The poetry of akyn-zhyraus is the most important stage in the formation of aesthetic principles, canons, and traditional formula language of all Kazakh poetry. The authority of poetry of five centuries (XIV-XIX centuries) was unshakable until XX century and created the basis of both epic and lyrical Kazakh poetry, the transformation of which began only in XX century. One of the most important principles of Zhyrau’s poetry was spirituality, a deep connection with the religious and mythological principle, rooted in ancient beliefs and archaic worldview systems. As the analysis shows, spiritual syncretism was peculiar for Zhyraus of the XIV–XVI centuries when tengrian, animistic relics and Islamic motives and concepts were consistently united in the worldview.

This syncretism is especially vividly appeared in the poetry of Asan-kaigy, Dospambet and Shalkiyiz zhyrau. In the era of the Kazakh-Jungar wars, in the XVI – XVIII centuries, which contributed to the spiritual consolidation of the Kazakh people, Islamic motives strengthened in the poetry of Zhyrau, which was manifested in the active penetration of Muslim vocabulary into the poetry of Zhyrau, reminiscence functionality, quotations, and appeals in God’s names. This tendency is most characteristic to the poetry of Bukhar Zhyrau, who was not only a poet-preacher but to some extent, was also the spiritual leader of the people.

The article starts with an introduction to the concepts in the poetry of the akyn-zhyraus which is not studied sufficiently in Kazakhstani context. Then, moves to methodology section that is based on the principles of comparative, systematic and historical-literary methods. Later, the authors continue discussing the findings which are followed by the conclusion section at the end.

Key words: Kazakhstan, akyn-zhyraus, comparative, motives, myth-poetics.
Religious motives and reminiscences in the poetry of kazakh akyn-zhyraus

Introduction

The presence of religious and mythological motives and concepts in the poetry of the akyn-zhyraus is not sufficiently studied; however, such content is quite definitely a pronounced feature of their creativity. It must be admitted that there was no poet of such unambiguous religious orientation among Zhyraus as Akhmet Yassavi (Yassavi, 1993). However, at the same time, the religious theme in the works of steppe poets sounds clear, and it has developed in the centuries of poetic tradition. In some of them (Bukhar Zhyrau), the religious theme is shown systematically and has the character of an ideological program. The poetry of Zhyrau, especially the theme of religious motives and concepts in this literature, was for a long time under an unspoken ban in the Soviet period, they were not studied. Only from the middle of the XX century (1942) began occasional references to the poetry of Zhyrau (Brief history..., 2001). Detailed research began only in the 70s of the XX century when the famous works of M. Magauin appeared (Magauin, 1970).

A comprehensive analysis of akyn-zhyraus’s creativity shows that the steppe Zhyrau creatively developed and embodied in the poetic word the basic principles of folk philosophy and aesthetics, their worldview consistently intertwined motives and archetypes of the tengrian, animistic and Islamic worldview, forming syncretism. The traditional religion of nomad nature (synthesis of totemism, animism, tengrianism) was revealed in the worldview of akyn-zhyraus with all the power of poetic sound (Ayupov, 1998). Over time, Islamic philosophical reminiscences and concepts of a systematic religious worldview begin to be layered on this ancient archetypal spiritual layer. This process was intensively developed already in the era of the Kazakh-Dzungarian wars, which intensified the process of spiritual self-identification.

Methodological basis

The article is based on the principles of comparative, systematic and historical-literary methods, which are sufficiently developed in schools and areas of literary studies, represented in the philological science of Kazakhstan, the CIS countries and other countries. Besides, this work is based on the principles of oriental studies, structural anthropology, and semiotics, the provisions of which were developed in the works of scientists of the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Kazakhstan, and the English school of Ethnography.

These principles are summarized in the framework of an integral and systematic method used in this paper to characterize, illuminate and interpret literary material that was insufficiently studied in previous years.

Results and discussion

Akyn-Zhyraus for some centuries laid the basic principles of epic poetry of the Central Asian Turks. These canons became the basic artistic and mental foundations as though confirming the cult of the ancestral tradition in the Turkic spiritual cosmos. The researchers write that the “descendants–ancestors” time vertical permeates all the beliefs of the Sayan-Altai Turks (ancient Turkic people). This is more than an “ancestral cult”. This is a way of finding your place in the space-time and cause-and-effect coordinates of the world” (The traditional worldview..., 1990). This principle can be fully attributed to the traditional Kazakh culture, including poetry.
The religious and mythological paradigm in the works of steppe poets developed until the XIV century (before Bukhar Zhyrau) accumulating gradually and correlating with the processes of ontogenesis of the people. However, sometimes, apparently, in connection with stormy historical events, religious moods are splashed out quite actively and become noticeable. Such spiritual manifestations are found in the poetry of Kaztugan Zhyrau (15th century):

“Deliverer the moon beyond the clouds,
Deliverer the sun of the misty,
Deliverer the religion by breaking
Through between Muslims and non-believers
Suinishuly Kaztugan!!!”

(Five centuries of poetry, 1989).

Asan Kaigy can be called a poet of the period of the Golden Horde’s collapse. The Turkic population of the collapsed Empire recently converted to Islam. Therefore, a close connection with tengrianism is natural for Asan Kaigy. The religion of nature and animistic motives make themselves felt most of all in his poetry. Asan Kaigy, like no other poet of the Zhyrau generation, glorified and personified the native nature, giving it life-giving power. In its expressive language, the dynamic energy of the mystical shamanic epochs sounds. It should be noted that the language of Asan Kaigy sometimes resembles the language of sarns of Kazakh shaman-baksy:

Without a tail, without a mane,
How can a kulan live
No legs, no arms
How can a snake live?
If the flies come out by summer,
How can lazy dogs live,
How will the geese live,
And barefoot chickens?

(Five centuries of poetry, 1989)

The recitative chant verse of Asan Kaigy was probably created for improvisation on kobyz. The imaginative world of the work equates a person, an animal, a bird, an insect in their rights to life and flourishing – this is where animistic spirituality is felt. Outside of this archaic context, the meaning of the poet’s compassion for the serpent, kulan, geese, and man loses its deep semantic aspect. In the poetry of Asan Kaigy, there attracts the attention of lines with unexpected psychological and meditative depth. They somehow stand out from the general background of the epic poetry of Zhyrau. These poetic precedents with a deep mental beginning are quite understandable. In the Crimean, Kazan khanates, Nogai Horde, and Kok Horde, there lived educated people, carriers of book (religious) consciousness (Gumilyov, 2012). Legends speak about a huge number of works of Asan Kaigy, about its great lifetime glory. However, only a few hundred lines of it have survived to our time. Here are some of them: “The precious pure stone that lies at the bottom cannot be reached by your hands, neither you nor I. The wind blew, and the rock was lifted by a wave, a rock that had lain for centuries, lifted from the bottom. And the soul will be disturbed again by sadness, and here it is - a clear word emerges, leaving the bottom of my heart” (Poetry of Zhyrau, 1987).

The poetic culture of Asan Kaigy is also characterized by motives of religious-philosophical reflection, characteristic reminiscences that speak of familiarity with Sufi conceptuality:

If there are no geese and ducks,
The big lake is poor.
If he does not find his willing believer,
If he is immoral, holy is poor.
If the mass of ancestors
Do not live with him,
No matter how good he is,
A man born strong is poor.

(Five centuries of poetry, 1989)

In this small volume of the work, energetic and rich in feeling, the Arabic–Persian vocabulary, the words «poor», «time», «dignity», «willing believer», «holy» are skillfully applied. The rhythmic-intonation form of the poem allows you to set off the phonetics of these words favourably, to emphasize their high lexical sound. This poem connects the Asan-Kaigy with Muslim book literature and its spiritual traditions through Sufi reminiscences and vocabulary. The non-accidental nature of this aesthetic connection is confirmed by the materials of other works, where the Arabic-Persian book vocabulary is also found, in particular, such words as ‘ziz-powerful’, ‘self’, ‘propaganda’, ‘wealth’ etc. Thus, the religious universalism of the Asan Kaigy is unquestionable. Therefore, the provided evidence substantiates the unity of aesthetic and ideological principles in the work of Asan Kaigy. The organic merge of his religious and mythological views and the syncretic nature of his worldview are obviously reflections of
tengrianism (the religion of nature), the philosophy of Islam and Eastern book culture.

The romance of knightly, military life is truly clearly expressed in the work of Dospambet Zhyrau (XI century). The poet, being a professional warrior who took part in the main battles between the Crimean khanate and the Nogai Horde, dedicated his poetry to the dangers of military life, full of risk, anxiety, and adventure. Dospambet Zhyrau praises a man, a hero, whose days are spent in continuous battles, movements along military roads. “I have no regrets” is a truly sincere refrain of his emotional poetry. In this constant leitmotif of his works, a particular philosophy of life and disinterested aspirations of the poet-warrior, who serves the Motherland and the people with all his soul, are concentrated. The ideological content of this philosophy is also emphasized by a distinct religious worldview trend. Dospambet announces that he is proud that he is the warrior and shahid of Bi Mamai. Shahid, as we know, is a term semantically associated with the practice of certain paramilitary Muslim sects and orders that devoted their entire activity to fighting for the ideals of religion.

Behind the snow-white canopy,
I loved the beauty,
Who spread her braids,
I have never regretted anything in my life,
And I do not regret it now,
Dying in battle in front of
the suzerain and the army!

(Five centuries of poetry, 1989)

The lack of texts does not allow us to conclude with confidence about the conceptual meaning of the “shahid” lexeme in the work of Dospambet Zhyrau. Nevertheless, concepts and reminiscences from several works allow us to judge the poet’s stable spiritual connection with the Muslim culture and its traditions. The motives and realities of spiritual culture associated with the urban lifestyle make it possible to assume that Zhyrau was an educated nobleman, a warrior, a leader of the family, who lived in the conditions of military fortification. «Azau, Azau – this turns out to be the people of al-Guzman Pasha, this is the dirt of the religion of Islam (Five centuries of poetry, 1989)

It is striking that in the texts of Dospambet Zhyrau there is a clear appeal to Tengri: «On the day when God gave, the good that was meant for me was greater than the Khan’s son. However, we must remember that at the turn of the middle ages in the Turkic world there was a verbal and semantic identification of Tengri and Allah. This process increased from century to century, and in the twentieth century, the population of Central Asia no longer distinguished the historically different roots of these words.

The performance of terme and tolgu Dospambet seriously influenced the development of musical and singing culture among the Kazakh, Nogai and Karakalpak peoples. Adequate translations do not yet exist, however, the translations of K. Zhanabayev to some extent allow us to judge the skill of Dospambet Zhyrau: «If the city is attacked by a merciless enemy, if a traitor is bought at the main gate, if an angry, powerfully armed Er on his faithful horse breaks forward, Fidgeting, say the enemies from the wall, and friends exclaim: “Lord! This is the valiant man Dospambet!”» (Dospambet Zhyrau, 1995)

The expressive anaphora of the verse sets an energetic intonation tone to the entire work, creating a sense of a powerful offensive movement characteristic of epic poetry. These principles of versification (anaphora, redif, monorithm) were effectively used by the creators of many Turkic heroic epics.

Shalkiyiz Zhyrau (1465-1560). We observe a deeper level of implementation and development of religious, heroic, and aesthetic meanings in the poetry of Shalkiyiz Zhyrau. The poet as a whole deepens the poetic tradition of Zhyrau due to the philosophical enlargement of the pictures of being, purposeful reflections on the meaning and essence of life, its phenomenality, the aggravation of the line of subjective, personal beginning in these epic pictures and panoramas. In the poetry of Zhyrau, the theme of the human soul, bowing to the Grand fact of the inexplicability and incomprehensibility of existence, begins to sound sharply. Thus, in Zhyrau’s poetry, the religious paradigm of creation and the world’s doom to the judgment of God is intensified by a complex drama of the inner life of man, which has a providential, inscrutable value that deserves the attention of the cosmos. In this regard, there are interesting works of the bard, as «Green leaved poplar», «First tolgu for Bi Temir», «Appeal to Bi Temir», on the termination of his pilgrimage. These works leave no doubt that the poet had sufficient knowledge of the philosophy of Islam, had extensive concepts of religious and philosophical concepts, the rituals of this religion, the meaning and content of mythological symbols and attributes of Muslim culture. Creating an image of the world that is clear to him and close
to his heart, the author actively uses Koranic symbols, attributes already mastered by the people, vocabulary with religious content, high concepts with spiritual hierarchical meaning. In the texts named ‘Tolgau’ an important role is played by such words-concepts as ‘Kaaba’, ‘aziz-powerful’, ‘Truth’, ‘enemy’, ‘Ibrahim Khalil’, ‘Allah’, ‘Azrail’, ‘intention’, etc. In these specific lexical series the name ‘Tengri’ stands out influencing the entire semantic structure of the verse, although it has already a clear Koranic appeal. Nevertheless, it would be premature to consider Shalkiyiz as a religious poet. The fact is that religiously coloured themes and motives, active spiritual intentions of the poet are paradoxically refracted in the positive philosophy of life, and are subordinate to it. The author is far from religious humility, in an emotional outburst of love for life. He strives to live passionately, in the fullness of actions, in the intensity and outbursts of feelings. The philosophy of submission before the will of God prevails in Islam, so the adept voluntarily recognizes such negative sides of existence as the death, fate, or tragic accident. This is considered by the poet, and yet it motivates and pushes him not to self-isolation of the anchorite, but, on the contrary, to explicit and solid assertions and active life.

In the poetry of Umbetey Zhyrau (1706-1778) there are new tones refreshing the development of traditional themes and motives. He was a participant in the Kazakh-Dzungarian wars at the stage of their extinction and witnessed the final solution of age-old disputes between the two peoples. Perhaps that is why the main meanings of Umbetey’s poetry are more focused on the values of peaceful life. In other words, the emphasis is shifted to the course of everyday life and pressing problems of everyday life. It is noticeable that in his religious and mythological reminiscences and motives Umbetey more often uses the old Kazakh word “Kudai”, however, there is no doubt that he was aware of the Muslim book culture (Suyunshaliyev, 1973).

Umbetey Zhyrau addressing Ablai Khan to inform him of the death of the popular Bogembai batyr, in tolgu “Notify Ablai Khan of the death of Bogembai” observing all the canons of the genre, describes the life of the hero of the Dzungarian warriors, sings and glorifies, emphasizes the importance of his personality for the entire people. Using a system of philosophical compilations akyn, relying on the maxims of popular wisdom, calls the Khan to trust in God, because human life is completely predetermined by the will of the Almighty God. The elaborated rhythmic language, parallelisms, proverbs, sayings, aphorisms saturate and strengthen the work with such crucial themes as life and death, fate and doom, inscrutability of the truth and the mystery of existence. In this work the poet mentions the Saints, known to all Central Asian Muslims, the old man Kydyr and Sufi Saint Baba Tukti Shashta Aziz who are the patrons of the Kazakh batyrs, and the author emphasizes that they supported the spirit of Bogembai batyr. So Umbetey Zhyrau plays epic spiritual motivation, originating in the heroic epic, folklore and myth (Madibay, 1997).

Bukhar Zhyrau (1668-1781) appears as the largest figure among the Kazakh akyn-zhyraus of the 14th century. Bukhar Zhyrau, like Asan Kaigy, embodies the features of a universal personality, a poet, a sage, a diplomat, a state adviser, a soothsayer, a ritual mediator, a people’s leader. The influence of Bukhar Zhyrau on political events in the XVIII century and on the public opinion of the people was huge. The connection of Bukhar Zhyrau with the people is, first of all, a deeply spiritual connection that goes from the very roots of traditional ethnic culture, the subconscious national roots. He is a kind of missionary of the entire ancient culture of akyn-zhyraus. The creative power, ascetic activity, colourful expression of his poetry are not accidental. Zhyrau summarized the age-old tradition of epic literature, i.e. his works accumulated the predecessors’ aesthetic and spiritual cultural experience. It is known that Bukhar Zhyrau was an adviser to Ablai Khan. Like the great Asan Kaigy, it promotes religious values, and this is not accidental (Bukhar Zhyrau, 1992). For example, Asan Kaigy calls prayer (namaz) as the main values of life, and he calls on descendants to humility and submission to the will of the Almighty God.

However, in contrast to him, Bukhar Zhyrau considers religious themes and concepts in a broader and philosophical-poetic text, where reminiscences eventually get the meaning of ideologies. In the work “If you talk, then talk about Allah”, the poet puts the name of God at the very beginning of symbolic series, i.e. the word with the main meaning plays the role of a sacred leitmotif from which links are drawn to the philosophical field of the Koran as the mythology of Islam. The symbolic series begins with this resonant refrain and creation of bright pictures that reproduce recognizable actions of the ritual life of the Muslim community so pleasing to the heart of the author.

*Hey say the name of Allah,*  
*Say his name that’s unique* (Omiraliev, 1976)  

In this work densely rich in religious vocabu-
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The well-known linguist K. Omiraliyev, who carried out a thorough linguistic and stylistic analysis of the language of akyn-zhyraus’ poetry, suggested that some poems attributed to Bukhar Zhyrau were not written by him, in particular, “Hey tell me, tell me about Allah”. The work, from his point of view, is too abundant with Arabic–Persian vocabulary at the beginning of this poem and the same opinion refers to another poem “God’s house was a mosque” (Omiraliyev, 1976). Then K. Omiraliyev as an additional argument pointed to the genre discrepancy of these poems to other works of Bukhar Zhyrau. In our opinion, K. Omiraliyev’s argument is somewhat tendentious, and it is not sufficiently reasoned to be able to accept such a conclusion unconditionally. Sources reveal that the Arab-Persian vocabulary used in other works of the poet, particularly in «Make your first wish», «To say Allah is not a shame», «Greeting is the mother of the word», «If the grass grows close to», «If the clouds disperse in the sky», «If you see red from afar», «If the black argamak grows thin», «If you talk, then talk about Allah», «Near Ablai Khan». In these works, the Arabic-Persian, Koranic vocabulary does not function formally. It is quite meaningful and carries a serious ideological charge. In two tolgaus «Ablai Khan» and «Shurshit», Zhyrau quite clearly articulates its anxious expectations about Kazakhstan’s neighbours – Russia and China (Suyunshaliyev, 1997). He says that in the face of the danger of cultural pressure from the great nations, Kazakhs should think about the path of God). According to the poet, God is the beginning and end of human life (“There is no death without receiving a decree from Allah”), the will of the Supreme – the highest authority, the semantic centre of the universe. The meaning of human life on earth is determined only by one principle. It is whether there was a connection with God or not. Bukhar Zhyrau formulates the idea that the troubles and misfortunes of people derive from the fact that he forgot about God (“People who understood evil without guarding the path of God”). Still, the poet remains a poet; he cannot but sing of the beauty and romantic splendour of nomadic life (Imbraimov, 2014).

Thus, unlike other akyn-zhyraus of that generation Bukhar Zhyrau combines the religious principles with the political ones and remains at the level of substrates and archetypes, its spiritual base is quite broad and universal, as with all Zhyrau. Quite reasonably, Abisheva (2014) writes: “with the adoption of Islam, the Turks did not completely abandon the ancient beliefs of their ancestors and everyday superstitions. Until the twentieth century, traditional rites combined an appeal to the Almighty God in the form of prayers and incantations, and the latter was treated with great faith in their usefulness and necessity” (Abisheva, 2014, 49).

Consequently, the widespread use of religious and mythological cult vocabulary in the works of Zhyrau is not only a natural phenomenon but also an inherent feature reflecting both the personal tendency of the author and the age-old tradition of Zhyrau-carriers of spiritual consciousness. We must remember that Omiraliyev’s arguments were formulated during the totalitarian regime, when the attitude to religion was unambiguously negative, or even militant.

The poet also has clear eschatological expectations about the difficult time of constant wars. The problem of the Apocalypse as a stable Biblical-Koranic paradigm is typical for akyn-zhyraus of different generations, it first appeared in the work of Asan Kaigy.

Tolgau «Blue pigeon», pigeon looks like a kind of spiritual Testament of the great Zhyrau. From a number of other works of the poet, this tolgau stands out for its special content and attempt to cover the spiritual state of the people in a critical era, an analysis of the moral state of society with capacious and often sharp invectives about the current situation and fate of the people, the way of life and behaviour of people. In these comprehensive depictions of the life of nomads, in metaphors on the theme of fate there is an appeal to God-the Creator, the cause of all things (“Roared in the direction of Allah”). According to the poet, God is the beginning and end of human life (“There is no death without receiving a decree from Allah”), the will of the Supreme – the highest authority, the semantic centre of the universe. The meaning of human life on earth is determined only by one principle. It is whether there was a connection with God or not. Bukhar Zhyrau formulates the idea that the troubles and misfortunes of people derive from the fact that he forgot about God (“People who understood evil without guarding the path of God”). Still, the poet remains a poet; he cannot but sing of the beauty and romantic splendour of nomadic life (Imbraimov, 2014).

All these verses, the reminiscences of which indicate a thorough acquaintance of Bukhar Zhyrau with the Koran, the presence of deeply mastered religious paradigms in the poet’s thinking, leave no doubt about the poet’s ideological interest in the values of Islam. However, it is not necessary to consider Bukhara Zhyrau as a uniquely religious poet of the Muslim book generation. At the level of substrates and archetypes, its spiritual base is quite
of religious and philosophical feelings and reflections which are molding into a system. The poet strives to reach the plane of ideological and politically relevant conclusions in a figurative form that is acceptable for the people because his main concern is the moral and mental state of the people's spirit.

**Conclusion**

The creativity of Kazakh akyn-zhyrau of the XV-XVIII centuries from Asan Kaigy to Bukhar Zhyrau is a fairly integral ideological and aesthetic phenomenon, which were in the main channel of ontological processes of cultural Genesis of the Kazakh people. In this continuous centuries-long movement of aesthetic principles, ideas and images different forms of appeal to God – the Creator of the worlds actively functioned as well as the structural role of motives and reminiscences, religious and mythological paradigms were affected. Through them was the penetration of religious concepts and philosophy in the writings of the bard, a part of their codification. In the era of akyn-zhyrau's creativity, the process of merging and non-contradictory synthesis of the folk religion of nature, tengrianism and Islam as a whole has come to an end. These processes also affected the spiritual and aesthetic activity of folk storytellers, Zhyrau, which resulted in the high authority of the steppe bards in the people, the canonical status of their works, which gave traditions for a number of centuries, that is, tol-gau, terme, poems. All this was accompanied by a natural combination and identification of vocabulary and sacred terms from the religion of the Turks of different eras. It can be stated that the three-century struggle of the Kazakh people with the Dzungarian conquerors caused an increased prominence of the religious idea in the poetry of akyn-zhyraus as a consolidating ideological factor. This historical trend has received the most consistent and conscious expression in the work of Bukhar Zhyrau.

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