themes of literature and art. They are the great themes that have existed and will be sung about forever. The main feature of Abai Kunanbaiuly is that he combined the categories of beauty and love with the concept of motherhood. It is impossible to imagine the image of a woman in Abai's world without the concept of beauty and love. In this way, he brought the image of a mother to the highest level of artistic mastery in her work. In short, through the works of Abai, these concepts found an inseparable harmony, which led to the formation of a new image of motherhood in the history of Kazakh written literature.

The most gratifying thing is that the image of the woman-mother, whom Abai dreamed of, remained at the height of the wisdom that he carried. It can be clearly seen in the works of the younger generation after Abai. Kazakh writers such as Zhusupbek Aimauly, Beimbet Mailin, Spandiyar Kobbeyev, Mukhtar Auezov, and Gabit Musrepov, who tried to portray the social problems of the country in the early twentieth century through women's themes, did not stray from the path that Abai wanted. Such works as "Qamar Suluw (The beauty, Kamar)", "Qalıñ Mal (Bride price)", "Kim Zhazykty? (Who is to blame?)", "Adamnyn Anasy (Mother of Man)", "Ölimdi jengen ana (The mother who overcame death)", and "Ulpan" show the tradition that Abai wanted has become a national ideology.

It is no coincidence that M. Auezov, who considered himself Abai's brother, follower, and researcher, called his first journalistic work "The basis of humanity is the woman" (1917). Moreover, Omarkhanuly's "Abai's Way" alone contained more than 300 images of women. M. Auezov, in his study "The basis of humanity is the woman", says about women: "The homeland begins with family", and he represents women as the center of the social environment. He concludes that keeping this woman as a slave without equal treatment is an abuse not only of one person, but of the whole society, because morality in human society is the result of a mother's upbringing. And what will be the role of "a mother who has never heard of justice, kindness, and love in life"? Thus, Auezov believes that all human evil and immorality are due to the misery of a spiritually disabled woman who has no freedom, and could not go beyond gossip from house to house as a result: "the people will not live happily with humanity until women are truly liberated. And if we, the Kazakh, don't want to keep being spiritually disabled, we should first fix our child educating and child upbringing! To do so, we should fix the woman first!" (Auezov, 1969: 7-9). It was natural that Mukhtar Omarkhanuly, who knew Abai very well, and fully understood his views and values about women, wrote this.

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CHAPTER – XV

THE SOCIAL COMMITMENT OF ABAI

Svetlana SMAGULOVA

The article investigates the rise of Abai Kunanbaiuly as a public figure based on archival documents and rich factual materials, the legacy of the great poet, his activities, and involvement in socio-political processes in the country. Abai was involved in governing the country with his father Kunanbai from an early age and grew up witnessing various scandals in Kazakh society, such as ethnic strife, power struggles, hostage taking and bribery, class injustice, and tyranny, and the tyranny of Russian colonisers. According to the author, after his election to the post of mayor, Abai tried to stop these abuses, to preserve peace in the country, to be a just ruler, to care for the oppressed and widows based on his knowledge and eloquence, ingenuity and prudence. The author reveals that Abai, who sought to protect the interests of the oppressed common people, fought against the internecine struggle, and fell victim to their heinous actions. After his resignation, Abai turned to poetry and writing. During the Russian rule, he tried to ridicule wrong ideals and values, criticise wicked social norms, backwardness, and ignorance of tribal leaders and rulers of in the Kazakh society of that time. The author analyses the role of Abai in the development of the law against criminal cases for Kazakhs of Semei that was developed following the work of the Kazakh Congress in Karamola.

Oriental culture played an important role in Abai (Ibrahim) Kunanbaiuly, the poet, educator, composer, philosopher, and founder of written Kazakh literature, becoming a humanist and thinker. Familiarity not only with the works of Turkic thinkers, but also with the thoughts of European philosophers, raised him to the peak of his social commitment. At the age of 13, his father, Kunanbai, removed him from school in order to involve him in governing the country, introduced him to the volost service, and gradually began to teach him how to resolve various

disputes. Auezov explained Kunanbai's actions as follows: The reason he removed his son from school early was that Abai was the best choice to be his partner in the country's work. Even as a child, it seems that Abai showed the signs that Kunanbai had expected. Kunanbai, who was a strict critic of all his children, had long felt that Abai was superior to others.

Kunanbai himself made enemies of half his contemporary tribal leaders, and spent most of his life fighting against them. Although the opposing tribesmen won at the end of the struggles, most of them remained hostile. Kunanbai was responsible for his own personality and deeds, but on the other hand, he also had many difficult relatives around him. Intoxicated by Kunanbai's position, they used it as freely as possible, describing themselves as "a guy from that village, a relative the great Kunanbai." They mocked and insulted many people, used unjustified violence and irrational cruelty, and exhausted the patience of even the tribesmen who were friends of Kunanbai. People who were against Kunanbai were against not only Kunanbai himself, but his relatives and friends as well. Kunanbai's young son was also considered an enemy of tomorrow (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 16).

The Rise of Abai's Personality

Kunanbai's reason for bringing Abai to power was firstly, that he saw Abai's courage and superiority, and secondly because he believed that only Abai's knowledge and strength were enough to fight the enemies around him. At the behest of his father, Abai thus joined him and fell into the midst of the endless strife and endless intrigue in the country. Walking among the creators of the struggle between tribes and clans, Abai learned to speak intelligently. Those who opposed the father were conquered by the child's heart. On one occasion, Abai ran to Baisal, Bozhei, and Tusup, who were not getting on well with his father, to greet them with both hands, which must have melted the hostile hearts (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 16).

Abai, who initially performed the task of small choirs, gradually became embroiled in controversial disputes, trying to determine who was right and who was wrong. He began to make his own judgements, often focusing on how the dispute was resolved. His father, Kunanbai, understood his son's deep thinking and ingenuity and encouraged him to resolve disputes. Thus, the young man Abai started to find a reasonable solution to each dispute. He was strengthened by various situations and events, about which Auezov wrote as a proof:

Abai's life was in turmoil from his youth. He was subjected to situations which cannot be controlled by laws, which shook his inner world and left him in a negative state. After embarking on a huge task that did not correspond to his physical and mental strength, Abai put all the skills in his nature, such as ingenuity and doggedness, on this path. When communicating with a countryman, you need words, understanding, ingenuity, you need to be cunning and angry when needed. What do others say in each case? What do they do? As soon as Abai began to speak in public, he tried to understand all this and set an example in his life...

Abai grew up hearing proverbs and legends, and learning traditions from an early age, and was influenced by the Russian politics of the time, and the introduction of

new rules of government required a different view of the world. He listened to the eloquent speakers, and realised the importance of distinguishing between good and evil. His vigilance, vision, and strong desire led him forward, and thus the boy became a thoughtful, calm, serious, intelligent and eloquent man. Originally seeing those who did not obey the will of his father as enemies, he gradually he gradually saw into the future and realised that a country can be conquered not by force or fear, but by wisdom. This is the meaning of his saying: "When I was young, I grew up far away from thoughts, I liked tricks and anger ..." (Auezov, 1997: 124). The poet's eloquence was favoured by his people, who asked him for advice.

Abai was well known in his time, not only in his hometown, but throughout Kazakh land, and even among Kazakhs living abroad, as reported by the Kazakh intellectual Akhmet Baitursynuly in the article "Kazakhstan's main poet" published in the "Kazakh" newspaper:

There had not ever been a superior poet that we know. There is no one in Akmola or Semipalatinsk oblasts who does not know Abai. In the Turgai region, which is close to Akmola, few people do not know Abai. Wherever there was talk about poets, or about the words of poets, there was no one who did not praise Abai's words. Before seeing Abai's words, the Kazakhs usually preferred their own colt to the Pegasus of others (Baitursynuly, 1913).

Abai's opposition to greed, bigotry, separatism, lies and gossip for the sake of the country's honour brought ordinary people closer. The poet realised that the only way to stop inter-tribal strife, conflict and hostages in the country was to reconcile people. When he started working in the volost service, he decided to take up this case. We know various things about Abai's position as a volost. The head of Semipalatinsk district was K.S. Navrotsky, and his report to the governor-general of the Semipalatinsk region stated that Abai was a very capable and intelligent man, who ruled for two or three years in the Chingiz volost and then one three-year session in the Mukyr volost. This tells us that Abai was a governor of Chingiz in 1865-74, and in Mukyr of 1875-77 (Central State Archive RK. f. 15, op. 1, d. 399: 85). Kudaiberdy was elected governor of Kushyk-Tobyk in the volost elections in 1865, and twenty-year-old Abai was elected his deputy. "At the age of 20, my father was nominated as a candidate for his brother Kudaiberdy. After Kudaiberdy's death, opponents reasoned that Abai was underage, so he was removed" Turagul said, but apparently, Abai was not removed. On the contrary, he replaced his dead brother (Omarov, 2007: 19). This is supported in several ways. One is a report written on June 11, 1866 by Baimusa Tanirberdin, asking to send a child to Omsk to study in a Russian school, and another is a report given on November 29, 1866 by a woman named Kuzenova, who moved to Kishik-Tobyqty volost by order of Sergiopol outer district.

In 1876-1877, seeing the policy of the local Russian administration towards the Kazakh people, Abai decided to fight and became a governor of Konyr-Kokshe. This is shown in the protocol of the meeting of the Semipalatinsk regional administration, which was investigating a complaint by Uzdikbay Burkibaev against Abai. This document states that he was unanimously elected to the Konyr-Kokshe district

in 1875-1878, and another document, preserved in the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee, states that in 1876 he headed the district. The third archival document is a letter from the volosts of Semipalatinsk district on December 6, 1876 about providing financial assistance to the Tsar in connection with the Russian-Turkish war, and mentions Abai in the list of Bolsheviks (Baigaliev, 2001: 25-29).

Abai's Social Responsibility Towards the Society

During his tenure, Abai tried to stop livestock being stolen, hostage-taking and violence, which were more common in the four volosts of Tobysky. As soon as he came to power, Abai stood for the people. He tried to be a mediator against the Biysultans, who stand for justice, but use violence and attack people. Abai opposed them. Kokbai described Abai's reign in his memoirs as follows: "His ideal in life was justice and righteousness, so his Kazakh friend was an honest man who told no lies... When it comes to power, I can say that Tobysky had never seen a ruler as fair, clean, strong and correct as Abai" (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 275). Abai's career as a volost took place in a very difficult situation. He criticised the cringings and those who wanted to make a profit as a party, and prevented their actions. The jealous ones got together and make false statements over and over again, trying to discredit Abai and isolate him from the public. These complaints greatly hampered Abai's work, but on the contrary, the number of visitors seeking the poet's advice increased.

Despite the complaints written against him, Abai's works continued to severely criticise the atrocities in the country, and the volosts, elders and officials who insulted the people. The case against Abai lasted for ten years, even after his term in office, and Abai had to stay in Semipalatinsk for 3-4 months each time.

There were times when agreement could not be reached during volost elections, resulting in fights. Abai was deeply saddened to see groups who had forgotten their kinship and brotherhood during the election for the volost. His poems "Bolys boldym, mineki (Now, I am a volost)", "Kulembayga (To Kulembay)", and "Maz boldy bolysyn (The volost is pleased)" decry the actions of such bullies. In "Maz bol bolysyn", Abai criticises the volosts who were pleased with what Russian officials gave them.

The volost is pleased,
When slapped on the back.
When the Russian covers him,
With a shiny high-ranked coat.
Will it be good every day?
Just for one pleasant deed?
Is the shameless worthy.
Of a braided coat?

In the lines above, the poet scolded the actions of those who cared only for themselves and sought to get rich (Kunanbaiuly, 1939: 92). He also stated in his *The Book of Words* that the biys of volosts are ready to do anything to reach the power. In his second Word he says:

Today, I wonder who I should love and respect among Kazakhs... If you want to respect the volosts and the sultans, none of them are God-given in the country. There is no sacredness in power or authority that is bought or obtained by begging. If you want to respect the strong, the whole country is strong in evil, and there is no one in the country who is strong for good... (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 195).

Tsarist officials deliberately provoked and incited the country's elites, who were fighting for power, seniority, and authority. Abai tried to criticize and explain all this. In his poems and Words, he demanded that the authorities be united with the people, and work to benefit the people. He gained a great deal of experience during the volost period. He abandoned his father's methods of power and saw the need for a legal solution instead of thoughtless power. According to Abai scholar Mukhtar Auezov, Abai spoke to all problematic officials, such as rogues, stealing, and spoke words of command, wisdom, and thoughtfulness (Auezov, 1997: 379).

The regulations adopted by the Tsarist government in the early nineteenth century, and the accession of Kazakhstan to Russia, led to changes in the economic sphere and accelerated the division of social classes. These regulations, firstly, paved the way for Russia's colonisation of Kazakh lands, and the plunder of its wealth. Secondly, the local ruling class was gradually overthrown through deception and inciting trouble. Thirdly, enlightened public figures emerged. Changes in Abai's worldview were influenced by changes in society at that time and the people around him. Abai scholar M. Myrzakhmetov describes the influence of the system as follows:

At a time when Abai was actively involved in social affairs, the Tsarist government stopped ruling the Kazakh people from a distance. Now was the time for them to enter and rule the country, without exceeding the limits of power for the local people beyond their volosts. The types and names of power created on the basis of this system of government, including almost all the representatives of the large and small officials involved, have a large place in the works of Abai... Abai was well aware of the need to master the emergence and development of the whole system of power and its forms at that time, in order to fully understand how to interfere with that power in the daily struggle (Myrzakhmetov, 2014: 159).

Abai did not directly oppose the authorities on Kazakh soil, however, he expressed his opposition to the cunning policy of the Tsarist system by attacking the bi-volosts and the most powerful people, who were digging their nails into the people, with his poems. By portraying and describing them allegorically with his poems, he exposed the injustice, jealousy, inequality, and defencelessness in society. He realised that the common people were suffering from being governed by both: one was the aggression of the local despots, and the other was the pressure of the Russians, who had skilfully entered the Kazakh lands.

Abai's attitude to life, to the people around him, and to the government was formed by democrat-revolutionaries who had been deported from countries in Europe. While in the city, he became acquainted with the Russian democrats E. P. Michaelis,

S. S. Gross, S. F. Durov, N. I. Dolgoplov, and A. A. Leontiev, who had been deported for their political activities.

He met Michaelis in the library of N. V. Gogol, and ordered Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. Michaelis had been deported to Semipalatinsk for revolutionary propaganda, and was a follower of the democrat-educator N. G. Chernyshevsky. He carried out cultural, educational and scientific-propaganda work for the revolutionaries N. I. Dolgoplov and S. S. Gross, who had also been deported to Semipalatinsk. He was responsible for the opening of an anthropological museum and a public library were opened in Semipalatinsk.

Michaelis was an active member of the Western Siberian branch of the Russian Geographical Society in Semipalatinsk and wrote scientific articles on the economy and economy of the region. Gross also began to study Kazakh customary law, and Dolgoplov began to provide medical care to the local population. In the summer months, all three visited Abai's village (Silchenko and Smirnova, 1945: 10-11). All three helped Abai to discover his passion for Russian culture and to deepen and expand his ideas on the history of the Russian people. With the help of these friends, Abai tried to understand the problems of philosophy and the theory of evolution.

The expansion of Abai's worldview was also associated with reading books by the Russian writers Nekrasov, Saltykov, Tolstoy, Chernyshevsky, and Pisarev. He learnt how to deal with the prevailing issues, such as hypocrisy, ignorance, betrayal, and deception. At the same time there were changes in his attitude to the environment in which he lived. Abai realised the purpose of the Tsarist government policy. He felt that the rules adopted for the colonisation and Russification of the Kazakh people, were all aimed at eliminating Kazakh customs. He also saw that the volosts among the Kazakhs would engage in bribery, careerism, and rebellion, and that the Tsarist government intervention in the system of local government would lead to disputes and power struggles among the tribes. It had become a daily habit to increase the number of things that go as far as taking each other by the throat, doing severe damage to each other's head, and even as breaking hand. Abai clearly described this situation in his *The Book of Words* and drew his own conclusions. The 3rd Word lists the shortcomings of the volost election.

The governor is elected for three years. He spends his first year struggling with the turmoil of people, who says didn't we elect you? In the second year there is a day of stalking the candidate. In the third year, as the election draws near, the days will pass with the hope of becoming a governor again. What's left now? It comes to my mind when I see that the Kazakh people are involved in such atrocities and are declining from year to year.

Abai considered it right to appoint a person with Russian education to the Bolsheviks, if there were no Bolsheviks, then Abai considered it with the approval of the district head and the military governor (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 169). Abai had a reason for this. First of all, the need to appoint a person with Russian education depended on the situation at that time. Russian policy penetrated the Kazakh lands and took the reins of administrative power, and only Russian representatives were in charge; all orders and documents were written in Russian. This meant it

was necessary to have an educated, skilled person who could speak to them on an equal footing, and speak Russian. Secondly, when he left the country and became closer to the government, there was hope that he would speak in the interests of the Kazakhs. According to the Kazakh proverb, “If there are two rulers, there will be four disputes.” The poet adhered to the intention of not increasing the number of people in power, not creating disputes and quarrels between tribes, and living in harmony together.

Abai criticised those who aspired to power in Kazakh society. He believed it was irrational to use old traditions in the face of changing times, and lamented that rich people who aspire to power believed only in the wealth they had, and did not want to recognise the need for honesty, humanity, intelligence, science and education (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 176).

Abai also criticised the backwardness of the new order in Kazakh society, which was organised as a colonial authority. In 38th Word he clearly shows the superior attitudes of the upper class to the lower classes, the tyrants, over the lower classes. He noted that the representatives of the two classes could not compromise, resulting in growing tensions between them. In his 22nd Word, the poet analysed those who believed in their wealth in Kazakh society and those who believed they were one-step closer to the authorities. “At bitter enmity with some, he will, as a precaution, give away his livestock to others, and eventually finds himself beholden to a good hundred people.” He talked about those who scatter livestock and make a fool of themselves, saying, “I would have respected a volost chief and a biy, but on our steppe there is neither divine nor human justice. Power bought by servility or with money is not worth much.” He lamented the lack of people who would support others, and who people can truly depend on (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 195-221).

Such views and conclusions reflect the depth of Abai’s thoughts. Aspects of his social work include the poet’s compassion for the environment, his concern for the integrity and peace of the country, and his ability to express and explain in words that it is possible to manage education and science without pride and greed.

Kakitai Kunanbaiuly’s statement that Abai “became famous and qualified at the age of 30” means that the poet had a strong reputation even at this age, and the people around him listened to him (Myrzakhmetov, 2014: 106). Indeed, the Kazakhs not only of the region, but throughout the Kazakh lands knew, respected and listened to Abai’s words. As Kokbai said:

When he gave a command to the people and used his words as an example, he always pondered in his own mind first. At the heart of much of his propaganda was humanity, the ultimate, the custom, and he would bring all of them to the religion of Islam (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 277).

Abai was acquitted of false accusations with the help of his Russian friend E. Michaelis, and the case against him was terminated in late August 1884. He listened to the stories of some famous philosophical figures and expanded his political worldview. At his suggestion, he studied classic books, and read philosophical, historical, and

literary works. This is why Abai say, “Michaelis is the one who opened my eyes to the world” (Michaelis, 1913: 1).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, theft, looting, land disputes were rampant on the Kazakh steppe. This required the regulation, revision and addition of customary rules that were used a Kazakh law. Abai’s participation in this regulation was due to the obedience of both the authorities and the people.

An extraordinary congress of the Kazakhs of the region took place in Karamola in May 1885. The congress, chaired by the governor-general of Semipalatinsk Tseklinsky, was attended by more than 100 prominent biys of volosts from five districts of the province and was tasked to develop a “rule of law against criminal cases for the Kazakhs of Semipalatinsk.”

Abai’s direct involvement in discussing articles for this legislation is cited in several works. Mursali Kozhanov, a contemporary of Abai, recalled in his memoir that the version of the law prepared by the poet was discussed and approved by the public. This memoir was written in 1939 and is now stored in the Central Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Zimnaov, 2005: 106).

The congress was held in Karamola on the banks of the Shar River in the Semipalatinsk province, and was sometimes referred to as the “Shar Rule.” The country was in turmoil while the rules were being drafted. The rule became a tool to guide senior judges in resolving disputes. The rule consists of 74 articles, which contain the Kazakh customary laws, and are based on the justice and legal system governing the country. The Kazakhs thus adopted rules that were different from timeworn Kazakh customs, and the law of the Tsarist government based on violence and exploitation. An old article about flogging, however, shows that they were based on Shar laws.

Abai was a consultant in the preparation of the rule. In fact, He was 18th out of the 47 people to signed the rule after it was drafted. Abai was thus invited to the Karamola Congress in Shar to take part in the discussion and adoption of the rules. After the adoption of the rule, he was elected as one of the three chief judges, who arbitrated on the “court of judges” to investigate and resolve disputes and various criminal cases (Baigaliev, 2001: 105).

The articles used in the traditional Kazakh court of judges for centuries were regulated in connection with the reforms adopted by the Tsarist government during the preparation of the rules, however, Kazakh society did not lose its old ancestral customs: customary law.

More than a dozen articles in the General Rule are devoted to fights, thefts, assaults and other criminal cases and punishments. There are also fines and penalties for those who deliberately do not help someone in a desperate situation, and for those who abuse orphans and widows. Abai Kunanbaiuly’s opinion must undoubtedly have been very valuable when discussing this rule. The principles of the rules were the basis for the restoration of order in the country, and were applied to the Semipalatinsk Kazakhs in criminal cases.

Abai Kunanbaiuly was also actively involved in public work. In 1886, at the suggestion of Michaelis, he was elected a full member of the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee, established in 1878. The library and census committee, opened with the help of the public, brought significant changes to Abai's life. The Census Committee had done a great deal of research. Most of the committee members were deported Russian Democrats who were dissatisfied with Russia's power structure. The Census Committee worked hard to gather information about the land, economy and ethnography of the Kazakh people. Abai took an active part in the work of the committee and took part in its meetings. He took part in cultural and educational work and social organisation. Gross, Blok, and Leontiev, and other friends of Abai who knew him well took an active part in the work of the committee. With their help, a valuable research book, "Materials for the study of Kyrgyz legal traditions", was published (Nurgaliyev et al., 1995: 514).

Michaelis, who was secretary of the committee, organised the National Library of Semipalatinsk Region. This library, which inspired Abai to study knowledge and science. He read the works of Krylov, Lermontov, Pushkin, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Tolstoy, and became acquainted with the democratic ideas of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov (Akinzhanova and Akhmetova, 1954: 70). He also read books by Spencer, Mill, Ten and Draper. These works had a great impact on Abai's worldview and strengthened his vision. He thus turned to the study of Russian and Western culture and heritage, and promoted their works.

Abai also took part in the work of the Semipalatinsk Regional Museum of Local Lore, founded on the initiative of Michaelis, and handed over more than 50 items related to Kazakh life.

As Abai's poems were spreading and his fame was rising, after the Karamola Congress, his rivals attacked. The country's elites plotted to assassinate him. Abai was very downhearted during this difficult winter. In 1891, his younger brothers Ospan and Orazbai quarrelled again, and the country was at war again. In 1892, Ospan died suddenly, and administration of the country became Abai's personal responsibility. His enmity with Orazbai lasted until 1897, and culminated in a conflict during the Mukyr elections of 1898, when Abai's life was endangered. The poet made this clear in a letter to the Senate, trying to prove his innocence. Despite the difficult situation, Abai did not give up. In 1902, he was elected a full member of the Geographical Society. He took part in the members meetings of the society and learned more about the history, language, literature and geography of the region.

Abai's public service was shown in his being able to reconcile those who were divided into tribes, who quarrelled, could not compromise, and showed hostility to each other over long periods. He drew them close to him and tried to reconcile them. They included Zhigitke Madiyar Tusupovich and Turgai, who had suffered greatly at the hands of the Irgyzbai family during Kunanbai's reign (Kunanbaiuly, 1940: 302). Here we can see that Abai wanted his contemporaries to live hand in hand together, rather than fighting each other. The country was torn apart by the conflict during the reign of his grandfather Oskembai and his father Kunanbai, and he did his best to reconcile the warring tribes. This shows Abai's ability to compromise.

Abai's commitment is reflected in the fact that he supported and worked towards education. He made every effort to encourage children to study. He tried to set an example by sending his own children to school. His poems expressed the idea that education opposes all the evil qualities that damage Kazakhs, such as bribery, ignorance, and greed. He called people to study in Russian, to inculcate enlightenment and patriotic ideas in Russian literature. He sent his children to Russian schools to study Russian science and education.

By saying:

Whoever speaks in ignorance,
Do not listen to such nonsense.
I'd say, it is dangerous.

He advocates that people perceive the truth through wisdom, and be free of naiveté and gullibility. There is not much propaganda for education in the poem "Jasymda gylym bar dep eskermelim" (I did not take into account that at my age there is science ...), on the contrary, it is full of regrets. There is regret that he did not gain enough knowledge in time, was late for science and missed many things. He opposes ignorance, negativity, prejudice, so that young people can access the science that he could not. He preached the virtues of diligence, humility, kindness, and the pursuit of progress. In his poem "Asempaz bolma ar nege" (Don't be distracted by shiny things), he highlighted strength and intelligence as special qualities, emphasising the importance of morality in order to achieve them.

Conclusion

Abai's commitment was influenced, firstly, by the environment and social life in which he lived; secondly, by the revolutionary democrats and educators of Europe, who provided him with spiritual advice; and thirdly, by classical literature. Abai witnessed an incomparable struggle between the old, which has long been used in Kazakh society as a tradition, and the new, which arrived in a rush in Kazakh society. He saw with his own eyes the causes of the controversies that arose as a result of the Tsarist government's colonial policy. The poet was involved, focused on, evaluated and criticised in the political changes around him. He analysed the struggle of the heads of tribes for land and power, the essence of the intervention of the Tsarist government, and tried to show it in more depth. There are minor and major events and contradictions from his real life in Abai's poems and Words. He tried to convey the reality of life and the requirements of his epoch exactly as it was. His passion for searching for a new direction raised him to the level of a leader among the people. People believed in the poet, followed him, depended on him, came to him in search of justice, and waited for a positive solution.

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CHAPTER – XVI

TRACES OF SOVIET IDEOLOGY IN THE NOVEL “THE PATH OF ABAI”

Cemile KINACI BARAN

Abai Kunanbaiuly was a poet, writer, composer, philosopher and a great intellectual, and was the founder of contemporary Kazakh literature. Numerous works reveal Abai's importance in Kazakh cultural life. However, it was the writer Mukhtar Auezov who novelised Abai's life, offered a literary discourse and created a masterpiece that can be described as an encyclopedia of the Kazakh people. Mukhtar Auezov is one of the most powerful writers in Kazakh literature. He made great contributions to the development of Kazakh prose with his stories and novels, however, his biggest literary success is without a doubt his novel *The Path of Abai*. This novel was created after twenty years of research. It includes information from every academic field, and is considered an encyclopedia of the Kazakhs. The novel gained great popularity during the era of the Soviet Union. It includes a discourse in accordance with Soviet ideology, as required by the conditions of the era, and he had to change facts at some points as a result. This article discusses the traces of Soviet ideology reflected in *The Path of Abai* by Auezov.

Literature is an effective tool for the production and transfer of ideology, because it is based on language, which is a system of symbols, ideas and discourse. Society can be directed to certain ideas through literature. Literature can be a tool for transferring ideology, or conversely, society can be diverted from a specific ideology through literature. In the process, literature sometimes absorbs ideology within its works, and this is sometimes done as direct propaganda. Where propaganda is an overwhelming part of literature, and literature has become a tool of ideology, literary work loses its value and becomes an ideological text. While a literary text cannot be purged of ideology completely, it is also not correct to fill such a text with

an obvious ideology. In Soviet literature, however, propaganda plays a significant role. Every Soviet writer is, at the same time, a propagandist.

When the relationship between ideology and literature is considered, the most commonly discussed literature is that of the Soviet era. The Communist Party, which was an ideological instrument in the development of Soviet literature, was always the most important element in the literary process. Soviet literature is characterised by being highly dependent on the Communist Party, and is distinctive in the world history of literature in this regard. Soviet literature and the activities of the Communist Party are so entwined that readers can learn about the decisions of Central Committee of the Communist Party, the opinions of the executives of the Party, and the ideological trends of the era simply by following this literature (Kinaci, 2016: 127).

The Soviet writers of the literature created in line with Soviet ideology felt themselves, and were described by Lenin (1976: 27), as “a small gear” or “a small screw” in the establishment of communism. “A Soviet writer listens to the orders of his own conscience and heart. And his heart beats with those who serve his cause; the party of communists fully” (Zelinsky, 1978: 60).

Soviet literature is a field where political opinions are reflected, and a tool that directs the political opinions of society in the desired direction. “Realism” has therefore always been fictionalised in line with this objective. Literary activities were carried out by the state, and the Union of Soviet Writers adopted “socialist realism” as the main method for producing Soviet art in 1934. The objective of the “socialist realism” is, to create a socialist society and to make socialism permanent. An artist creates their art in line with this objective. The essence of “socialist realism” includes a distinctive “Soviet realism”. Soviet writers do not write about any negativity that actually exists. They fictionalise that reality and write about the “reality that is supposed to be” (Kinaci, 2014: 98).

Mukhtar Auezov, who is one of the most influential writers in Kazakh Soviet literature, had to consider the requirements of Soviet ideology in his fiction, as it applied to his novel *The Path of Abai*, which is a classic of Kazakh literature. This article focuses on the traces of Soviet ideology in this novel.

The Path of Abai

The novel was first published as two separate volumes called *Abai*; the first book was published in 1942 and the second in 1947. These two novels, the second a sequel to the first, were awarded the state prize of the Kazakh Soviet Republic in 1942. *The Path of Abai* also comprises two separate books. The first book was published in 1952 and the second was published in 1956. *The Path of Abai*, which has four volumes in total, was awarded the Lenin Prize in 1959 (Kabdolov, 1994: 225).

The Path of Abai is the most significant work by Auezov. The protagonist of the work is Abai Kunanbaiuly (1845-1904), who is the founder of contemporary Kazakh literature. This novel reveals not only the lifestyle, traditions and customs of the Kazakhs before the era in which the book was written, but also the very core of their national spirit. The writer realistically described all aspects of the nomadic

lifestyle of the Kazakhs prior to the Soviet era in his novel. This means that the work constitutes an encyclopedia of the national life of the Kazakhs, and is an epic novel.

The Russian writer Zelinsky calls *The Path of Abai*, in which Auezov wrote about the life of Abai Kunanbaiuly, who is considered the founder of contemporary Kazakh literature, a real epic of the Kazakh steppe. According to Zelinsky (1978: 342), the novel was written as a realist discourse, and can be considered one of the best works in both Russian and world literature, due to the depth of its psychological analyses. In a speech about the novel *Abai* in 1943, Kazakh writer Gabit Musirepov (1970: 163) noted that no written work had ever been as successful as *Abai*, even taking all types of Kazakh literature into consideration.

The Path of Abai includes the political and historical events experienced by Kazakh Turks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the social lives of Kazakh Turks, as part of the life of Abai Kunanbaiuly. The national life of Kazakhs is addressed in all its aspects. The work is therefore of great importance not only in terms of the history of Kazakh literature, but also the history of Kazakh culture.

The Reflection of Soviet Ideology in *The Path of Abai*

1) Glorification of Russians

A reflection of Soviet ideology in *The Path of Abai* can be seen in the glorification of Russians, who are considered “exemplary people” and idealised constantly in every matter. The Kazakhs, by contrast, are depicted as an underdeveloped society that is incapable compared to Russians, dependent on them, required to take them as an example, and with much to learn from them.

According to the protagonist Abai in the novel, the Russians are “özge önerli el” (a nation/people with another art). Abai repeatedly advised his companions throughout his life to live with art and knowledge. According to Abai, “özge önerli el” (a nation/people with another art) possesses these essential virtues, and Kazakhs must definitely gain art and knowledge by learning from the Russians. Abai’s opinion can be found in his advice to Kudaiberdy:

People need art and science. They need to read and be educated. These times are not the times to consider the deep sleep as power by relying on wide grasslands and fields with no borders seen. It is the time to read and take example from the nation with another art... (Auezov, 1990a: 243).

There is a violent conflict between Abai and his father Kunanbai in the novel. In this conflict, Kunanbai represents the old and traditional mindset, while Abai represents an innovative and pro-Russian mindset. In the quotation below, Kunanbai describes the characteristics of his son that he despises. One of these characteristics is that Abai is pro-Russian (*Orıssıl*).

First of all, you cannot distinguish the cheap and the valuable from each other. You consider all you have as the cheap. You do not know their value. You scatter all you have that is valuable for laughing, enjoyment and others invaluable. You are a man of emptiness. Water without a cause is drunk by all, whether they are a dog or a bird. Secondly, you cannot distinguish friend and foe from each other. You do not treat a friend as a friend, and a foe as a

foe. You have no border in you. No one who is to lead the people can be like this. People do not gather around you in this way. Thirdly, you are a pro-Russian. You started to be like them. You never think that our religion and the Muslims consider them strangers... (Auezov, 1990a: 282-283).

Abai responds to these criticisms from his father. His response to the criticism that he is a pro-Russian is as follows:

... Thirdly, you have mentioned the Russians. The most important things for both the people and myself are science and art. And this art is by Russian. If I can take this essential thing that I could not take before, why would they be strangers to me?... It is only ignorance, and not a virtue, if I find them odd and keep away from them (Auezov, 1990a: 283).

This quote suggests that Abai considers Russian people to be close to him, and he claims that it does no harm to be close to them since they have art and science, on the contrary, it would be a fault to be apart from them. With this aspect, the existence of the image of "Russian whom Abai considers close to himself, does not find odd, but tries to be close and similar to" draws the attention in the novel regarding the Russians. In the quotation above, Abai thinks that it is art and science that are essential on the Earth, and without a doubt, he believes that art and science are with the Russians.

In *The Path of Abai*, Abai's image of the Russians is revealed more clearly in the person of a Russian, Mihaylov Evgeny Petrovich, in private. Mihaylov is one of Abai's Russian friends. Abai first meets him at the house of attorney Andreyev (known among Kazakhs as Akbaş) who is another Russian friend. Mihaylov Evgeny Petrovich is an anti-Tsarist, revolutionist Russian. As an anti-Tsarist, Mihaylov was sent to Semipalatinsk among the Kazakhs as a criminal exile under the surveillance of the Tsardom (Auezov, 1990a: 400).

Mihaylov is the image of an anti-Tsarist, revolutionist Russian leader who clears the path and directs Abai in the novel. In the quotation below, Abai notes this characteristic of Mihaylov, and says that Mihaylov opens the door to a world which Abai has never known before.

You have opened the doors of a world which I have never known before for me. You trusted me and opened them. I consider that I took lessons from this gathering of yours! (Auezov, 1990a: 419).

In the novel, Mihaylov and Abai are two close friends. Mihaylov implants anti-Tsarist ideas in Abai. He tries to show him the real face of the Tsardom (Auezov, 1990a: 494). Abai is greatly affected by these ideas, and at the same time as he turns against the Tsar's administration, he becomes closer to Russian art and science (Auezov, 1990a: 502).

I see the nation of Russians, which at this time which at this time has abundant wealth. It is true, I do not say that its pain is little. Its misfortune and ill luck are also great. However, the coming dawn is close, it is as if I see a nation whose dark night has started to be illuminated... (Auezov, 1990a: 502).

Abai, who listens to Mihaylov saying that a brand-new revolutionary community has been gaining power day by day against the Tsardom, sees the future of the

Russian people as promising. He perceives them as a lucky society that is drawing close to more promising days, because in his view, even though there are many people against Russia, there are also many Russians who strive hard for their country (Auezov, 1990a: 502).

Abai sees Mihaylov as the Russian friend who “wakened” Abai. Mihaylov changes Abai’s world, as described in the quotation below:

You have awakened me in this world, Mihaylov, you have dragged and taken me to such treasures!... Now my compass has drifted and my east become west, and my west become the east! Let it be!... (Auezov, 1990a: 575).

Mihaylov sees Abai as an ambassador of Russian culture among Kazakhs, and therefore he is very pleased with Abai’s translation of “Tatiana’s Letter to Onegin” by Pushkin, because it means that the Kazakh people will know and love the Russian Pushkin, and become closer to him through this translation (Auezov, 1990a: 581). Mihaylov reads and corrects the translation, and helps to perfect Abai’s work. Abai’s thoughts about Mihaylov, who he considers a close friend, and who he adores, are described by Abai in the quotation below.

O Allah! What an amazing meticulousness and understanding Mihaylov has. He does not understand the Kazakh language well, however, his comments on my translation are very precise. This science is absorbed in the soul of a person and illuminates all its creation, and creates such a wise and seemingly distant character. Mihaylov who is far from being Kazakh knows all about me and foresees my thoughts! (Auezov, 1990a: 583).

Abai wants his son Abish, in whom all his hopes reside, and who represents the generation that he dreams will exist in the future, to be similar to his Russian friend Mihaylov. Abai imagines Abish being similar to Mihaylov not only as an intellectual, but in what he looks like, that is, his physical appearance, because Abai also admires the modern way in which Mihaylov dresses.

Abai envisioned the young students with great enthusiasm, like his own son Abish and Maghash. *He saw them as if they were men of new style exactly like Mihaylov. They had clothes like those who were from the city, not the clothes of Tobıktı, like Kazakhs. They had glasses on their eyes and piles of books on high tables. He envisioned the literati buried under the thick volumes, protector of the people and the leader of the new generation.* It was like he was seeing his children, seeking what was needed by the Kazakh people, rejuvenating and with a promising future... (Auezov, 1990a: 504).

Abai considers the Russian people a society to be taken as an example, especially Pushkin and Lermontov, classic Russian citizens, and Herzen¹ and Chernyshevsky²

1 Alexander Ivanovich Herzen: He was born in Moscow in 1812 and died in France in 1870. He was a popular Russian revolutionary. His identity as a journalist, writer and philosopher meant that he was considered a leader by the Russian revolutionaries. For the Turkish translation of the work titled *The Romantic Exiles*, which fictionalises the life of Alexander Ivanovich Herzen exiled outside Russia in the light of his personal letters, please see Carr, (2012).

2 Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky (1828-1889) was a versatile Russian intellectual. His identity as a utopian Russian philosopher, revolutionary democrat, university professor,

who endured many hardships, but greatly influenced the ideological development of their own nation. Abai believes that a new nation with developing humanity will also be born among the Kazakhs, by taking the Russians as an example:

... what is there that Pushkin and Lermontov, who I first consider my friends, did not see? What kind of hells did Herzen and Chernyshevsky pass, experiencing great pains? Pavlov considered being exiled as something inherited from their ancestors. ... The Russian soldiers introduced an elephant's characteristics of courage, integrity and determination. A nation of Kazakhs with developing humanity shall be born among young generations, and the generation after you, your sons and daughters will be the result of such education and training! (Auezov, 1990b: 208).

In the quotation above, Abai, first and foremost, considers Pushkin and Lermontov as "friends". The Russian philosophers Herzen and Chernyshevsky were punished and exiled by the Russian Tsardom due to their intellectual ideas, but they never gave up their cause of revolution and socialism. Pavlov inherited his exile among the Kazakhs from his ancestors, as did Herzen and Chernyshevsky. Their fight continued, and the revolutionary battle became a legacy that was transferred from generation to generation. The Russian Pavlov accepted this legacy with no complaint, and so those who introduce courage, integrity and determination to Kazakhs are likened to the Russians. Abai believes that a "nation with developing humanity" (*adamdıǵı ösken kavım*) will be born among the youth who have a Russian discipline, like his own son Abish.

Abai sends a thousand thanks because the Kazakh people are now aware of the fact that Russians are actually a great treasure, and are known as the "Russian people who are with art and deep thoughts", and have decided to follow their ways. In this respect, he considers himself and the accompanying young people who follow his way as fortunate.

Thanks, thanks to God a thousand times! It was the *Russian people who gave us the actual great treasure, art and great treasures*. It was *my people who came to their shadow as powerless and exhausted with "aktaban şubırındı"*³. *It came with its dark people and deserted wilderness. As the first*

literary critic, journalist and writer meant that he was the leader of the revolutionary democratic movement in the 1860s, and also a socialist theorist who influenced Lenin. One of his most important works is his novel, *What Is to Be Done?* It was a resource for the Soviet understanding of the "new man". Chernyshevsky wrote this novel when was in exile in the Petersburg Peterpaul jailhouse between December 1862 and April 1863. The protagonist of the novel, Vera Pavlovna Rozalskaya marries a medicine student, Dmitriy Lopuhov, rejecting the son of their landlord whom her mother wishes her to marry. Because this marriage was not performed under the proper conditions, however, Vera has to end it. Vera separates from her husband, decides to find her own place in life, and starts to work in a "new type" of tailor's house. This "new type" of tailor's house is a "commune" which does not discriminate between employer and employee, and where all the employee girls are equal. For the Turkish translation of the novel, please see Chernyshevsky (1999).

- 3 "Aktaban şubırındı" is one the sorrowful historical event in which the Kazakhs had to leave South Kazakhstan to the Kalmaks, with great losses, as a result of a large-scale attack by the Kalmaks in 1723 (period of Bolat Khan, 1718-1730), and this has never

ambassador, the first leader of that wilderness, Altynsarin⁴ lived a life. I have not established a relationship through being in-laws, I have not found a friendship. However, I have reached my hand to the real goodness of the real good Russian. It was not only myself who reached out. Now, thank God, you have also reached out with what you have learned, more or less. We shall all be the first ones awakened. But here is the abundance that the generation after ourselves shall see! When they go, they shall go with abundance, and shall integrate and harmonise. History goes in that direction. Are these things not true, Abish?! (Auezov, 1990b: 207).

2) Negative Portrayal of Jadidists of the Turkish Empire

The other trace of Soviet ideology reflected in the novel is related to the Jadidists of the Turkish Empire. Both Ottoman and Volga-Ural Jadidists are portrayed negatively in the novel. They try to drive a wedge between Abai and his people, and their “Russian friends”. The Jadidists intend to separate Abai and his people from the Russians, and bring them closer to themselves.

Auezov’s novel shows the communication between the Jadidists controlled by Türkiye and Russia. The Jadidists of Türkiye and the Turkish Empire meet and stay in contact. The Ottoman Turks and Volga-Ural Jadidists both want to make a connection with the province of Turkestan. In the novel, the Jadidists want to connect with Abai and take advantage of his authority over his people, however, Abai is against the mindset that strives to separate them from the Russians and make them a Russian enemy, as shown in the quotation below. Abai reacts fiercely to the Jadidists of the Turkish Empire who say “We are brothers in religion”, “They are our enemy in religion”, and “Stay away, do not listen to them, be their enemy”. Abai draws their attention by criticising the Turkish Sultan in Istanbul, in the quotation below. Abai claims that the Turkish Sultan believes in a “brotherhood in religion”. In the quotation below, “Abai sees” the Turkish Sultan in Istanbul as a “tyrant from Arabian Nights” times.

... To use (or abuse) no matter who to materialise their own dark beliefs by relying on the word that I am a Muslim... some of these goes beyond. They reside in Russia and raise the people as foes against those who stopped the tears. The smell of this comes from the mouths of those we have just seen. They are full of advice and called themselves as “brotherhood

been forgotten in the Kazakh memory (Togan, 1981, pp. 167-170, 171). This event is called *Aktaban şubırındı* in Kazakh history because the Kazakhs who were defeated by the Kalmaks migrated further north by caravan, from South Kazakhstan to the Kazakh steppe, until the soles of their feet turned white from walking. After the years of *Aktaban şubırındı*, there was clear internal conflict in the Kazakh Khanate, and following these conflicts, the Three Kazakh Zhuzs began a process of complete administrative separation.

- 4 Ibrai Altynsarin (1841-1889) implemented the policies of the Tsardom era among the Kazakhs, following the instructions of the missionary Ilminsky (Ayan 2015: 70-71). In particular, he led the efforts to make the Kazakh dialect a written language alongside Chagatay, which is the common written language of the Volga-Ural and Turkestan Turks. Making the Kazakh dialect the written language was one of the greatest Russian accomplishments among the Kazakhs, and among other Turkic peoples.

in religion", and "foe to the infidels". *Their masters are in Trotskiy, Kazan, Crimea, Bukhara Sharif, Samarkand, and far beyond, in Egypt, Mecca and Medina, which are called the land of Khalifa. The Sultan who possesses the tyranny of "Arabian nights" times, is in Istanbul with Turks.* Sometimes I receive greetings from some of them, and letters, and sometimes his advice in gazettes come into my hands. I know and think, and sometimes worry in anger. They only intend to be servants of the Mullah, wearing turbans and following the five pillars of Islam. This is all to keep the people of today and the generations of the future locked away from the innovations of another world, and in darkness. Especially, *they claim that the art and science and education of these Russian people is terrible, and scare people about it. They have no advice other than "We are brothers in religion", "They are our enemy in religion, stay away, do not listen to them, and be enemy to them!"*... (Auezov, 1990b: 390-391).

There are also another negative images regarding the Turkish Sultan in Istanbul in The Path of Abai. These negative images are mentioned first hand by Abai during a conversation with another of his Russian friends, Fedor Ivanovich Pavlov, on religion. Pavlov leads, helps and influences Abai in the same way as Mihaylov. He is an anti-Tsarist Russian who is in exile like Mihaylov (Auezov, 1990b: 207) Pavlov and his wife Aleksandra Yakovlevna are shown as anti-Tsarist Russian friends who always help Abai (Auezov, 1990b: 382). Pavlov uses anti-religion propaganda in the conversations that Abai and Pavlov have about religion. Pavlov says that "The priest of the Russians is bad, and the Imam and mullahs of the Muslims are also bad" and takes a stand that is completely against religion. Pavlov explains why he thinks so at the end of his sentence: "No goodness comes from either of these to the people. Furthermore, they only look through the frame of religion and plan to drive a wedge between the people and make them enemies of each other"(Auezov, 1990b: 544).

In addition to the anti-religion propaganda in the conversations, the criticisms of the Turkish Sultan in Istanbul, Abdul Hamid, are very striking. These criticisms can be seen during a conversation where Abai explains his grief to Pavlov, who he considers a close friend.

Upon this, Abai told Pavlov the abundant foolery and utter ignorance of the Islamic advisers. He explained that their thoughts were only of loyalty to Istanbul, the land of Khalifa, and Sultan Abdul Hamid. He said that the fatwa of Sheik al-Islam there and the intentions, imams and wishes of the blind religious officials here were the same.

Pavlov also knew many things about this matter. Now, he told Abai about very interesting and previously unknown matters related to today's Türkiye.

He revealed, with several proofs, that Abdul Hamid had a thousand concubines in his harem and that Türkiye was a different, dark and ignorant empire (Auezov, 1990b: 544-545).

Abai is portrayed as being anti-Islam. He offers direct pro-Russian propaganda while harshly criticising the entire Islamic World. The propaganda of the dominant ideology of the era mentioned by Abai in the novel reflects the reality of the era

in which it was written in that era. Although the novel involves several elements of the national and cultural identity of Kazakhs, and is an encyclopedia of the Kazakh people (including Kazakh history, traditions and customs, and details of the nomadic Kazakh lifestyle that is an essential part of the Kazakh national identity etc.), it was not criticised by the ideology of that era, and was considered praiseworthy in the Soviet era. The image of the Abai as fictionalised by Mukhtar Auezov in accordance with the ideology had a great effect. The quotation below exemplifies one of the anti-Islamic and pro-Russian discourses in *The Path of Abai*. In the quotation, Abai fiercely and clearly states that he is against joining the mufti and the Kazakhs who want him as a religious leader, and expect Abai's support in this matter. According to Abai, the Kazakhs should initiate a relationship with the Russians instead of aiming for Islamic union for themselves. The extent to which Russians and Russian civilisation have entered the Kazakh lifestyle means that Russians and Kazakhs can never be separated.

First of all, they intend to be a nation based on the religion of Islam. By talking about a brotherhood in religion, they intend to find Kazakhs in Russia and Siberia and offer brotherhood with the Arabs of Egypt, Muslims of India, Khalifa Sultan and Sheik al-Islam of Istanbul. They have compromised on finding relatives. Above all, the essence of this is a lie. No matter which nation we take into consideration, they live their lives with relationships established with their own neighbours, who are close to them in daily life. *Those who say they shall make us close to the Muslims of the Khalifa think first that they shall take us away from the Russian people who are our close neighbour.* Even if they do not say this, it is clear as day. *O people of Kazakh, how can you stay away from Russians?* Life is important, both as an individual and a nation. What we call life is this water you drink, bread you eat, clothes you wear, house you take shelter in; it is all these things and many more. Let me take you, Semipalatinsk Kazakhs, as an example:

... this Irtysh here is not your river, but the Russian's. Then, first of all, oh people of Semipalatinsk, oh Kazakhs of Semipalatinsk, the water you drink is the water of the Russian people. Second of all, you do not sow yourself, you are not a nation occupied with agriculture, so the bread you eat is made of flour that the Russian peasants grew, ground in the mill and brought to give you. Apart from this, all of the clothes you wear, the house you live in, all your furniture and tools are objects created by the city and art of the Russian people!... You intend to be away from them? Then you go away, and find yourself another brother, when you are left barefoot and buck-naked! Secondly, we are a nation in darkness, under thick smoke, covered with the smoke of ignorance, overwhelmed and not awake yet. What do we need above all? We need the illumination of knowledge. Even if we are illiterate and ignorant, we must educate today's generation as fast as possible and so that they understand the world and open their eyes, and we need to worry about this and act immediately! At this point, it is the exemplary nation of Russians, our friend who gave it all to us, the art of the Russians, with no stinginess if you can take all the illumination! Thirdly, another reason not to join the mufti is that our women, our family do not want this. Our women are already troubled. Let us think about the nations that are completely bound by the Islamic sharia when they accept being a Muslim! The situation of

women there is far worse than for the troubled women of the Kazakhs; they are simply in a dark grave. The “White leash” of today’s Kazakh women is a sufficiently nasty situation, treated like goods sold on the market. There is no need to make them stay, and suffocate, by covering them with the “hijab”, “veil and surcoat” and the “turban” (Auezov, 1990: 549).

The long quotation above is the clearest example of the pro-Russian propaganda involved in the image of Abai in *The Path of Abai*. In this quotation, Abai considers the Kazakh people as looking to the Russians as a neighbouring nation. According to Abai, if Kazakhs join the mufti in the name of a “brotherhood in religion”, they shall be taken away from the Russians, on whom they are dependent in all ways, and would thus be in a fix. For this reason, Abai advises Kazakhs to be closer to Russians, and give up their idea of joining with the mufti.

Conclusion

A positive pro-Russian perception is propagated through the image of Abai Kunanbaiuly in the novel *The Path of Abai* by Mukhtar Auezov. The Russian people, who Abai supports, are described positively, such as “exemplary people”, “people with art”, “people with knowledge”, “people with a promising future”, “people with deep thoughts”, “a nation of abundance”, “people with advanced science and technology”, “people with advanced civilisation” and “people who are close neighbours” to Kazakhs. When we take into account the discourse of pro-Russian propaganda in the quotations of Abai, it is no surprise that the work was well-liked under the dominant ideology of that era, and praised by the local and foreign authorities. Even though the novel includes several elements of Kazakh national and cultural identity and is simply an encyclopedia of the Kazakh people, the “Pro-Russian Abai”, image fictionalised by Mukhtar Auezov was effective in reinforcing the ideology of that era, as indicated by the fact that such aspects of the novel were not criticised in the Soviet era, which on the contrary was considered a praiseworthy work. Despite the negative effects of the Soviet ideology reflected in the work, however, *The Path of Abai* is a treasure of Kazakh literature and culture.

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CHAPTER – XVII

THE REPRESSION OF THE SOVIET TOTALITARIAN REGIME AGAINST WORKS OF ABAI KUNANBAIULY: HISTORY AND CONSEQUENCES

Danagul MAKHAT

This article examines the ideological continuity between Abai Kunanbaiuly and the Kazakh intellectuals of the early twentieth century, the opposition of the totalitarian system in the former Soviet Union to the work of the poet, and the history and consequences of political persecution and accusations. Since the Bolshevik Party aimed to turn Kazakh Soviet literature into a propaganda tool for its policy and ideology, the spiritual and cultural sphere was obliged to be guided by I. Stalin's principle of "the content must be socialist, the form national", and to propagate the inviolable "Stalinist friendship" of peoples and the ideas of internationalism. Soviet ideology and politics also influenced the study of the personality and work of the great Kazakh poet and educator Abai Kunanbaiuly, for whom this year marks the 175th anniversary of his birth. This article is devoted to the study of this topical issue on the basis of historical data and to revealing the truth.

During the Soviet period, the study of the works of Abai Kunanbaiuly was considered in the following four systems: the first is the collection and publication of the poet's manuscript literary heritage; the second is the collection and study of historical and literary materials on his biography; the third is scientifically studying the works and giving a certain systematic opinion; and fourth is related to the study of Abai, to clarify and solve topical issues about the history of Kazakh literature in general. At first glance, everything is correct, everything is necessary for scientific knowledge. However, the problem was in the methodology of research on the topic. From the time of the Soviet totalitarian regime to our country's

independence, Kazakh history was limited to class views, and anti-colonial, democratic, freedom-fighting works were denounced as nationalist. In the study of individuals, friendship or harmony with the Russian people came to the fore. National and intergenerational succession was postponed. The issue was assessed unilaterally in accordance with the class-party methodology. Abai Kunanbaiuly's upbringing, Abai's public activity, the ideological connection between Abai and Kazakh intellectuals (before and after Abai), Abai's disciples, and Abai school of poetry were not studied in terms of historical science. And the issue of opposition to the work of Abai Kunanbaiuly by the Soviet totalitarian system began to be discussed only after the independence of our country; before that it was one of the closed topics.

Obviously, it is not possible to cover all of the above in one article. Therefore, we consider the period from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1950s in relation to the individuality and work of the great Kazakh poet and educator Abai Kunanbaiuly. We aimed to study the causes and consequences of various debates and repressions against Abai and his work in the post-Soviet period, and their impact on the spiritual and cultural sphere. The study takes into account the political, ideological, spiritual, and cultural life of the Kazakh society during the establishment of the Soviet totalitarian system. Archives and periodicals, manuscripts, and research on the subject were included in the scientific circulation.

Methodology of the Problem

In the study of the personality and work of Abai Kunanbaiuly, we adhered to the principle of pluralism and sought to preserve methodological pluralism. Also, the principle of axiological pluralism was observed in historical research, taking into account the axiological factor that leads to the achievement of objective reality. We used general scientific methods of research: review, analysis, systematisation, comparison, induction, deduction, generalisation, and other methods, as well as specific methods of historical research: historical-genetic, historical-comparative, and historical-systematic methods. Contradictory views in the materials published in periodicals, debates on culture, literature, science, and the one-sided promotion of Stalin's views on the issue were studied in comparison with historical sources from the archives and the original data.

Abai and the Kazakh Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century

Abai saw the colonial, missionary policy of the Tsarist government in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the dark fog of the Kazakh people, tribal strife, antiquity, and ignorance.

Abai's struggle was limited to the level of enlightenment; he could not take concrete action, because at that time the political and social forces that were beginning to fight against colonial oppression were just maturing. Abai lived in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, seeing the colonial, missionary policy of the Tsarist government, the dark fog around the heads of the Kazakh people, the tribal strife around them, antiquity, and ignorance. He woke up early, thought, and could not achieve his dream. Abai's

struggle was limited to the level of enlightenment, but he could not take concrete action, because at that time the political and social forces that would fight against colonial oppression were just maturing.

Kazakh enlightener-poet of the early twentieth century Mirjaqyp Dulatuly express the mention circumstances as follows:

Our Kazakhs entered the fog,
The back is narrow, the front is closed – how miserable?!
As a leader to a lost people,
There are few people to guide (Dulatov, 2002: 30).

At that time, Kazakh intellectuals with a new quality, who were educated in Europe, were aware that the national movement of the East and the bourgeois revolution in the West were just emerging. The idea of the Enlightenment on Kazakh soil was characterised by the call against the old feudal order and social relations, religious fanaticism, as well as the liberation from Russian colonial oppression, and the development of modern education and science (Koigeldiev, 2014: 236). With his sharp poems, Abai awakened the political movement and prepared the ground for change in society. He became the guiding star among the uneducated, average Kazakh people. He became famous for his poems that enlightened his readers (Dulatov, 2003: 236).

Leading Kazakh intellectuals paid close attention to the works of Abai Kunanbaiuly and read his works with great passion. The first stage in the study of Abai's life and work was formed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the era of nationalism and the awakening of national consciousness began due to the opposition of Kazakh society to colonial policy. In the words of the writer M. Auezov: It was the "Kazakh" newspaper – the voice of Alash intellectuals – that made people of all ages ponder, awakened the nation and flowed blood through its lifeless body like the cold wind of an autumn morning (Auezov, 2014: 64). Excerpts from Abai's poems, articles, reviews, and other materials were published in the pages of this publication. The style and direction of the "Kazakh" newspaper – the principle of awakening the nation and starting a straight path – were in line with Abai's enlightenment ideas.

After Abai, Kazakh intellectuals proclaimed, "Wake up, Kazakh!", and began to master new tools of political struggle, such as the publication of newspapers, the distribution of books calling for struggle, and the organisation of petitions with socio-political demands. In a newly formed political situation, new means of struggle, new methods and tactics, and, most importantly, a political and social force that could arm the people and start a social movement were needed (Koigeldiev, 1993: 48). The political events of the early twentieth century showed that such a force was starting to develop in Kazakh society. This force was Kazakh intellectuals, led by Alikhan Bokeikhanov, Akhmet Baitursynuly, and Mirjaqyp Dulatuly, who studied in Russian-Kazakh schools opened by the Tsarist government and received higher education in Russian cities. With the participation of Kazakh intellectuals under the leadership of Alikhan Bokeikhanov, the poet's poems were published in periodicals, such as "*Dala Ualayaty*", "*Aikap*", "*Kazakh*", "*Uakyt*", and "*Abai*", and in the records of the Russian Geographical Society. The first ideas about

Abai's work were expressed in informative articles, and his works were collected and published as well¹.

After 1917, times began to change. The Tsar fell from the throne in February, and the Bolsheviks came to power in October. In 1918, under the leadership of Alikhan Bokeikhanov, the government of Alash Orda was formed in Semei². Alimkhan Ermekov, Khalel Gabbasov, Mannan Turganbaev, Raimzhan Marsekov, Abikey Satpayev, Akhmetzhan Kozybagarov, Zhakyp Akbaev, Erezhep Itbaev and a group of Kazakh intellectuals served in the government. Mukhtar Auezov and Zhusupbek Aimatuly published the magazine *Abai*, and *Mannan Turganbaev* published the newspaper *Kazakh Tili*, which included articles on topical issues of Kazakh life. In 1917, M. Auezov, who had studied the life and works of Abai and given insights into the history and culture of our people, wrote and staged the play *Enlik-Kebek*. He published the articles *Life and work of Abai* in the second issue of the magazine *Abai* in 1918 under the pseudonym "Ekew", "Poets after Abai" in the third issue of that year, and "Poets after Abai" in the fifth issue of the magazine. J. Aimaurov and M. Auezov accurately described the political situation in those years by saying: "One of the reasons for the increase in the number of our poets is the "awakening". The reasons for this awakening were first Abai, second the "Kazakh" newspaper, and third the general public's interest in science... This impression made the latter think and wake up. It was the "Kazakh" newspaper (Auezov, 2014: 66), that corrected the approach of the awakened thought, set it on its way, and motivated it to move forward. These two Kazakh men were determined to awaken the national consciousness and regularly published articles in the newspapers "Saryarka" and "Kazakh Tili". One of the prominent Kazakh figures of the early twentieth century, Telzhan Shonanov, published an article in the newspaper "Ak Zhol" raising the issue of publishing a complete collection of works by Abai. This work was entrusted to the poet Berniyaz Kuleev, but he encountered obstacles in the preparation of the publication and he was only able to reprint the collection of 1909. The Bolsheviks who came to power did not like the direction of the national intellectuals. On January 28, 1920, the representative of the Sibrevkom S. Sharafutdinov, who arrived in Semei from Omsk, complained to the Sibrevkom that:

... before my arrival, a section of Turkic peoples had been established under the Semei administration. At the head of the section is a man named Mukhtar Auezov... Ermekov is one of the most influential leaders of the Alash Orda Party after the famous Bokeikhanov, who fought against the Soviet authorities with weapons. Auezov (high school student)... such people are of no use to the Communist Party or the Soviet government (Suleiman, 1999: 20-21).

The situation was further aggravated by the adoption of a decree in 1922 on the dismissal of supporters of Alash Orda.

Studies on Abai: Different Views and Arguments

In the 20-30s of the twentieth century, with the full establishment of the administrative-command system, the attack on the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Kazakh people began, and there were different views and arguments on the

recognition of Abai. For example, S. Mukanov wrote in an article in the “Enbekshi Kazakh” newspaper, “Don’t be writing on the blackboard, speakers,” that “Abai is with the riches, not us.” In Issue 369 of this newspaper in 1923, he wrote: “Abai was an aristocrat; his father, Kunanbai, was a bullying ruler; there is no good for the workers”, while echoing his earlier statement in the third issue of 1927 by saying, “My opinion of Abai remains the same.” From 1923 to 1933, Mukanov was limited to making general, one-sided statements by writing in Issue 3 of the magazine “Zhana Adebiet” in 1928: “Abai was a poet born from the desire of transferring from aristocracy to an innovative idea, from a desire for innovation”, and “Abai was the first innovator (liberalist) who pointed out the shortcomings of the Kazakh aristocratic, fatherly desires, and called for correction and capability” in his one article in “Kazakh literature” in 1932. This opinion was followed by an argument in the periodicals about the personality of Abai Kunanbaiuly, in which the socio-political views of I. Mustambayev, I. Kabylov, A. Segizbayev, B. Kenzhebayev, and other citizens were given in response. From the opinions of Saken Seifullin and Nazir Torekulov about Abai, it is clear that their positions on Abai’s personality and poetry were divided (Torekulov, 1997: 54). Although major scientific institutions, such as the Russian Geographical Society, have set certain requirements for the promotion of Abai’s legacy, they have not objected to celebrating the 20th anniversary of Abai Kunanbaiuly’s death. In this regard, the director of the Semei Kazakh Pedagogical College, A. Z. Satpayev, an outstanding educator, honoured Alash. He invited M. Auezov, who was studying at Leningrad University, to teach at the Pedagogical College. After M. Auezov came to Semei, he was appointed a member and deputy head of the Semei branch of the Russian Geographical Society and of the society in 1924. He organised an evening to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the death of Abai Kunanbaiuly. In preparation for the evening in memory of Abai, Alkei Margulan, M. Auezov’s best student, also took an active part. He prepared information about the course of the evening and presented it to the newspaper “Kazakh Tili” (Bildiru, 1924).

On December 29, 1924, at the party dedicated to the famous Kazakh poet Abai Kunanbaiuly, which took place in the Lunacharsky club, Khalel Gabbasov talked about “Abai’s biography”, M. Auezov delivered a report on “Abai’s contribution to the Kazakh literature”, and Kokbai Zhanatayev told a memoir called “Manifestations of Character”. Amire Kashaubaev and Almagambet Kapsylamov sang Abai’s songs, and Kazakh schoolchildren read poems by the poet (Report, 1992: 11). Idris Mustambayev, a Kazakh intellectual who had been a member of the Semei Provincial Committee since 1919, published an article in the Kazakh Tili newspaper entitled “The Great Poet Abai”.

This evening dedicated to the poet expanded the number of objective commentators on Abai’s legacy. The talented young Beysenbay Kenzhebayev published articles about Abai, saying, “Abai is a thinker, artist, poet. He doesn’t put one nation opposed to another. Abai is a national poet. He made his way to the Kazakh literature on his own. He added three more measurements to his previous poems. Abai is the father of Kazakh written literature”, “Abai is a progressive, national poet”, “the founder of Kazakh realist literature”, “Abai does not distinguish between rich and poor, he treats everyone equally” (Kenzhebayev, 1925a; 1925b; 1935: 153-158). He was one

of the first to study Abai's creative heritage, to evaluate it correctly, and to form the first true opinion when Abai's work and personality were discussed. This should be considered as a justification of the scientist's courage, devotion to science, and living up to the expectations from the talented Kazakh poet Magzhan Zhumabaev, who directed him to write an article about Abai's poetry.

However, as the authoritarian system grew stronger, the number of political campaigns aimed at studying and promoting the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Kazakh people, including Abai and his work, increased and hampered events. After the resolution of the Kazakh Territorial Committee of the CPSU of June 18, 1925 "On the literary policy of the party", the party's influence in the field of literature and culture increased, and in the spiritual and cultural sphere. This established Stalin's principle that "... the culture of the nation in the age of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be socialist in content, national in form" (Brainin, 1936). The Kazakh Association of Proletarian Writers was established, which required writers to write literary works on the theme of socialist realism and to constantly propagate the inviolable "Stalinist friendship" of peoples and the ideas of internationalism. The established totalitarian system sought to turn Kazakh Soviet literature into a propaganda tool that eulogised about the events of the revolution and the civil war, Soviet construction in Kazakhstan, Stalinist transformations, and creative labour. "Let the national intellectuals continue to interfere in the technical side, and not interfere in political and ideological issues" – a special resolution was adopted to dismiss Bokeikhanov from his position in periodicals (AP RK. f. 141, op: 33).

The first secretary of Kazakhstan said: "S. Saduakasov in his critical articles on individual works of Kazakh writers in periodicals uses Marxist criticism, mainly propagandising the works of nationalists, for example, Abai, Abai's philosophy" (AP RK. f. 141, op. 1, d. 2958: 2). The policy of the Bolshevik Party to abandon national literature and culture contradicted the position of the nation's intellectuals in the spiritual and cultural spheres, and continued to argue on this issue. This is evidenced by the irreconcilable, uncompromising disputes between the leaders of the Kazakh literature of the 20-30s of the twentieth century, especially around the legacy of Abai.

Sabit Mukanov wrote in the magazine "Kyzyl Kazakhstan": "Kazakh nationalist writers are divided into two types: right-wing nationalists and poets. Right-wing nationalists are cadets in the Kazakh situation. They are not really nationalists, they are tyrants. We can't join them" (Mukanov, 1927: 49). Ilyas Kabyluly, a communist, wrote in the newspaper "Enbekshi Kazakh": "For this, it is necessary to gather all the forces of the party-Soviet society on the cultural front, to accelerate the struggle against Abai's philosophy, against those who follow Abai's path" (Mustambaev, 1929). I. Mustambaev, who demanded an end to the attack on national heritage, published in the magazine "New Literature" in 1928 in (Issues 5-6) "Our disputes: Characters of Poets and Characters of Sabit" (Mukhamedkhanuly, 1992: 55). He told the "critics" to look at the history of Abai's life before commenting, and that today it is easy to criticise Abai's writings for not being Marxist. However, such factual comments were not taken into account. The Kazakh proletariat published

an open letter to all organisations of Kazakh writers, poets, and writers in the July 3, 1928 issue of the newspaper “Enbekshi Kazakh”, saying “In the literature we have to fight against the old nationalist writers, Alash Orda and their followers, Sadvakasovism”, urging them to intensify the political campaign. There are supporters of such an appeal too. In the second issue of the collection “Jyl Qusy”, published in 1928, Zhumabai Ormanbaev published an article entitled “Karakoz”, in which he said: “Mukhtar cannot write a book to the will of the proletariat. He doesn’t even know how to write.” The number of anti-M. Auezov – who began to systematically study the life and work of Abai Kunanbaiuly – protesters increased, and on December 30, 1929, he was arrested as a nationalist writer.

On December 12, 1930, M. Auezov, who was in captivity, sent a letter to F. Goloschekin, the secretary of the Kazakh Territorial Party Committee, stating that he did not agree with some of the charges under paragraphs 7 and 11 of Article 58 of the USSR Criminal Code of December 6, 1930 (Makhat, 2007: 354). On July 10, 1932, together with Alimkhan Ermekov, he published an “Open Letter” in the newspapers “Kazakhstanskaya Pravda” and “Social Kazakhstan” acknowledging their “mistakes”. M. Auezov was released from prison only after the publication of this “Open Letter”.

The reason for the publication of the “Open Letter” by two Kazakh intellectuals and the transition to another method of struggle for the future of the nation is described in the memoirs of the scientist Kaiym Mukhamedkhanuly. The Soviet totalitarian system did not stop persecuting M. Auezov even after his release from prison. In 1933, Abai’s works were collected and submitted for publication, and M. Auezov was accused of being an “idealist” and a “tyrant” for the work “Abai’s relatives and life” included in this collection (Dokladnaya zapiska, 1933: 131-135).

M. Auezov went through the painful years of the Soviet totalitarian system but did not hide his past. Commenting on the direction and other issues of the “Open Letter” written in 1934, he said: “... I was a person who literally implemented the traditions of the rich and Alash Orda. This situation is known to the general public and to me” (Auezuly Mukhtardyng haty, 1995: 183-185). He continued his research in the field of Abai studies. In 1934, in the article “Around Abai’s poetry”, the influence of oriental literature, and Russian and Western literature, on Abai’s work, and Abai school of poetry were raised. In the latter, he stated that Abai used to gather around him talented poets, constantly educate them, give them a theme and direction, and had his own school of poetry. Later, Mukhtar Auezov wrote a play and novel about Abai and published several articles about the life and work of Abai. Between 1940 and 1944, Abai’s biography was supplemented twice with new data, and as a result of many years of research he wrote a scientific biography of the poet. M. Auezov identified the issues of Abai’s poetic environment, cultural pursuits, and the relationship between Abai and Eastern and Russian literature.

Other researchers wrote about the life and work of Abai Kunanbaiuly. For example, M. Batalov and M.S. Silchenko, in the 1933 “Essay on the history of Kazakh literature”, described Abai as a poet of a new era. M.S. Silchenko, in his 1934 article “Abai’s Realism”, said that Abai’s works were important in their time. Amina Mametova made the right conclusion in her article “Abai is a wise poet of

the period" (Mametova, 1934: 66), saying, "Abai does not remain at the level of a certain class, he sings the common views of mankind and the people, so Abai's wish is not the wish of one class, but the wish of many". In her article written in 1945, A. Mametova touched upon the Eastern theme in Abai's lyrics, the issue of Abai's harmony with the poets of the Tatar and Turkic-speaking countries of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, due to the dictatorial policy of the Communist Party, following the mere slogans of the time, she changed her mind and said that Abai was a "poet of the feudal class", and that Abai's grief was the grief of the feudal class (Kenzhebaev, 1935: 158).

The system of the 20-30s of the twentieth century, subordinating science and education to its policy and ideology, sought a change brought about by the October Revolution of 1917 in the life and work of Abai, trying to prove whether Abai was a feudal lord or a bourgeoisie. They did not want to admit that Abai was a classical poet who sang about his view of the world, especially the realities of his time, and the social image of Kazakh society, which was associated with Kazakh, Eastern, Turkic, and European thinkers. In the 1930s, Kazakh intellectuals were politically accused, persecuted, shot, and deported. Thus, the totalitarian system has wiped out almost all free-thinking intellectuals in society. It is strictly forbidden to read their works and name them.

Persecution for M. Auezov, K. Mukhamedkhanuly, B. Kenzhebaev, and others, who conducted complex research in the field of Abai studies, showed its results. Researchers set out to look at the problem only from a class-party point of view. Research work in this direction continued: the Kazakh branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences organised scientific expeditions to study Abai, prepared two volumes of his works, and translated Abai's works into Russian. The first edition of Auezov's research on "Abai" was published. Associate Professor of Literature Kazhym Zhumaliev summarised and systematised the scientific opinions about Abai, written in the textbooks on the history of Kazakh literature in the Soviet period. He analysed the enlightenment ideas of Abai, and the structure of his poems. He wrote a doctoral dissertation on the language of Abai. A. Konyratbaev and A. Mashanov wrote about Abai's philosophical views, while A. Iskakov wrote research on Abai's life, and B. Zhakypbaev prepared Abai's dictionary. K. Mukhamedkhanuly collected the works of Abai's students and began to prepare them for publication. A. Margulan found three letters of Abai Kunanbaiuly in the archives of Leningrad (Ismailov: 28). On the eve of the 100th anniversary of Abai Kunanbaiuly, a complete collection of the poet in the Kazakh and Russian languages and extensive research on Abai by M. Auezov, S. Mukanov, M. Silchenko, and K. Mukhamedkhanuly were published.

The established communist totalitarian system gave priority to the Russian language, and in 1941-1945 the study of Abai did not go beyond the development of written literature, the formation of literature, and the study of Russian literature (Ismailov: 28). They opposed the principle that Abai is the basis of our literary language in the dialect of the Almaty region. Their argument was that the Russian literary language was based on the language of the Moscow region, and the Kazakh literary language should be based on the language of the Almaty region, the capital of the Kazakh SSR. This, of course, was a wrong position, because at that time it was impossible to compare the Moscow and Almaty regions. Moscow has been the

cultural and political center of the Russian people for centuries, and most Russian writers lived in the region, in the city itself.

In 1945, Almaty was only 16 years old as a capital city, and at that time only the poet Suyunbay was known in the region. Semei has long been a major cultural and political center of the Kazakh people. Abai studied and developed his compositions there. Sultanmakhmut Toraigyrov, Sabit Dunentayev, known in the history of Kazakh literature, and Mukhtar Auezov, who became a scientist in those years, lived there. Well-known scientists Alkei Margulan, Kanysh Satpayev, and others were educated in Semei. In those years, a center for Alash intellectuals, whose works were banned from being named and whose works were completely excluded from scientific circulation, was settled in the city of Alash on the left bank of the Semei.

In 1945, at a joint scientific session of the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan and the Abai Pedagogical Institute, Esmagambet Ismailov presented a report on "Results and objectives of the study of Abai's works". He stated that, "If we recognise that Abai's language is the language of the whole of Central Kazakhstan, and Abai is the basis of our literary language, we will not be mistaken if we study in that direction" and "It is not a one-sided conclusion that pre-Abai Kazakh literature is a chaotic, undirected oral literature so there was nothing that Abai could learn from" (Ismailov: 31-32). Of course, Abai became acquainted with Kazakh, Oriental, European, and Russian literature, from which he got what he needed. In fact, Abai took what he needed from his predecessors Bukhara, Shortanbay, Dulat, and other Kazakh poets, enriched the language, clearly conveyed the ideas, and skilfully translated the works of Russian classics into the rich Kazakh language.

Strengthening of the Soviet Totalitarian System and Its Influence on Abai Studies

In the period 1946-1953, during the repressions of the Soviet totalitarian system in the spiritual and cultural spheres, the persecution of intellectuals resumed. A political campaign was launched against Auezov's student K. Mukhamedkhanuly, who wrote a study on the concept of M. Auezov's "Abai's poet students".

In the post-war years, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan issued resolutions on the magazines "Zvezda" and "Leningrad" of August 14, 1946, and on the repertoire of drama theatres and measures to improve it. At the meeting of writers and artists in Almaty, M. Auezov was named three times as one of the culprits. In the post-war years, with the issuance of resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the magazines "Zvezda" and "Leningrad" of August 14, 1946, and Resolutions of August 26, 1946 "On the repertoire of drama theatres and measures to improve it", the Central Committee of the CPSU checked the political orientation of magazines published in Kazakhstan. At the meeting of writers and artists in Almaty, M. Auezov was named three times as one of the culprits. First, in the chapters of the second part of the novel "Abai", published in Issue 3 of the almanac "Maidan" in 1945, the author praised the tyrant feudal lord Kunanbai and glorified the customs of the rich feudal lords. Secondly, as a member of the editorial board of the magazine "Literature and Art" M. Auezov did not think about the fate of the magazine, did not participate in its work, did not know what

was published in the magazine, and did not help to improve the ideas and art of the magazine to make it a great tool for educating the people and youth of Kazakhstan. Thirdly, although M. Auezov was able to write good plays on historical themes such as “Enlik-Kebek” and “Abai”, he did not fight for the creation of dramas about the heroic deeds of the Soviet people with high artistic quality and deep ideological content (Adebiyet zhane iskwstvo, 1946: 19-21).

A complaint entitled “Ownerless newspaper – an illiterate editor” to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Shayakhmetov sent on October 10, 1946, to the Semeipalatinsk regional newspaper “Ekpindy” once again shocked M. Auezov. After getting acquainted with the content of the letter, Z. Shayakhmetov instructed Abdykalikov to review the information in the letter and take action (AP RK. f. 708, op. 10, d. 1373: 62). The attack on M. Auezov’s work did not stop there. It even intensified after the special resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of January 1947 “On gross political mistakes in the work of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR” (Bolshevik Kazakhstan, 1947: 48-52).

S. Baishev made the following criticism: “There are worse political mistakes and distortions in the work of the Institute of Language and Literature... in the scientific works of M. Auezov on literature” (Baishev, 1947), while B. Stepanov said, “M. Auezov glorified nomadic life” (Stepanov, 1947: 34-47).

M. Auezov sent a letter to Stalin about party periodicals that systematically followed his 30 years of writing and research, and 15 years of work in Kazakhstan’s universities in search of an anti-Soviet orientation, and about an indictment published in the newspaper “Socialist Kazakhstan” on March 14, 1947. The letter states that the article was written on behalf of the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and there was a difficult political situation in the spiritual and cultural sphere of the republic (Auezov, 1997: 142-144).

The materials published in the above-mentioned newspaper “Ekpindy” were thoroughly checked after a special order of the First Secretary Z. Shayakhmetov. As a result, a critical article entitled “Semei Writers” was published in the August 2, 1947 issue of the republican newspaper “Socialist Kazakhstan”. The first article to be criticised by the newspaper was an article by Kaiym Mukhamedkhanuly entitled “Let Kazakh literature meet the requirements of our time” published in the May 14, 1947 issue of “Ekpindy”. The author dwells on the history of the poem “Enlik-Kebek”: after Abai’s death, Abai’s students developed the ideas of the great poet, introduced Abai to the Kazakh people, published his first collection of poems, and wrote about his work and life. Following the example of Abai, they began to translate new Russian literature into Kazakh. For the first time they translated Gorky’s short story “Chelkash” into Kazakh (AP RK. f. 708, op. 11, d. 1639: 25-26). The next article that was criticised by the republican newspaper was Barlybaev’s article “Our Institute” published on June 15, 1947. Evaluating the work of teachers of the institute, the author noted that K. Mukhamedkhanuly wrote a scientific work, “Abai school”, which was praised by the Academy of Sciences. Of course, none of this satisfied the official press of the Communist Party, the newspaper “Socialist Kazakhstan”.

The Semei regional newspaper, Ekpindy, was accused of inciting enemies of the people, handing over the newspaper to unworthy people, and politically incorrect articles. The concept of “Abai school of poetry” was strongly criticised. Two months later, on August 13, 1947, the Bureau of the Semei Regional Committee of the Communist Party discussed the issue, and adopted the following resolution:

Comrade K. Mukhamedkhanuly made serious mistakes in his materials in declaring the representatives of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary Alash Orda as Abai’s disciples. In its future work, the Ekpindy newspaper should strictly follow the resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU on ideological work and the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU on gross political errors in the work of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR.

In the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the implementation of the resolution on the magazines “Zvezda” and “Leningrad”, M. Auezov’s novel “Abai” was criticised. It was clarified that E. Ismailov, B. Kenzhebaev, K. Zhumaliev, and others took the wrong direction in their writings on the history of literature and language (AP RK. f. 708, op. 11, d. 1632: 233).

By the end of 1948, M. Auezov’s work had begun to receive positive reviews. His novel “Abai” was highly praised by Union of Soviet Writers (Socialist Kazakhstan, 1948). In the July 1949 issue (№15) of the almanac “Kazakhstan” President K. Satpayev praised the novel “Abai” not only as a work of art, but also as a work of great scientific and cognitive value, who is often referred to in his works by philologists, historians, jurists, economists, and specialists in other fields of science.

The first two books of Abai’s novel were awarded the Stalin Prize of the first degree in 1949. However, the joy did not last long. The campaign against Auezov’s concept “Abai school of poetry” resumed. In 1951, K. Mukhamedkhanuly completed his work “Abai school of literature” and defended his dissertation on April 7 at the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR. During the defence, scientists K. Zhumaliev and S. Nuryshev called the research work “a worthless work written in an anti-scientific direction”. They once again listed the “flaws” and “faults” in the work of the supervisor and opponent M. Auezov (Makhat, 2007: 364).

In June 1951, it was followed by a three-day meeting, “Scientific debate on the literary heritage of Abai”, organised by the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR and the Union of Soviet Writers of Kazakhstan. Sabit Mukanov spoke on “Abai school of literature and his students”; Sabit Nuryshev on “Some controversial issues in the study of Abai’s heritage”; Mitrofan Silchenko on “Ideological channels of Abai’s work”; and Mukhtar Auezov on “Achievements and shortcomings in the study of Abai’s heritage” (Collection of manuscripts of K. Mukhamedkhanuly in the Scientific Library of L. N. Gumilyov ENU). According to the reports, 18 people spoke at the debate. C. Mukanov’s report was entitled “About Abai’s disciples” and was abbreviated in the magazine “Literature and Art” in 1951, Issue №7. In the resolution of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR and the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers of Kazakhstan “On the results of the debate on the scientific study of the life and work of the classic of Kazakh literature Abai

Kunanbaiuly", it was stated, "Until recently, private literary critics in Kazakhstan have made a gross political mistake, preaching the anti-scientific, bourgeois-objective concept of "Abai school of poetry" (Adebiat zhane iskwstvo, 1951: 79-80).

M. Auezov was expelled from the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR and from the Kazakh Pedagogical University. K. Mukhamedkhanuly was arrested as an "enemy of the people" and later sentenced to 25 years (Makhat, 2007: 366-370). The debate over whether Abai was a poet of the rich or a poet of the poor, which began in the 1920s and 1930s, was followed by persecutions of the authors of works and studies on Abai, the Abai school of poetry, after the totalitarian system was fully established. The Soviet totalitarian system struggled to break the continuity between Abai and the Kazakh intellectuals. That is because the Kazakh intellectuals, which appeared on the stage of history after Abai, continued his idea, contributed to the awakening of the national consciousness of the masses, and threatened a national revival, the national movement, and the Soviet government. As the national movement spread, the Bolsheviks came to power and broke the continuity of traditions. It became impossible to study our history objectively, and there was a perception of slavery, an overestimation of the welfare of other nations, "advanced" Russia. The totalitarian system considered citizens who did not accept and support the position of the official authorities as enemies of the people and made them suffer innocently.

On March 5, 1953, I. Stalin died and the country entered a period of "thaw". The scientist K. Mukhamedkhanuly, who was sentenced to 25 years, returned to the country. Auezov continued his research. However, the study of the life and work of Abai Kunanbaiuly remained a difficult task for Kazakh culture, whose appearance was national and content was socialist, as a serious problem in the history of Kazakh literature, and as the object of study of writers and journalists. The research was conducted on the basis of data that were sorted according to the position of the official authorities and satisfaction of the existing system. It was only in the late 80s of the last century that the concept of Abai's students, introduced by Mukhtar Auezov, was reintroduced into science.

Conclusion

Although the life and works of Abai Kunanbaiuly were studied in the Soviet period, the colonial policy of the Soviet totalitarian system, strict censorship, and the class methodology did not allow an in-depth analysis of the poet's works. Abai's upbringing and spiritual and cultural origins in the formation of his civic personality, spiritual and ideological ties with the Kazakh intellectuals before and during the poet's life, literary environment, disciples, and succession of generations have long been blank pages of Kazakh history. Mirjaqyp Dulatuly said: "Undoubtedly, the farther we are from the day of Abai's death, the closer we will be to his spirit. Things will change, the people will be enlightened, they will be equipped with knowledge, and in those days Abai's honour will grow day by day. He will be called 'The first poet'. His grave will be often visited by the people, and there will be a strong love between the people and Abai. We will not see those days, but our souls will feel and rejoice..." (1992: 33). Mirjaqyp Dulatuly's writings began to be realised only in today's independence.

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CHAPTER – XVIII

PROBLEMS WITH TRANSLATING ABAI KUNANBAIULY'S POEMS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES: PERCEPTION AND COMPREHENSION

Layla MUSALY and Madina KOZHAKANOVA

When asked whether we were able to present the poems of Abai Kunanbaiuly in other languages as a classic example of Kazakh poetry, and whether we were able to translate all the meaning and beauty of this leading poet's poems into foreign languages, unfortunately, we could not provide a satisfactory answer. There are many reasons for this, including human error by translators, the labourious nature of the translation of the works of poetry, and other shortcomings. One of the main reasons, however, is that, quite apart from translating them in the first place, Abai's poems are not easy to understand in themselves. Reading and knowing Abai's creative heritage, and understanding and interpreting its essence and meaning is a complex and difficult process. Abai's words are figurative, and his thoughts are deep. Abai's deep thoughts and figurative words analysed on his own level from the beginning to the end of the twentieth century, but it is too early to say that we understood Abai deeply and discerned everything he wrote. In the 21st century, there was a new breakthrough in the science of Abai, but there are still issues that require reconsideration and special thought in perceiving, understanding and interpreting Abai's creative heritage.

Abai's heritage is a symbol of the spiritual and cultural life of a nation, and he was a leading father of its written literature. It is clearly very difficult to reveal, speak, and demonstrate the flow, the layers, and the depths of Abai's masterpieces, as his thoughts were like the ocean, he had a far-seeing heart, thought through the secrets of centuries, and who awakened the national consciousness of the people. It is also difficult to study and evaluate the work of the translators who

have undertaken such a difficult task, and translated it into the languages of peoples around the world. The topic is important in terms of Kazakh translation studies, literary comparative studies, hermeneutics, literary criticism, poetics, and stylistics. Such vertical research is very important from the perspective of the process of globalisation, and the concept of the three pillars of language in the President's "Kazakhstan-2050" strategy. A global recognition of Abai's works is the first step in the poet's recognition among the peoples of the world, and to the recognition of Abai as internationally important figure.

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev said:

In order to recognise the real Abai, the poet Abai, it is necessary to reveal the essence of the ideas expressed in his poems and prose. It must be translated into the world's major languages, preserving all its colours. It is difficult to say that we have achieved this. Translating true national poets into other languages is not an easy task. The translator must be as talented as that thinker. Our scholars, linguists and compassionate citizens should pay special attention to this issue (Tokayev, 2020).

We have made the issue raised by our President the aim of this study, in order to see how the essence of the ideas expressed in Abai's literary heritage is revealed in their translation into other languages.

We believe that the issues of translating Abai Kunanbaiuly's poems into foreign languages are relevant in terms of Kazakh translation studies, literary relations, and the recognition of Kazakh literature across the world. It is very difficult for translators to ensure that Abai is recognised in other languages. Our research focuses on a topic that is in demand, and assessing and scientifically analysing the literary heritage of the poet translated into world languages is vital. Although the translation of Abai's works into Russian has been studied at different levels, their translation into Turkic languages, and into English, has not been studied relatively systematically and specifically. The richness and depth of the content and meaning, and the essence of Abai's creative heritage as a whole, as well as in the individual works, are especially noticeable. It is not easy to recognise and perceive each of them. In the theory of translation, perception, understanding, interpretation, and evaluation are the only guarantees of recognising the meaning in the text, and so we make sure that it is impossible to specify, define and interpret the poems without recognising the main meaning.

Analysing Abai's literary heritage in the context of today's requirements and considering it in-depth and in the context of the achievements of modern comparative literature and translation studies, in fact, will undoubtedly expand our understanding of the development of modern comparative literature and translation studies. It is true that translations of the poet's literary heritage are not in accord with the requirements of translation, and therefore it will be important to study the strengths and weaknesses of the available translations. The topic, purpose and objectives of this article make a contribution in the context of state programs for the development of modern national science.

The purpose of the research is to carefully study the ideological and artistic features of the poet's metaphorical, figurative words in the translations of Abai's

poems into Russian, English, and cognate languages, and to assess them in a modern context; to compare the linguistic and figurative features of the poet's works in other languages; to systematise the advantages and disadvantages of the translator in the translation of artistic means; to show the achievements of translators in mastering the topic, guided by the traditions and innovations in translation; to analyse the level of preservation of the artistic and aesthetic value of Abai's creative descriptions, poems in translation, epic and lyrical approaches, and tools in terms of conformity to the original; and to clarify the author's personal signature in the translation of the poet's works using translation transformations.

Methods of comparative analysis, the analysis of original texts and literary translations according to the scientific and theoretical principles of translation, and historical-comparative, functional, and comparative analysis were used.

The richness and depth of content and meaning are especially noticeable in the perception of Abai's creative heritage as a whole, as well as in the individual works. Basically, every word by Abai is rich in content, and the content has different meanings; it has a poetic meaning. It is not easy to recognise the meaning of each poem. Each of Abai's works, as the poet himself said, is "silver on the outside, gold on the inside." In other words, although the form of the poet's work is excellent, the content exceeds it. It is therefore very difficult to understand the content and meaning of Abai's work, which also requires a higher level of knowledge from the reader. A reader without a certain level of knowledge will not be able to understand Abai's words and thoughts at the appropriate level.

Problems with the Perception and Interpretation of Abai's Works

The understanding and perception of Abai's literary art is a fundamental scientific issue that deserves to be the object of study in itself. Perceiving the text of Abai's works is a very complex mental process. Every work by the poet is a complete picture of phenomena, objects, situations and events. The way they are perceived, or more precisely, their aesthetic perception, is based on a reader's level of wisdom. In the theory of literary translation, the concept of perception needs to be considered as a single entity of understanding, reasoning and evaluating. This is because the concept of perception itself is not fully defined in translation studies. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the original text should be recognised by the translator as the first and foremost step in the translation process. It should not be taken lightly. The efficiency of this stage is the main condition for the quality of all subsequent stages of the translation process.

In general, perception, understanding, reasoning, and evaluation seem to be the only guarantee of recognising the meaning in the text. It is impossible to clarify, define and translate a text without recognising its meaning. We have already said that each of Abai's works is a reflection of a complex phenomenon. Each work by the poet is also a whole artistic phenomenon. It is difficult to understand it as it is. To understand it, we must first understand its individual components. It is impossible to know the whole without recognising the parts. In order to understand a part of the whole, however, it is necessary to recognise the essence of the whole.

Determining the relationship between understanding and interpretation also requires a lot of research. There are different opinions on this issue. Researchers in the field of literary studies and translation studies distinguish between understanding and interpretation. Understanding a translated text goes hand in hand with its interpretation. The interpretation of the translated text should not be taken lightly. Interpretation of the translated text does not take place outside the original. A complete understanding can only be achieved through a parallel consideration of the translated text and the original itself. Any recipient of the text strives to reach the level on which the author understands it, however, but that is their aim. In order to achieve this level of understanding, the translator must: a) study the original text in depth and scientifically; b) be able to understand the culture of the country in which the original is written; and c) have a deep understanding of the original author's ideas, creative principles, concept, and style of creating the reality of art from the realities of life. These requirements are very important for the acceptance, understanding and interpretation of the original work.

There are other requirements for the qualifications of the recipient. Only if the translator is able to meet these requirements at the appropriate level will they be able to successfully perform their duties. There is an opinion in translation studies that such a concept is deceptive, and that the creative process takes place without any preconceived notions. Since the translation is the work of a specific person, these comments are directly related to the work of the translator. However, it is necessary to be critical of the opinion that the stages and processes of a translator's work are unpredictable and unconscious, because the scientific basis for the idea that the stages of the creative labour process cannot be understood is weak, and unsubstantiated. Of course, the translator acts as a link for intercultural communication. In the process, they cannot recognise the original in the same way as the author themselves, however, this should not lead to the idea that the translator cannot understand the original at all. The higher their qualifications, the greater their ability to understand and interpret the original. The language of poetry is a figurative language. A translator of poetry must be able to correctly convey the meaning, sound, imagery, syntactic and stylistic structure of the translation units. They must properly communicate the meaning and essence, imagery, and aesthetic effect of the original. To do this, the translator must fully understand the original version and master its artistic, aesthetic and cognitive meaning. In order to convey the original as accurately as possible, the translator of poetry must establish a complex and vivid connection in their native language that has the same emotional impact as the original. At the same time, the translator must translate without losing the poetic individuality of the author, preserving the intonation, rhythm, and language features. Such qualification is not obligatory for the reader. There is a big difference between the reader's perception and understanding of a particular text and the translator's qualifications. The reader does not need to conduct their own research in order to understand the subtext, allusions, hidden meaning of the event or word, or changes in the character's identity.

Comparative Analysis of the Original and Translation of Abai's Poem

For example, the reader perceives and understands each word and each picture in Abai's "Segiz ayaq (Eight-legged/Octaves)".

Alistan sermep,
Jürekten terbe,
Şımırılöp boyğa jayılğan...

Starting from a distance,
Impinging on the soul's resistance.

You penetrate all existence (Abai, 2002: 62). It is inappropriate to criticise their understanding. The translator must have a deep understanding of these lines, each word in them, and their respective meanings, and evaluate them using a scientifically sound system. This is not an easy task. It is difficult for a translator to determine the meaning of a line that consists of two words: "Alistan sermep (swinging from a distance)". The owner who is starting from a distance, or more precisely, the owner of the action in this line, is the "red tongue". And how does the tongue swing? How does it swing from a distance? In general, does a tongue swing? What does it swing? It is natural that such questions arise. How can these questions be answered? The reader does not have such questions when reading, he does not even look for answers to such questions. Now let's look at the Russian translation of this paragraph: Izdali zovet (calling from afar) (Abai, 1966: 69).

The translator is L. Ozerov. We do not criticise the poetic art of the translator, or his translation skills, however, it is worth noting that the verse which includes Abai's "Eight-legged/Octaves" is not properly translated into Russian. The meaning of the original is incorrect or even distorted in the translation. When the translator literally translates the word "Izdali zovet" into Kazakh, it means: alistan şaqırdı (calling from afar).

Translator V. Derzhavin:

Zvenyashchiy, kak klyuch,
Slepyashchiy, kak luch... (Abai, 1951: 56).

Translator M. Kasatkin:

Daleko zovet... (Abai, 1966: 112).

Translator A. Kodar:

Zazyvayesh', dalek... (Abai, 1996: 99).

None of these translations are suitable. In general, all translations are to some extent synonymous. In fact, Derzhavin's translation is very different from other translations. The concept of invitation is different, if it is clearly reflected in the translations by Ozerov and Kodar, in Derzhavin, where the meaning of the sound of a spring, and the radiance of a ray, comes to the fore. The concept of swinging from a distance in the original has changed in this way, and to be honest, there is no trace of "swinging from a distance" in these translations. The concept of "Şımırılöp boyğa jayılğan (spreading to the body simmering)" in the third paragraph is also given through a certain image. If we analyse this paragraph linguistically, it becomes clear that there is the following relationship between the words: the owner of the

action, as mentioned above, is the language, and the movement is known through the meaning of the word “jayılğan (spread)”. The word “boyğa (to the body)” means the conditional space, the place of this movement. The word “simmering” is a type of movement, a way of performing it. The lexical meaning and syntactic function of each word is clear. The poet skilfully combines this meaning and function of the word in the poem, and achieves a pictorial, figurative meaning. If we now turn our attention to the Russian version of this meaning, we will once again see a discrepancy between the original and the translation. For example, the meaning of this paragraph in Ozerov’s translation is as follows:

Zastavlyayet nas trepetat’...

This paragraph is interpreted differently by other translators who found different solutions:

Ty khlyнеш’, serdtsa obzhigaya... (Translation by V. Derzhavin).

Volneniyem polnit telo... (Translation by M. Kasatkin).

Izbavlyaya ot boli i muk... (Translation by A. Kodar).

Four translators convey the same meaning in four different ways. When a comparative analysis is made, we can see that the original text was not translated correctly by all four translators. The person and tense categories do not match either. There is also a mismatch at the level of lexical meaning. While Ozerov’s translation conveys the idea that “it makes us excited,” Derzhavin’s translation means “You burn your heart out.” Kasatkin’s translation means “fills my body with excitement”. It is difficult to accept them as equivalents to Abai’s “spreading”. The meaning of Abai’s verse is different: pictorial, figurative, and rich in meaning. The meaning of the translation is the opposite: there is no picture, no image, and the meaning is different. The same opinion arises about the translation by Kodar from the Kazakh community. The meaning of his translation is: “Salvation from sickness and suffering.” In fact, Kodar’s translation seems to have gone too far. There is no such meaning in the original. Tom Botting translates these three verses into English as follows:

You start your flight from a distance,
Impinging on the soul’s resistance,
You penetrate all existence (Abai, 1971: 68).

We cannot say that the meaning expressed in the reverse translation fully corresponds to the meaning in the translator’s play or translation. Moreover, we do not dismiss that Botting’s translation can be understood and accepted by English-speaking readers in addition to the text, or that some semantic nuances are revealed in the context, however, we believe that the main meaning of Botting’s translation is correct in the proposed translation. From this point of view, Botting’s translation does not fully reflect the meaning of the original. The poet’s poetic thoughts did not reach the English-speaking reader. The meaning of the original is deep, clear and multifaceted for its readers. There is no such depth, clarity, or versatility in this translation, however, it should be noted that Botting is translating Abai’s work not from the original, but from his Russian translation.

There is no doubt that it is very important to translate the original work directly into English, but it is difficult to find a translator who can do that. This difficulty led to the translation of Abai's work into English through his Russian translation. Now, if we compare the Russian translation of Abai's work with the English translation based on it, we can see that the meaning of the original changes translation to translation. For example, according to the passage above, the translator decided to start the sentence with a pronoun according to the syntactic structure of the English language. This is not unreasonable, because in English the address comes at the end of the sentence. However, this translation was not successful. There are several reasons for this. One reason is determined by the nature of the English-speaking reader's perception of the two stanzas at the beginning of the poem. The point is that the English-speaking reader will feel that these lines are for a living person. The original Russian translation of "Alistan sermep" is "Izdali zovet" (Ozerov), while the English translation is something like "flying afar" (Alistan sermep → Izdali zovet → You start your flight from a distance – Alistan sermep → Alistan şağırdı → Siz alistan uşasız). Excessive word additions in the English language increased the size of the original and used forms of transformation, such as addition and substitution. If the translator began the poem with a pronoun in accordance with the rules of the English language, without adding the verb "start" and the pronoun "you" in the first paragraph, the structure of the original would not be much damaged. For example, you can translate this line with a pronoun:

Flying from a distance...
Alistan uşıp...

The meaning of "you will reach the resistance of the soul" is not clear, what kind of resistance is the translator talking about here? If the translator makes additions to reveal the meaning of the original, it has its place, but, Botting's inclusion, on the other hand, distorts the meaning and confuses the reader. He called the heart a "soul" based on a Russian translation. In the third paragraph, "You enter into all life," in this line, "life," is used in a general sense, and it is difficult to take "life" as an alternative to the original "body." Abai's figurative speech ("şımırıp") was lost. Now, if we consider the translation of these verses into the Tatar language, the following lines appear:

İraktan balkıp,
Yörektän kalkıp,
Yandırıp tängä taralğan (Abai, 1947: 23).

Let's look at Mahmud Maksud's translation of the verses into Kazakh:

Jıraqtan balqıp, (jarqırıp)
Jürekten qalqıp,
Jandırıp tänge taralğan.

The meanings and scope of the words "sermew (to swing)" and "balquw (to melt)" in the Turkic languages are different. In the original text, it does not float from the heart, it swings the heart. *The Explanatory Dictionary of the Kazakh Language* defines "terbep" as "to excite, to impact, to vibrate". There are also suitable alternatives in the Tatar language, such as tirbatu, selku, yuatu, and kagu. The meaning of the word "tirbetu (to swing)" in these alternatives is close to the original,

but the translator's use of the word "kalkıp (to float)" as an alternative to the word "terbep (to swing)" may be a personal use. There seems to be a discrepancy in the translation of the word "şımırıp" as "jandırıp (to burn)", however, it should be noted that the meaning of Abai's thoughts is, to a certain extent, reflected in the translation. These lines are translated into Uyghur as follows:

Jiraqtin şiltäp,
Jüräktin tävräp,
Çimirlap tängä yeyilğan.

Translator, I. Jalilov. The literal translation of the verses into the Kazakh language gives the following meaning:

Jıraqtap siltep,
Jürekti terbep,
Şımırıp tänge jayılğan.

Due to the lack of unity in the lexicon of the Uyghur language, according to the original word "sermew", the translator could use "siltep", but it seems impossible not to have the word "sermew" in the language of the Turkic peoples, including Uyghur, because the word "sermew" is not alien to all peoples of Turkic origin. The basis for this idea can be found in bilingual and explanatory dictionaries of Turkic peoples. From this point of view, Abai's word "sermep" could be taken as unchanged, as translated by the Kyrgyz translator A. Tokambaev. In the verses "Jürekti terbep, Şımırıp tänge jayılğan", the translator tried to preserve the lexical meaning, imagery, colour, and art of the original in accordance with the ancient alternative words in the languages of the Turkic peoples, however, each of the phrases "boyğa jayılğan" and "tänge jayılğan" has its own shade of meaning. In Abai's poetic cognition, "boy" and "tän" are not the same thing. Ismail translated these verses into Turkish as follows:

Uzaktan çağırır,
Yüreği oynatır,
Eritir, bedene yayılır (Abai, 1995: 139).

Literary translation of the Kazakh language:

Alistan şaqıradı,
Jürekti tolqıtađı,
Balqıtp, denene jayıladı.

Ismail gives "Alistan sermew" and "Alistan şaqıradı (calls from afar)". We do not know the reason for the translator's understanding and translation of the first verse of Abai's poem. It is difficult to doubt that the word "sermew" exists in the language of the Turkic peoples, because the origin of this word is connected with the nomadic way of life. In the course of the comparative analysis, Ismail's "calls from afar" corresponds to "İzdali zovet" translated by Ozerov. However, there is no reason to believe that Ismail translated this poem by Abai from the Russian translation (Ozerov). In our opinion, Ismail seems to understand Abai's "alistan sermew (waving from afar)" in connection with hand movements. True, the words "waving hand" and "shaking hand" are used in different senses in the languages of Turkic peoples, and therefore Turkic-speaking readers perceive these words

differently. From this point of view, it is not surprising that Ismail chose “calling from afar” as the Turkish equivalent of “alistan sermew”. Moreover, the Turkish equivalent of “alistan sermew” in Kazakh may be like this. However, when working with Turkish dictionaries, we noticed that the word “seğirtmek” can be a suitable alternative to the word “sermew”. “Seğirtmek” is translated into Kazakh as to start flying, to strive, to act in a direction suddenly. We believe that the meaning of “sermew” in the original context will be preserved if the original “alistan sermew” is translated into Turkish as “Uzaktan seğırtir”, however, the Kazakh reader reading Ismail’s translation has an impression of the meaning of the gesture. On the other hand, the Kazakh reader may think that since the Turkish and Kazakh languages are related, the translator had done some research and give the meaning of the original at the appropriate level. However, it is fair to say that the translation retains the original meaning of the original.

A. Tokambaev translates these verses into Kyrgyz language as follows:

Alistan sermep,
Jüröktü termep,
Çımırıp boygo jayılğan (Abai, 1995: 62).

The Kyrgyz translation corresponds exactly to the original. The meaning of the original is the same as in the translation, but “jürekti terbew (swinging the heart)” is one thing and “jürekten terbew (swinging from the heart)” is another. The first is a clear, denotative thing. The translator could have used Abai’s phrase “jürekti terbew”, but preferred the meaning of the phrase “jürekten terbew” to the meaning of the phrase “jürekti terbew”.

In our opinion, Abai’s choice is based on a good artistic position. After all, the exact denotative meaning of the phrase “jürekten terbew” is abstract, not documentary. It doesn’t just mean “swinging of the heart” or “swinging the heart”. There is a human meaning of “swinging from the heart” based on a certain phenomenon, and the text.

On the Translation of Abai’s Metaphors

Metaphor is one of Abai’s most widely used methods. Abai’s metaphors are sometimes adopted to convey deep thoughts, sometimes-tender feelings, and sometimes mood. The peculiarity of the poem, composed of metaphorical phrases, is that it has an effect on both thoughts and feelings. Translating the artistic and aesthetic power of Abai’s poems, woven in such a metaphorical way, full of thoughts and feelings, requires a great deal of work and the poetic talent and creativity of the translator. Abai’s poems differ in the use of various means of artistic expression, depending on the genre. The poet’s artistic means are complex, and rich in national colours, so the translator has to work hard to preserve such features in the translation. In the following two verses, the poet regrets that he did not find an audience for the thoughts and words he preached to the people. He describes his thoughts, which did not find listeners, as like a puppy who lost its way during a nomadic migration and returned to an old encampment. It is true that there is a structure of comparison and equation, but we are not talking about the method of equation, but about the metaphor of the image of thoughts

in the poet's description. The poet shows an advanced example of creating a metaphorical image.

Metaphorical imagery is dominated by the level of non-conventional imagery, where the main information in the story is represented by a picture. In Abai's "Ölsem, ornım qara jer sız bolmay ma? (Is not the cold damp earth to enclose my clay when it dies?)" The metaphorical images "sharp tongue - shy girl", "heart - ice" in the poem have a solid background. Apart from having the opposite meaning, many of the author's ideas are hidden here. The translator must take all of these semantic colours into account. This poem is in the form of a rhetorical question and has a special function. It is as if the poet is proving his point and answering his own question.

Ölsem, ornım qara jer sız bolmay ma?
Ötkir til bir uyalşaq qız bolmay ma?
Mahabbat ğadawatpen maydandasqan,
Qayran meniñ jüregim muz bolmay ma?

Is not the cold damp earth to enclose my clay when it dies?
Will not my fearless tongue become like a timid maid?
Will not my heart be frozen, turned into lifeless ice,
My heart, that fought against vice and biddings of love obeyed? (Abai, 2002: 22).

This is not just a poem. It is Abai's last words. Abai's report on his life and Abai's turning to death. He declares his despair and wants to understand his soul. This poem, written in 1898, is the conclusion of his life. It's where he feels the shrinking of his "soul energy", which he often speaks about. It was the beginning of a tragic period, when he did not fear death and looked straight at it. His subsequent "turbulent days" were spent analysing the meaning of the death, self-eating, and diminishing his wisdom (Jurtbay, 2001: 408).

Y. Kuznetsov translates the verses as follows:

Kogda ya umru, to s zemley smeshayetsya prakh.
Umolknet moy ostryy yazyk,
Slovno deva v slezakh.
I bednoye serdtse, lyubya, nenavidya i muchas.
Rastayet, kak l'dinka u Gospoda v teplykh rukakh (Abai, 2006: 148).

The original reflects the anthropological, psychological, conceptual, and formal semantic aspects of the literary text. The translation does not reveal the psychological and conceptual aspects of the original. There is no form of question in the first line of the original in the translation. The translator created a declarative sentence, instead of a question. In the original, the poet enigmatically and figuratively conveys his thoughts on purpose and leaves it to the reader to decide the main point of the thought. That is, the question mark in the original is not pointless. The translator did not take this into account. The second verse of the reverse translation also means, "my sharp tongue is silent, like a weeping girl." The original says that the tongue does not look like a shy girl, but that the tongue becomes a shy girl. The translator overshadowed the content of the original using the equation method. There is a difference between a "crying girl" and a "shy girl".

It is not right for a translator to change the image of the original poem. It is not difficult to find an equivalent word for “shy” in Russian, so this freedom taken by the translator is inappropriate. The main content of the poem is given in the third and fourth lines. The poem is not about death or the afterlife, but about the heart of the poet, and the suffering of that heart. The translator did not pay attention to this. If we translate the verses back into the Kazakh language, it means: “My poor heart, loving, hating and suffering, melts like ice in the warm hands of God.” The emotion of the word “Qayran (pity)” in the original is strong. The mood, feelings, sorrows and condition of the poet are all in one word by the poet. We therefore cannot accept the word “poor” in the translation as an alternative to the word “Qayran”. The original clearly reflects the poet’s thoughts, which are that “Love clashes with enmity”. It is not clear why the translator became the leader of “love, hate and suffer”, thus violating not only the content but also the intonation of the poem. It is not clear why the translator turned it into a participle, as “lyubya, nenavidya i muchas”, thus violating not only the content but also the intonation of the poem. There is no concept of “love, hate, suffering” in the original. In the fourth paragraph, the translator added a new image, “God”. This is not in the original, and so the image is redundant. The translator also seems to have added the epithet “warm” to embellish the poem. All the new words added by the translator had a negative effect on the content of the original. In the original, the idea is that the heart becomes “ice”, that is, the heart is extinguished, while in the translation, “the heart melts like ice,” which reflects a different nature of the heart: the idea in the original and in the translation were inconsistent and even contradictory. In the original, the “heart” was not yet ice, and the poet left the idea of whether or not there will be ice to the reader, but the translation says that the heart melts. The translator’s addition of new words and excessive freedom leads to the loss of the original meaning and content, giving the impression that it is the original work of the translator, and not the poet himself. Although the metaphorical images have remained the same, the whole essence has changed.

Let’s consider A. Kodar’s translation:

Ne v zemle li syroy obretu ya priyut, umerev?
 Ne stanet li nray moy skromneye stydliveyshikh dev?
 Moye serdtse, v kotorom borolis’ lyubov’ i vrazhda,
 Ne stanet li l’dom, gde ne vlastny ni radost’, ni gnev?! (Abai, 1996: 59).

A. Kodar was able to convey the general content of the original, however in the second verse, the image of “ötkir til (sharp tongue)” is a part of the metaphor simply “nray (temper)”. We cannot say that the translator did this unknowingly, but we are talking about how figurative metaphors are presented in the translation in our analysis, so we cannot ignore such small mistakes. We therefore do consider it a mistake. The content of the original is changed in the fourth paragraph. “Ne stanet li l’dom, gde ne vlastny ni radost’, ni gnev?! (Will not become an iceberg, where there is no power, no joy, no anger?!)” The translator turns the poet’s “qayran jürek (pitiful heart)”, which is neither dominated by joy or anger, into ice. The translator turned the character of the heart (an icy heart that is not dominated by anger or joy) into the character of ice, but the poet is not talking about the nature of

the heart, but about the heart that has become icy, and unable to withstand the struggle of love and hatred.

Translation by J. Neumann:

Kogda umru, ne stanu l' ya zemley?
Yazyk moy derzkiy – devushkoy nemoy?
Bezdushnym l'dom - pylayushcheye serdtse,
Chto za lyubov' borolos' s zhizn'yu zloy? (Abai, 1981: 138).

Neumann did not fully understand the poet's thoughts. From the reverse translation of the first paragraph in the Kazakh language we see the meaning of "Will I not be earth when I die?" The translation of the verse into Russian also sounds strange. It is obvious that not only the literary language, but also the spoken language of the Russian-speaking people "do not become earth." We understand that this mistake is due to the fact that the translator did not pay enough attention to the content of the poet's poem, and did not put enough effort into the translation. It is difficult to agree with the translator's reference to the "shy girl" in the second paragraph as the "mute girl". We can say that "shy" is the second part of the "sharp language" used by poet. No matter which verse of the poet we look at, there are contradictory concepts. Since the poet's use of the word "sharp" and "shy" in this verse was peculiar, there was no need for the translator to consider another alternative to the word "shy". In the third line, the translator enlarged the paragraph by adding the epithets "pylayushcheye, bezdushnoye (dusty, soulless)" to the words "heart, ice", however, the meaning of the poet's "pitiful heart" and "pylayushcheye serdtse (burning heart)" are different. The translator exchanged the questions in the original, resulting in the loss of the meaning of the verse. The poet does not ask whether "love fights with hatred", he asks if his heart will be frozen because of the fight. The translator asks, "What kind of love struggles with a cruel life?" The "zlaya zhizn" (evil life) in the translation is not the equivalent of the "ğadawat" (hatred) of the poet. While reading the poem, the reader's attention is first drawn to the words "love" and "hatred". It is necessary to find an equivalent in the translation which is as effective as the original, however, in this version we can say that the main content of the poet's poem is preserved.

Translation by M. Dudin:

Umru, I stanu vnov' zemley,
I moy yazyk nasmeshkoy zloy,
Ne tronet ledyanym kovarstvom Serdets,
Obizhennykh sud'boy (Abai, 2006: 95).

In the first verse, Dudin divides the unfinished thought of the poet into two parts: "I am dying. I will be the earth again." The word "vnov (back, again)" here adds an idea that is not in the original. It is known that the translator is referring here to the fact that humans were created from soil and will return to that soil, but the quality of the translation did not improve with that. In the second paragraph, the metaphorical image of the "shy girl" in the original was changed to "angry laughter." In this paragraph, the translator omits two important concepts: "sharp tongue" and "shy girl", and as a result, the original emotional content is lost. Turning back to the last two lines, we see the following meaning: "Fate does not

touch the hearts of resentful, icy cruelty." There is no correspondence between the original and the translation at the level of meaning, significance and content. In the original, the heart is singular, it is the heart of the poet, but there were hearts in the translation, and even resentful hearts. In general, the translator was active in giving epithets, which can be seen in the following line. The translator describes the original "hatred" as icy cruelty. In the original, "ice" is a separate unit, which is used in relation to the heart; that is, it does not make sense that it coexists with the word hatred. The translator did not understand the simple subjective meaning of the original. There is no thematic line about the battle of love and hatred.

Translation by D. Rottenberg:

Is not the cold damp earth to enclose my clay when it dies?
Will not my fearless tongue become like a timid maid?
Will not my heart be frozen, turned into lifeless ice,
My heart, that fought against vice and the biddings of love obeyed? (Abai, 1971: 157).

If we translate the first verse back to the Kazakh language, we obtain the meaning of: "When I die, will not my wet soil be covered by cold and wet earth?" The English Explanatory Dictionary defines "clay" as moist soil heated in an oven to make utensils (cups, plates) (Macmillan English Dictionary 2005: 242). It is unknown why the translator used it. It is known that Rottenberg translated the original from Russian, but the translator did not use the correct equivalent of the word "prah". If we translate the second paragraph back into Kazakh, it will be: "Will not my bold tongue be like a shy girl?" The translation conveys the original idea. The translator calls the "sharp tongue" a "fearless tongue" and likens that bold language to a shy girl, but the translator's use of the metaphor does not do much harm to the content of the original. Rottenberg clearly translated the original into English from Kodar's translation, because the struggle between love and hatred is only mentioned in Kodar's translation. Rottenberg was able to convey the idea of the third and fourth lines of the original. The translation of the last lines into the Kazakh language is as follows: "Will not my heart, which struggles against the command of evil and love, become a lifeless ice?" It is not clear why Rottenberg added such superfluous words as "vice and the biddings" to the original idea. It is well known that ice has no soul, so there is no need to translate it as "lifeless ice". In general, Rottenberg was able to give the general content of the poem.

Translation by R. McCain:

When I die, will not the damp earth become my resting place?
My sharp tongue will become silent with shame, like a girl's.
My poor heart, where love and anger fought,
Will it not, poor thing, be turned into an ice block? (Abai, 2009: 262).

McCain, unlike Rottenberg, tried to give an exact English equivalent of individual units and key concepts. The Kazakh translation of the second verse is as follows: "My sharp tongue will be as silent and shy as a girl's." Here the translator compares the sharp tongue with the girl's tongue. In general, the translators who translated this verse into Russian and English did not understand the poet's intention

to equate the language with a girl, comparing it with the girl's tongue. When translating the last verses into the Kazakh language, it means:

My poor heart struggling with love and anger,
Will it turn to ice, my poor thing?

The word "pitiful" in the original was repeated twice as "poor". The translator deliberately repeats the word to intensify the emotion, but no matter how many times he repeats the word "poor", it does not give the impression of the poet's use of "pitiful". The poet put not only his pity, but also his respect for his heart into this word.

Conclusion

To understand Abai is to enter the world of Abai, to be able to correctly interpret his subjective views, and to understand them as the poet understood them. This requires preparation by the reader too. We need to understand the idea of the poet, look with the eyes of the poet, think with his mind and enter his world. Abai himself leads us to this. When accepting Abai's work, a connection is established between the reader and the author. The reader tries to communicate with the author, however, in such a relationship the reader does not have freedom, and instead thinks and sees through the eyes of the interpreter. The task of a work of art is not to explain, but to influence the listener, and to stimulate thought. When reading a work of art, the reader's own point of view must be preserved and developed, and the translator is not only the reader, but also the creator of the work. Their task is doubly difficult, because it is necessary not only to understand the text, but also to study it thoroughly in order to reproduce it in another language. Understanding the text itself implies the ability to understand it as the author understands it, but before such an understanding, there must be not only a deep scientific study of the text, but also the process of entering the culture of another country, understanding other people's ideas, renouncing one's individuality and becoming an author. Since Abai and his poems are a manifestation of the Kazakh spirituality, the translator must first become acquainted with the spiritual values of the Kazakh people, and study Kazakh life.

According to many translators, practitioners and theorists, this kind of transformation and adaptation allows them to successfully perform the tasks of translation, however, this notion is deceptive, because translation is always a creative process aimed at a reader in another language, and oriented to them. The translator does not have the same creative freedom as the author, and must constantly think of the reader. For Kazakh readers, the content of Abai's works is not only clear and transparent, but also always informative, compared to readers of other languages. There is no need to do additional research to understand the background of the text, the allusion, the hidden meaning of the story, and the change in the character's identity. In order to translate Abai's works into another language, the translator has to do a great deal of research and explaining. The reader, who has a certain level of knowledge of the language, easily perceives the information presented in a clear, implicit, general form. For example, the following proverbs and conceptual words in Abai's works are clear to the Kazakh-speaking reader, and their meaning is clear, but in the translation, they can be restored only

explicitly through references and comments. “Quwlıq sawmaq, köz süzip, tilenip, adam sawmaq – önersiz äztitiñ isi: kökirekte säwle joq, köñilde senim joq: köñildegi körikti oy awızdan sıqqanda öñi qaşadı: Muhammad Mustafa, hakim, säjde, ruquğ, iyman, molda, şariyğat, qulşılıq etüw, namaz, oraza etc.”.

The shortcomings of Abai’s poems are different in comparison with his translations into Russian and English. The main thing is that the translators could not correctly convey the main semantic system of the original. Additions and abbreviations in the translation completely changed the content of the original. There can be various reasons for this, the first of which, in our opinion, is the inability of translators to understand the meaning of the original. There is a certain tradition of translating Abai’s works into Russian, and so we have to take into account the following factors.

First, there are a number of research papers written in Russian about the life and work of Abai. There are also works by Russian-speaking authors about Abai’s time and society. There are many published studies on the problems of Kazakh literature in Russian. Obviously, all this is a great help for translators of Abai’s works into Russian.

Secondly, there are many opportunities for translators of Abai’s works into Russian to discuss and consult with researchers about Abai’s life and work in Kazakhstan, as well as with poets who know Abai’s works in Kazakh and Russian. In other words, there are the necessary conditions for a successful translation of Abai’s works into Russian. It cannot be ruled out, however, that there are significant gaps in the translation of the poet’s works into Russian. When the quality of the Russian translation of the poet’s works is at this level, it is difficult to imagine the level of the English translation. Considering the level of translation of the poet’s “Eight-legged/Octaves” and “Is not the cold damp earth to enclose my clay when it dies?”, we can be sure that the content and form of the original were distorted in the same way.

Thirdly, it is important to translate the poems of Abai Kunanbaiuly, which were the pinnacle of Kazakh poetry, into foreign languages in such a way that they exactly correspond to the original, thus expanding the horizons of Kazakh literature by including Abai’s poems in the list of world poetry giants, however, we cannot achieve this great goal with haste. Abai Kunanbaiuly’s poems are a multifaceted, deep and lofty poetic phenomenon. As mentioned above, the richness and depth of content and meaning are especially noticeable in the perception of Abai’s creative heritage as a whole, as well as in the individual works. In fact, every word of Abai is very rich in content; and this content has different meanings and a special poetic meaning arising from this feature. The usual semantic-structural translation skills of a translator are not sufficient to translate such content, which is unique to Abai’s signature, and a real translator must not only analyse, but also interpret Abai’s work from a literary-philological, philosophical-intellectual point of view. The translation of Abai Kunanbaiuly’s poems should be guided by translation studies, the interpretive position expressed in the theory and the practice of literary translation. We believe that the correct translation of Abai’s works is possible only if the content of Abai’s complex works, which are not suitable for translation into other languages, is revealed through interpretation, following the principle of interpreting the philosophical thoughts of the genius poet.

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