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## THE CONCEPT OF “JUSTICE” IN YŪSUF KHĀSS HĀJIB’S «KUTADGU BILIG» (WISDOM OF ROYAL GLORY)

This article examines the meaning of the concept of “Justice” in Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s poem «Kutadgu Bilig» («Wisdom of Royal Glory»). The main goal of the article is to analyze Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s thoughts on the concept of “Justice” and to determine their compatibility with the views of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Fārābī as well as their continuity with the ideas of “New Kazakhstan” and “Just State” proposed by the President of Kazakhstan K.-Zh. Tokayev. As a result of the analysis of “Kutadgu Bilig”, it was determined that the concept of “justice” is described as the main principle of ethical regulation of social relations as well as an essential quality of a person (first ruler) that brings justice and happiness to people. Moreover, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib wrote his work intending to create a new generation of political leaders to bring happiness and equality to his or her people and establish a just and virtuous society. Furthermore, the comparative analysis of the views of Yūsuf Hass Hājib and al-Fārābī about “Justice” and “Just society” revealed that their views are harmoniously related to each other. In the doctrine of al-Fārābī on political leadership, the concept of “Justice” is also described as one of the essential qualities of the “first ruler.” The comparative analysis also reveals the succession of views of two great thinkers regarding the concept of “Justice” with the current ideological programs being implemented in Kazakhstan. The results of the article can be used as a theoretical and methodological basis for deep analysis and disclosure of new aspects of the social and political teachings of two great scholars, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib and al-Fārābī.

**Key words:** Turkic thinkers, Turkic philosophy, al-Fārābī, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, “Kutadgu Bilig” (“The Wisdom of Royal Glory), Justice, “Just State,” “New Kazakhstan”.

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### Жүсіп Хас Қажыбтың “Құтты білік” шығармасындағы “Әділеттік” ұғымы

Бұл мақалада Баласағұндық Жүсіп Хас Қажыбтың «Құтты білік» атты шығармасындағы «әділет» ұғымының мағынасы қарастырылады. Мақаланың негізгі мақсаты – Жүсіп Хас Қажыбтың «әділет» ұғымына қатысты ой-пікірлері мен тұжырымдарын талдай отырып, ұлы ойшыл Әбу Насыр Мұхаммед әл-Фараби көзқарастарымен үйлесімділігін және Қазақстан Президенті Қ.-Ж. Тоқаев ұсынған «Әділетті мемлекет» және «Жаңа Қазақстан» идеяларымен сабақтастығын анықтау. «Құтты білік» шығармасын жүйелі талдау нәтижесінде «әділет» ұғымын қоғамдық қатынастарды этикалық реттеудің негізгі қағидасы, сонымен қатар бұл ұғымды өз халқына әділдік пен бақыт әкелетін адамның (бірінші билеуші) қасиеті ретінде сипаттайды. Жүсіп Хас Қажыб өз еңбегін халқын бақытқа жеткізетін, әділетті және ізгі қоғам орнатушы жаңа билік буынын қалыптастыру мақсатында жазылғаны айқындалды. Сонымен қатар Жүсіп Хас Қажыб пен әл-Фарабидің «әділет», «әділетті қоғам» туралы пікірлерін салыстырмалы талдау олардың көзқарастарының бір-бірімен терең үйлесім тапқаны анықталды. Әл-Фарабидің саяси көшбасшылық туралы ілімінде «әділет» ұғымы да билеушінің маңызды қасиеттерінің бірі ретінде сипатталған. Әл-Фарабидің де саяси көшбасшылық доктринасында да «әділеттік» ұғымы қайырымды қала басшысының ең маңызды табиғи сапалық қасиеттерінің бірі ретінде де сипатталған. Сондай-ақ мақалада қос ойшылдың «әділдік» ұғымы жөніндегі айтылған пікірлерінің бүгінгі күнгі елімізде жүзеге асып жатқан идеялық бағдарламалармен сабақтастығы айқындалды. Мақала әл-Фараби мен Жүсіп Хас Қажыбтың саяси-әлеуметтік ілімдерінің мәнін

терең ашуға, жаңа қырларын анықтауға және қазіргі кезеңмен сабақтастығын теориялық-әдістемелік жағынан анықтауға негіз болары сөзсіз.

**Түйін сөздер:** Түрік ойшылдары, түрік философиясы, әл-Фараби, Жүсіп Хас Қажыб, «Құтты білік», әділет, Әділетті мемлекет, Жаңа Қазақстан.

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### Концепция «Справедливость» в произведении Юсуфа Хасс Хаджиба «Кутадгу Билиг» («Благодатное Знание»)

В данной статье рассматривается значение понятия «справедливость» в произведении Юсуфа Хасс Хаджиба «Кутадгу Билиг» («Благодатное знание»). Основная цель статьи – проанализировать мысли и выводы Юсуфа Хасс Хаджиба относительно понятия «справедливость», выяснить и определить их совместимость со взглядами великого отрарского ученого аль-Фараби и преемственность этих взглядов в идеях Президента Республики Казахстан К-Ж.Токаева «Справедливое государство» и «Новый Казахстан». В результате системного анализа произведения «Кутадгу Билиг» описывается понятие «справедливость» как основной принцип этического регулирования общественных отношений, а также это понятие как качество человека (первого правителя), несущего справедливость и счастье своему народу. Определено что его произведение написано с целью создания нового поколения правителей, которое принесет счастье своему народу, создаст справедливое и добродетельное общество. Кроме того, с помощью сравнительного анализа взглядов Юсуфа Хасс Хаджиба и аль-Фараби, было выявлено, что их взгляды гармонично связаны между собой, потому что в доктрине аль-Фараби и Юсуф Хасс Хаджиба о политическом лидерстве понятие «справедливость» описывается как одно из важнейших природных качеств правителя. Также в статье выявлена преемственность взглядов двух мыслителей, в отношении понятия «справедливость», с теми идеологическими программами, которые реализуются в нашей стране на данный момент. Данная статья, несомненно, может стать теоретико-методологической основой для глубокого анализа и раскрытия новых аспектов социально-политических учений двух великих ученых Юсуф Хасс Хаджиба и аль-Фараби.

**Ключевые слова:** тюркские мыслители, тюркская философия, аль-Фараби, Юсуф Хас Хаджиб, «Кутадгу билиг», справедливость, «Справедливое государство», «Новый Казахстан».

## Introduction

The concept of “Justice” has been a subject of philosophical, legal, and ethical discussions in all historical periods and all societies. For centuries, various theories and perspectives have been advanced to explain the meaning of “justice.” However, the most significant philosophical and moral theories of justice developed during the formation of the world’s classical philosophy by great philosophers such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, al-Fārābī, Confucius, and other thinkers. The Greek philosopher Socrates profoundly influenced the concept of “justice” and his philosophical exploration. Although Socrates did not leave any written books, his teachings and ideas were transmitted through the works of his follower Plato. According to Socrates, “Justice” as an important social category is closely connected with “virtue.” He explores the concept of justice as a virtue and quality of a person concerning the functioning of society. Plato and Aristotle also

developed early theories of justice. Plato considered the concept of “justice” as the main principle of the ideal state structure (Asmus 1975, 130). According to Plato, the concept of “justice” is characterized by assigning special services and special positions to each citizen of a state according to his or her abilities. Moreover, among the four main qualities of an ideal state mentioned by Plato, “justice” takes an important place. He also argues that thanks to this quality of an ideal state, each member of a state can undertake a task according to his or her ability and inclination (Asmus 1975, 138-140). It is often argued that Plato’s opinions greatly influenced medieval Muslim philosophers, especially Al-Fārābī (Dinorshoeva 2006, 48). Al-Fārābī, a great Islamic philosopher from the Otrar, presented his moral (and political) philosophy, in which the concept of “justice” is one of the main principles contributing to the formation of the “perfect state” or the “virtuous city.” His idea about the “virtuous city” is based on the principles of justice and equality. The main

goal of his philosophy is to search for an ideal model of society, the “first ruler,” and the state that can ensure the common good, justice, order, and happiness of people. He considered “justice” not only as a social category but also as one of the essential qualities of the “first ruler” that regulates the formation of goodness in society, to bring happiness to society, and to establish a just society. In his work “Aphorisms of the Statesman,” the great thinker considers the concept of “justice” as the equal distribution of common goods among all city residents according to their merit. He pointed out that welfare, wealth, fame, position, and other benefits can be attributed to these benefits (Al-Fārābī 1973, 224). Among the Turkic thinkers Yūsuf Khāss Hājib and Mahmud Kashkari, and then the Kazakh thinkers Abai Kunanbaev, Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly, and others analyzed this concept of “Justice” in their works. Based on Al-Fārābī’s teachings, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib also accepted “justice” as the main principle of a “just state” and the necessary quality of the “ruler.” Kazakh thinkers also tried to find a way to establish justice in society based on these interpretations of Al-Fārābī and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, based on morality, virtue, and common sense.

#### ***Relevance, purpose, and objectives of the topic***

Firstly, today the problem of “justice” is increasingly going beyond nation-states’ borders and acquiring a global dimension. New global problems, particularly the growth of economic inequality, the emergence of new forms of social inequality, the multiplicity of social risks, and geopolitical problems such as armed conflicts, wars, and international terrorism, raise the question of what justice is and how it is possible to implement it in the new reality of the world’s politics. Thus, a high degree of political relevance, coupled with a variety of social contexts in the absence of a basic consensus on the fundamental principles of political justice, sets the researchers the task of analyzing the main theoretical approaches to understanding this category as a prerequisite for an adequate understanding and positive solution of social problems in the world.

Secondly, today the concept of “justice” has become an important idea in the political field of Kazakhstan. The President of Kazakhstan, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, widely used the concept of “Justice” in his last several Nation Address and presented the ideas of a “Just State,” “New Kazakhstan.” He also proposed a transition to a new state policy based on three important principles for our country - “just state,” “just economy,” and “just society.” In

this regard, a comprehensive study of the ideas of Turkish philosophers such as Al-Fārābī, and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, who developed the idea of a “Just state,” “Just ruler,” or “Virtuous city” and connecting their thoughts with the ideas of the “Just state” and “New Kazakhstan or other state programs, gives a truly humanistic character to the political field of Kazakhstan.

Moreover, the comprehensive study of the doctrine of political leadership developed by Al-Fārābī and the thoughts of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib would help to prepare a new wave of political leaders in Kazakhstan. Al-Fārābī and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib developed an effective way of forming social justice, the system of the society’s political power, with the conduct of a rational, virtuous person that ensures “justice” in society and brings happiness to people.

The principal objective of this article is to provide a systematic and comparative analysis of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s thoughts about the concept of “justice” in his work «Kutadgu Bilig» («Wisdom of Royal Glory»). Then the article aims to determine the compatibility with the views of the great thinker Al-Fārābī, who created the theoretical and methodological foundations of the concept of “Justice.” Finally, the article will determine the continuity of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s thoughts with the ideas of “Just State” and “New Kazakhstan” proposed by the President of Kazakhstan K.-Zh. Tokayev.

#### **Materials and Methods**

For Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s philosophy, we have relied on various primary and secondary sources, including several important studies. It has been comparatively used as research material for the different translations of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s work «Kutadgu Bilig» («Wisdom of Royal Glory») (Yūsuf, 1983; Yūsuf, 1988; Yūsuf, 2007; Yūsuf, 1983). Moreover, in order to determine the compatibility with the views of the great thinker Al-Fārābī, we used as research materials his works “The Attainment of Happiness,” “Civil Policy,” “Aphorisms of a Statesman” (Al-Fārābī 1962; Al-Fārābī 1973; Al-Fārābī 1972), Mahmut Kashkari’s work “Diwani Lugat-at-Turk” (1997) and research literature of researchers published in the philosophical, historical and pedagogical direction on medieval Turko-Islamic philosophy were used.

In order to analyze Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s thoughts about the concept of “justice” and to determine the compatibility with the views of the great thinker Al-Fārābī have led us to use a wide range of research

methods such as dialectical methodology, historical-logical, axiological analysis, comparative analysis, and systematic analysis. Moreover, the thoughts and approaches of early philosophers (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Al-Fārābī) on “justice society,” “just ruler,” and “Virtuous city” has become the theoretical and methodological basis of the research. These helped us to delineate the philosophical background that shaped Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s thought. Furthermore, the desire to analyze Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s general philosophy, we have also greatly benefited from the conceptual thoughts of prominent foreign and domestic scholars such as R.R. Arat, A.N. Kononov A.N., R. Dankoff, S.I. Ivanov, A. Egeubaev, Zh. A. Altaev, and A.S. Kabylova.

### Literature review

Past studies on Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s philosophy have generally focused on general aspects, notably the social philosophy of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, translation issues of his work «Kutadgu Bilig» the role of education, and other aspects. However, regarding the concept of “Justice” in «Kutadgu Bilig» we would like to acknowledge R.R. Arat’s (Yūsuf, 1988; Arat, 1947; Arat, 1959; Arat, 1979), A.N. Kononov’s (1970;1983), Ivanov’s (1983), R. Dankoff’s (Yūsuf, 1983; Dankoff, 2008), A. Egeubaev’s (2007), A.S. Kabilova’s (2010), O. Torebaev’s (2002), F. Güven’s (2019) works. Their work helped us define the meaning of “justice” in “Kutadgu Bilig” and in the political and social philosophy of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib. For example, the American researcher Robert Dankoff translated the «Wisdom of Royal Glory» into English and wrote many fundamental scholarly articles about this book. In the introduction of his works, he deeply analyzed the important details of the concept of “justice” in Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s philosophy. He points out that the «Wisdom of Royal Glory» is a long didactic poem in the “mirror-for-princes” tradition (advice to kings) that relates to Fortune and Justice (Yūsuf, 1983; Dankoff, 2008). Among the Kazakh researchers, A. Egeubaev, who translated into the Kazakh language, states that “Kutadgu Bilig” is an ethical, didactic, and philosophical work written to create a happy and just society, a happy state. (Egeubaev, 2007, 12-13). Turkologist A.N. Kononov states that it is not known under what factors and conditions the poem “Kutadgu Bilig” was written; perhaps Yūsuf Khāss Hājib felt the urgent need to create a new moral and ethical foundation for the depressed people (Kononov 1983, 509). A.N. Kononov also

refers to Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s desire to create a “just society” for Turkic people who experienced social injustice. Turkish researcher Funda Güven wrote a special article about the concept of “justice” in Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s «Wisdom of Royal Glory.” According to Güven, Yūsuf Has Hājib sought an “overlapping consensus between the social institutions and governance” when Turkic people experienced a transition period (Güven 2019, 548). Among Kazakh scholars, O. Torebaev analyzed the concept of “Justice” in Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s work. In his dissertation, O. Torebaev defined the three main features of governing the state through justice (Torebaev 2002, 98). Another Kazakh researcher A.S. Kabylova states that “justice” is the “infinite and true” basis of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s socio-ethical teaching. In addition, she argues that “justice” in his philosophy is the most advanced category of all virtues (Kabylova 2010, 118).

### Results and Discussion

«Kutadgu Bilig» is an ethical, didactic, and philosophical work (Kononov, 1983; Dankoff, 2008) written by Yūsuf Has Hājib during the Karakhanid era (840-1212), when the Turkic society experienced great political, cultural, and religious changes. The Turkic thinker wrote his work in 18 months (finished around 1070) and gave it as a special gift to Tavgach Bugra Khan Bin Suleiman, the ruler at that time. We believe that the Turkic philosopher tried to introduce the ideal model of a “just society” and the image of a “just ruler” of the Turkic society. He also wanted to connect his ideas with real life through poetic description or allegorical speech. After all, it cannot be said that in medieval Karakhanid society, where Yusup Khas Kadzhib lived and served, the rights and freedom of the oppressed and exploited ordinary people were irrelevant. The Turkic thinker could not change the existing situation in his country. However, he proposed a utopian model of a good society and the image of a “just ruler” (person) who would bring happiness to his or her people. Turkologist A.N. Kononov states that we do not know what factors and circumstances influenced to write the poem “Kutadgu Bilig,” but it can be assumed that there may be political unrest that shook the Karakhanid state. Perhaps, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib felt the urgent need to create a new moral and ethical foundation for the depressed society (Kononov 1983, 509). According to Güven, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, in his book, is looking for a consensus between the social institutions and governance system during the

transition period of the Turkic society. As a result, he successfully combined traditional culture and Islam in the state system (Güven 2019, 548). We believe that Yūsuf Khāss Hājib's main goal in writing this deep philosophical poem was to create a new generation of political leaders that would establish a "just society" in Central Asia, and he tried to ensure the continuation of this tradition for future generations through his work.

"Kutadgu Bilig" is based on four abstract principles in terms of content and structure, each represented by characters (Yūsuf, 2007, lines 64-71, 353-58). (1) The principle of "Justice" is represented by the ruler Kün-Toğdı (Rising Sun, lit. "the sun has risen"); (2) the principle of "Fortune is represented by the fair vizier Ay Toldi (Full Moon, lit. "the moon is full"); (3) "Intellect" (or "Wisdom") is represented by the vizier's son, sage Ögdülmiş (Highly Praised, lit. "praised") and (4) "Man's Last End" by the vizier's brother, ascetic Odurmuş (Wide Awake, lit. "awakened") (Dankoff 2008, 134; Yūsuf, 1983, lines 353-58). In the Namangan manuscript of the poem, these four principles are described in Arabic terms: (1) Justice (Adil); (2) Fortune (Devlet); (3) Wisdom (Akil); (4) Satisfaction (Kanaat) (Kononov, 1983, c. 508-509; Yūsuf, 2007, lines 64-71, 353-58). "Justice" is the first principle among the four and is represented by the main character Kün-Toğdı. He is the "first ruler" in the poem, while the other three characters expose the weak points of the ruler and call him to be a just and virtuous leader. In other words, the secondary characters are highly critical of the main characters during the dialogue. Moreover, during the dialogues, the main character sometimes doubts himself that he is a virtuous and just ruler. It seems that Yūsuf Khāss Hājib tries to convince his readers that even an ordinary person with good education and experience can rise to high positions in the government and even criticize the first ruler. Therefore, Kazakh researcher A. Egeubaev states that the poem "Kutadgu Bilig" is an ethical, didactic, and philosophical work written to strengthen the foundation of the state and its political system, establish a good, just society, and educate a just ruler, and developing his good relationship with the people (Egeubaev 2007, 12-13).

In his poem "Kutadgu Bilig," Yūsuf Khāss Hājib describes the concept of "justice" as the main principle of ethical regulation of social relations as well as an essential quality of the "first ruler." He states that "justice and law are the pillars of heaven"; if the law decayed, heaven would be shaken (Yūsuf, 1983, line 3463). Moreover, he states that if the ruler

desires an everlasting kingdom, he or she should do justice and remove injustice from the people (Yūsuf, 1983, line 1435). In the poem, the principle of "Justice" is represented by the main character Kün-Toğdı, a just, generous, and wise ruler. The ruler Kün-Toğdı, who has achieved many achievements in his life, represents justice as follows: "I am a Justice, the law of truth," and these are my characteristics" (KB, 1983, line 800). Thus, in "Kutadgu Bilig," the image of Kün-Toğdı is described as a sign of justice, the law of truth. In his work, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib describes the qualities of Kün-Toğdı ruler as fair, wise, intelligent, skillful, impartial, stern, truthful in his words, and a man of upright character, pleasant demeanor who ruled his people for many years. "He was fire against the wicked and retribution against the foe" and "maintained the polity with moral purpose and with manly virtue befitting." He gained fame thanks to justice. That is why his fame among his people grew daily, and he acquired leadership and wisdom skills (Yūsuf, 2007, lines 405-411). The author repeated that the rule of Kün-Toğdı will be long, thanks to his justice, and his name will not die. Yūsuf Khāss Hājib states that "justice" is the most pleasant, essential quality of a person (ruler). It connects and overlaps with qualities such as wisdom and common sense, honesty and strictness, spirituality, speed, and courage, ultimately providing a ruler with honor and fame (Yūsuf, 2007, lines 4010-4015). Yūsuf Khāss Hājib's opinion about the essential qualities of the "first ruler" is compatible with the thoughts of the great thinker Al-Fārābī. In his doctrine of political leadership, Al-Fārābī also describes "justice" as one of the essential in-born qualities of the "first ruler" of the "Virtuous city."

The poem describes many topics, such as what is needed to rule the country justly, how to establish a just and good society, and the qualities of the "first ruler." Considering the concept of justice from a social point of view, the Turkish thinker concluded that the people would be happy in a society ruled by a ruler based on justice. In other words, the thinker followed the concept of "justice" as the main principle of society, and "justice" based on rationalist ethics is the "basic law" of managing society. He said that from the ordinary member of society to the first ruler should act based on justice. The thinker also did not accept the tyrannical form of power or the form of an unjust ruler. We believe that Yūsuf Khāss Hājib's "Kutadgu Bilig" was written to praise justice as the values and virtues that make people happy. In this way, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib developed the ideas of the great thinker Al-Fārābī about a just

ruler of the “Virtuous city.” The great thinker describes twelve innate natural qualities necessary for the “first ruler.” According to this list, a ruler must love justice and hate injustice and tyranny. In addition, he warned that the “first ruler” should be fair to one’s own people and strangers, not be stubborn, but be persistent in the face of justice. Moreover, the “first ruler” must resist injustice and insolence (Al-Fārābī 1972, 317-319). In this regard, Al-Fārābī says that a leader should always be an example of wisdom and justice for his or her subordinates (Al-Fārābī 1972, 212).

Moreover, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib states that his day would be joyful if the ruler were straight and honest. When God gives a man good character and conduct, the world favors him (Yūsuf, 1983, lines 1977-78). According to Al-Fārābī, a “true ruler” (in our opinion, a just ruler) is a person who sets the goal and task of making true happiness for himself and his people in his cities (Al-Fārābī 1973, 198). The great thinker also emphasizes that the goal of power is not fame, honor, and dominance. However, some rulers achieve dominance “by violence, subjugation, humiliation and intimidation of the townspeople” (Al-Fārābī 1973, 199). The goal of government is not to get rich. Nevertheless, it is said that some city rulers intend to gain wealth by using the laws passed for the city residents and exploiting them (Al-Fārābī 1973, 199). At the same time, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib states that the rulers are the choicest of men. Therefore, rulers “must keep their deeds and words as choice as themselves.” He said the ruler is good and just the people will prosper (Yūsuf, 1983, lines 5083-5084).

In “Kutadgu Bilig,” the main character Kün-Toğdı is described as an ideal model of a wise, just ruler. Therefore, with such qualities did the ruler Kün-Toğdı illuminate the world as the sun and the moon. His fame spread beyond his country’s borders. He called to his court all the wise people, and he raised in honor the wise people. Therefore, all the wise and honorable individuals gathered at his gate. Although he managed the state affairs himself, he consistently sought out wise individuals to assist him and continue the work in his absence (Yūsuf 2007, lines 415-19). Ay Toldi, who, hearing of Kün-Toğdı’s fame, resolved to serve him. He was wise of heart and of quiet demeanor, intelligent. His words were gentle, and his eloquence overflowed with charm. He embodied every virtue and gracefully embraced excellence at every step. (Yūsuf 1983, 462-64). In his poem, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib wanted to prove that the “first ruler” should create equal opportunities for everyone to participate in govern-

ment service. This is the idea of the ideal society, which is mentioned in many philosophers’ works. The author concludes that in forming the new political system in Turkic society, there should be a just ruler, an educated elite, and religious figures who cooperate with different social groups.

Yūsuf Khāss Hājib was a statesman who was knowledgeable about the political system and government service. He presented his work “Kutadgu Bilig” to Tabghach Bughra Khan and received the title “Khas Khajib” (Privy Chamberlain) (Bartold 1968, 419-425). According to Mahmut Kashkari, the position of “Khas-Khajib” means the most reliable adviser of the khan (Mahmut Kashkari). Therefore, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib was deeply concerned about state affairs. He deeply understood the importance of “wise and just rulers” to the Turkic society, which experienced a great transition period. In the poem, the author says that the ruler Kün-Toğdı ruled his people justly and fairly, leading them to happiness. In his work, he states that the rule of justice and law brings prosperity and happiness to the ruler and his or her people. Kün-Toğdı (Justice) and his vizier Ay Toldi (Fortune) devoted their entire conscious life to serving their people and state. Ay-Toldi’s son Ogdulmish (“Intellect” or “Wisdom”) continued this tradition. In addition, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib repeatedly warned that the ruler was highly qualified and honest. As a result, the author of the poem wanted to show the connection between these three principles – Justice, Fortune, and “Intellect” (or “Wisdom”). Thus, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib tried to explain that it can bring people happiness through justice, and thanks to wisdom, the joy of this happiness will last for a long time. Ai-Toldy, representing “Fortune,” eventually falls ill, and it is emphasized that everything is temporary; therefore, it is described that the only truth is to do good deeds, prepare for the afterlife, and remember the reality of death. Moreover, different ideas related to issues of the state, politics, society, profession, and ethics are described in the content of the dialogues between the four characters based on four principles. In this regard, there is a direct and indirect influence of the political doctrine of Al-Fārābī on Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s utopian thoughts about the political structure of a state.

In “Kutadgu Bilig,” the main character Kün-Toğdı discusses with the chief vizier Ai-Toldy various problems of the society. They discuss how the ruler’s relationship should be, the importance of being a just ruler and speaking correctly, the importance of moderation and gratitude, the importance of respecting the elders and taking care of the younger,

the importance of doing good and showing generosity to the people, guests, and foreign citizens. These dialogs generally contain ideas about establishing a “just and virtuous society” and the path to happiness for the people. By developing a dialogue between the ruler and the grand vizier, the author demonstrates the grand vizier’s knowledge and wisdom and gives him an important role. From the first line of the dialogue, the chief vizier advises that the “first ruler” should not only restrain his or her power with wisdom but also advise him to be a just ruler. The author directed the chief vizier as a deeply educated and experienced person to imbue the ruler with his teachings and knowledge. Therefore, he goes to the ruler and offers service (Arat 1959, 485). The author wanted to demonstrate that in ancient Turkic society, any person, through his or her wisdom and experience, had the right and opportunity to participate in government service and give advice to the ruler. In addition, the philosophical meaning of the work is not only to believe in the unlimited power and wisdom of the ruler but also to participate in the civil service of people among the common people, give advice, and offer their knowledge and experience to establish a just government. However, the question arises, what are the features of ruling the country with justice based on Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s political philosophy? The philosopher explained this question in depth in his work. By analyzing the work “Happy Shaft,” it can be defined three main features of ruling the country with justice according to Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s political philosophy (Torebayev 2002, 98).

The first sign is governing the country based on the rule of law and justice. Yūsuf Khāss Hājib states that in order to strengthen the power of a ruler year after year continually, he should prioritize the law over force when dealing with the people. Moreover, he argues that the realm is happy when its ruler governs with a firm, truthful law (Yūsuf 2007, line 822; 1435). He also states that if the ruler is fair and governs his people based on justice, his rule will be long and firm (Yūsuf 1983, line 5170).

Secondly, for a just society, all people have equal rights regardless of whether a man is a prince or an enslaved person. In the poem, the main character Kün-Toğdı states that he settled a case only based on right alone, regardless of whether a man holds the status of a prince or an enslaved person” (Yūsuf 1983, line 809). Moreover, he states that “the root and base of the princely rule are justice and equity” (Yūsuf, 1983, line 821). He also states that it makes no difference whether he is my own flesh and

blood or an unfamiliar stranger; I treat both cases impartially. Justice is the foundation-stone of sovereignty, and where a prince upholds justice, there lies vitality and prosperity (Yūsuf 1983, line 816-819).

The third sign of ruling the country with justice connects with virtue. In this case, the Turkic thinker connects power with virtue. He affirms that the essence of humanity consists of virtuous qualities, and these qualities should be man’s guiding habit. This implies acknowledging a person’s efforts on one’s behalf and giving them their deserved share. A servant stands at the gate in hope; if the prince causes him to lose hope, then virtuous qualities diminish (Yūsuf, 1983, lines 2970-72). The prince must be aware of the qualities of his servant and consider both their beneficial and detrimental aspects. Then, he should reward them for the benefits he has provided. Compare your servant to your beast, and do not treat them with less respect. Instead, reward them according to their merit (Yūsuf 1983, lines 2973-74). This last idea is deeply compatible with the opinion of the great thinker Al-Fārābī. He also describes the concept of “justice” as “the distribution of the common goods given equally to all the inhabitants of the city, and then the preservation of what is shared among them” (Al-Fārābī 1972, 220).

Al-Fārābī and Yusip Khas Khazyb’s thoughts about “justice” and “just society” are consistent with the ideas expressed in the last several Nation Addresses of the President of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev. President of Kazakhstan, in his last several Nation Address for the Kazakhstani people, “A Fair State. One Nation. Prosperous Society” on September 1, 2022, and “New Kazakhstan. The Path of Renewal and Modernization” on March 16, 2022, widely used the ideas of “justice” and creating a “Just state.” Moreover, he said that Kazakh society has entered the practical stage of creating a “just society.” He emphasized the need to actively form new institutions, radical reforms, new ideas, and fair public relations. In his Addresses, the President introduced the ideas of “Just State,” “New Kazakhstan,” and the transition to a new state policy based on three fundamental principles for our country - “just state,” “just economy,” and “just society.” If we deeply analyze the Addresses of the President of Kazakhstan, these ideas are consistent with the ideas of a “just state” and “just ruler” in the works of Al-Fārābī and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, and with the teachings of political power and its structure and the principle of management based on a set of morals and virtues.

Furthermore, the two thinkers’ thoughts regarding the rulers’ qualitative characteristics are deeply

compatible with the ideas expressed in President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev’s Nation Address (September 1, 2022). In his Nation Address (“A Fair State. One Nation. Prosperous Society”), the President emphasized the need to modernize government agencies. He said that we need new state managers, which is a guarantee of the formation of the New and Just Kazakhstan. Therefore, he instructed the government to implement new administrative reforms to improve government agencies’ accountability and efficiency. He also emphasized that the “talent pool needs to be strengthened.” (Tokayev).

In his work, Yusup Khas Khazyb states that to establish justice and a just state, it is necessary to ensure the dominance of the legal system in the country, implement the rule of law, and bring order to the country. He also states that only the power of strict justice is strong, and the ruler’s path is to follow the just path. The ruler, who rules with a firm, truthful law, gets the desired benefits! (Yūsuf 1983, lines 821-822). Al-Fārābī asserts that the main sign and important principle of the existence of a virtuous state and its management are the correctly adopted laws of the state under the principles of “justice” and “virtue.” After all, law and order should contribute to the establishment of fair relations between people. As mentioned above, Al-Fārābī’s concept of “justice” refers to the “equal distribution of the common good.” And in order to implement this, the state must adopt appropriate laws. In Al-Fārābī’s political philosophy, the law refers to the rule of virtuous pursuit, the establishment of a reasonable measure of action in cities that motivates citizens to act or refrain from undesirable actions. At the same time, Al-Fārābī defends the opinion that it is necessary to maintain order, establish justice in society and obtain the consent of the members of the society. Good laws are necessary to reflect the ultimate goal, establish justice, improve human society, and contribute to its ultimate goal. Al-Fārābī emphasizes that “justice” will be established in society by the rule of laws and reasonable governance. Therefore, he emphasizes that the legislator needs to master the art of skillfully managing the interests of all citizens in the laws. Al-Fārābī explains the concept of “Justice” and approaches the issues of law and justice in society. Thus, we can say that Al-Fārābī advocated the protection of the property rights of all citizens of the state: “... for each of the citizens there is an equal share of these benefits according to his or her merits, so when it is less or more, then it is injustice: if less - injustice to that citizen of the city, and if there are many - injustice to the inhabitants of the city”

(Al-Fārābī 1973, 224). President of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev also emphasizes law and order in the state. In his Nation Address, he said, “It is necessary to ensure the rule of law and quality of justice” in society... “Judges must be highly qualified, honest, and incorruptible” (Tokayev 2022b). The continuity of the opinions of President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev with the thoughts as mentioned earlier of Al-Fārābī and Yusup Khas Khazyb on the supremacy of law and order in society is clear.

## Conclusion

“Kutadgu Bilig” is a long didactic, moral-ethical, and philosophical poem written in the Turkic era (Kononov, 1983; Dankoff, 2008) when the Turkic society experienced great political, cultural, and religious changes. Therefore, we believe that Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s goal in writing this poem (the mirror-for-princes) is to create a new generation of political leaders to establish a “just society” in Turkic society during the transition period. Moreover, the analysis of “Kutadgu Bilig” shows that “justice” is the main social category in the political and social philosophy of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib. One reason seems to be that the philosopher puts the principle of justice first among the four principles: Justice, Fortune, Intellect or Wisdom, and Mans’s last End (Yūsuf 1983, lines 64-71, 353-58), and it is represented by the main character Kün-Toğdı. Yūsuf Khāss Hājib describes the concept of “justice” as the main principle of ethical regulation of social relations. He states that “justice and law are the pillars of heaven”; if the law decayed, heaven would be shaken (Yūsuf 1983, line 3463). “Justice” also is defined by Turkic thinker as the main driving force of social development, and “justice” based on rationalist ethics is the “basic law” of managing society.

The poem describes Kün-Toğdı as a sign of justice, the law of truth. Yūsuf Khāss Hājib states that due to justice, the rule of Kün-Toğdı will be long, and even his name will not die (ҚҰТТЫ БІЛІК). Moreover, the Turkic thinker advocates being fair and treating all people as equals and states that the people would be happy in a society ruled by a “just ruler” or based on justice. He states that from the “first ruler” to the ordinary member of the society should take justice as the basis and adopt it as his or her duty. Yūsuf Khāss Hājib states, “justice” is a person’s (ruler’s) most pleasant, essential, and necessary quality. Yusup Khas Khazyb states that the ruler must be straight dealing and honest; then his day will pass in joy. When God gives a man good



character and conduct, the world favors him (Yūsuf 1983, lines 1977-78). Moreover, he states that if the ruler desires an everlasting kingdom, he or she should do justice and remove injustice from the people (Yūsuf 1983, line 1435).

The analysis of the poem has defined that many ideas and concepts in “Kutadgu Bilig” are in harmony with the philosophical trends of the previous period and have continuations with the present political doctrines and philosophical ideas. According to researchers, the ideas and concepts in this work can be reconciled with the opinions of famous Eastern scholars such as Al-Fārābī, Ibn Sina, and Firdousi (Dankoff 2008). For instance, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib’s opinions on the concept of “justice” are in deep harmony with the thoughts of Al-Fārābī. The great thinker argues that the “ruler” of the “Virtuous city” should have the inborn natural quality of loving justice and hating injustice and tyranny.

The thoughts of Al-Fārābī and Khas Khajib on the “first ruler” and a “just society” form one stream. Both scholars consider that all people should be treated fairly and equitably in all matters, and every person should be assessed according to his or her merits and abilities. The great thinker Al-Fārābī search for an ideal model of a society, a ruler, and a state (virtuous city) that can ensure the people’s common good, justice, order, and happiness. He considered the concept of justice as a category that regulates the formation of virtue in society, the establishment of a happy society, and good relations of people. In his work “Aphorisms of the Statesman,” the great thinker explains that “justice” is the equal distribution of common goods among all city residents according to their merit. He states that welfare, wealth, fame, position, and other benefits can be attributed to these benefits (Al-Fārābī 1973, 224). Based on Al-Fārābī’s teachings, Yūsuf Khāss Hājib also accepted “justice” as the main social category of a “just state.” In addition, Al-Fārābī also described the concept of “justice” in the doctrine of political leadership as one of the most important natural qualities of the “first ruler” of the “virtuous city.” The great thinker describes twelve innate essential qualities necessary for the “first ruler.” According to this list, the “first ruler” should love justice by nature and hate injustice and tyranny. In

addition, he warned that it is necessary to be fair to one’s own people and strangers, not to be stubborn, but to be persistent in the face of justice (Al-Fārābī 1972, 317-319). In this regard, Al-Fārābī says that a leader should always exemplify wisdom and justice to his subordinates (Al-Fārābī 1972, p. 212). Yūsuf Khāss Hājib also considered that “justice is the most pleasant, important and necessary quality of a person (ruler); he connected this quality with the image of the main character Kün-Toğdı in his poem. He describes the justice of the “first leader” as the main quality that guarantees happiness to his people. He said that justice as a quality of an individual (ruler) should be combined and supplemented by a number of other qualities such as wisdom and intelligence, directness, strictness, honesty, spirituality, speed, and courage of a person, which in the end ensure that the person’s fame and name remain forever.

The thoughts of Al-Fārābī and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib regarding the concept of “justice” are compatible with the opinions of Kazakh thinkers. Abai Kunanbaev and Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly also considered the concept of “justice” as the most important social category. Kazakh thinkers also tried to find a way to establish justice in society based on the teachings of Al-Fārābī, Yusip Khas Kajib, from morality, virtue, and common sense. Moreover, today the thoughts of Yūsuf Khāss Hājib regarding justice are deeply connected with the thoughts expressed by the President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. In his several Nation Address (September 1, 2022), the President emphasized the need to modernize government service in terms of justice.

To sum up, we believe that the comprehensive study of the thoughts and implementation of the ideas of Turkish thinkers such as Al-Fārābī and Yūsuf Khāss Hājib on “justice” and the creation of a “just state” give a real humanistic character to the ideas “Just State” and “New Kazakhstan.” In addition, the thoughts of Turkish thinkers on “justice” and political leadership will help to prepare the political leaders for “New Kazakhstan.”

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