



ABAI KUNANBAEV'S "QARA SOZ" IN THE LIGHT OF ALBERT STEPANYAN'S THEORY OF INTERPRETATION OF THE ARMENIAN LAMENTATION

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to interpret Abai Kunanbaev's work Qara Soz as an example of literary-historical lamentation. To this end, the paper will apply Armenian historian Albert Stepanyan's theory of lament studies developed from his original reading of Moses Khorenatsi's lamentation or Voghb. To examine Abai's text as a lamentation it will be necessary to apply concepts and models of interpretation, which is possible through inter-textual reading. Albert Stepanyan's original reading of Moses Khorenatsi's lamentation should be comprehended as a model for how we might better read Abai. To this end, the study distinguishes the historical, philosophical, religious and social layers of influences in Armenian and Kazakh laments. In both cases, the authors lamented the negative image of their societies within a state of crisis. However, it is argued that these laments are not mere complaints, but instead a petition for help in employing a vision for the future. The solutions offered to the problems in the Qara Soz are mainly concerned with the human virtues of cultural exertion, education, and self-recognition.

Key words: Abai Kunanbaev, Moses Khorenatsi, anti-order, lamentation, education, intellectual activity

Introduction

The origin of lament texts can be dated back to the social, historical, literary, ritualistic and philosophical experiences of ancient societies. Throughout history, the lament genre has penetrated different religious books, e.g., Bible, Koran, etc. Laments are not a mere demonstration of the complaint, but instead, a paradigm

aiming at providing assistance and ways for overcoming the crisis of a nation or community by not letting the following turn into a 'tragedy'. The lamentation by the representative of this community aims to emphasize the shortcomings and complications of their 'own community' that pushed them into a sociopolitical and cultural crisis. Lament aims to make

one recognize his or her weaknesses and problems, and by pointing out contrasts seeks to provide opportunities for engagement in the process of self-creation.

This idea, placed at the heart of this study, will be held as a paradigm in conducting a comparative analysis between the Armenian and Kazakh lamentations written in an entirely different period by the intellectuals of fundamentally different societies. However, the primary focus will be on the Kazakh lamentation entitled *Қара Сөз* (Black Word) written by 19th century Kazakh intellectual Abai (Ibrahim) Kunanbaev's (Qunanbayuli) (Kunanbaev, 1945).

The author of the Armenian lamentation is Moses Khorenatsi (410-490s) – the father of Armenian Historiography. Moses Khorenatsi's book "History of the Armenians" consists of three parts. The first part deals with the origin of the Armenians and ends with the conquest of Alexander the Great. The second part concerns the history of Parthian Persia and conversion of Armenians to Christianity in A.D. 301. The final part - «Lament over the removal of the Armenian throne from Arsacid family and the archbishopric from the family of Saint Gregor» or *Voghb* - represents one of the most catastrophic events of Armenia when with the collapse of Arshakuni dynasty in 428 A.D (Khorenatsi, 1981). The style of Khorenatsi's third book appears to have been influenced by the literary lament-genre based works of the Neo-Platonic Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C. - A.D. 50). The lament of Moses Khorenatsi was also profoundly influenced by Biblical lament texts, which similarly demonstrate the constructive and assistive

nature of such kinds of lamentations.

Abai Kunanbaev (1845-1904) is considered patriarch of the Kazakh literature. In addition to his primary religious education at madrasas, he attended a Russian school. Despite Russian cultural influences — including personal communication with Russian poets and exiled politicians — he was familiar with the works of Islamic (Al-Farabi, Nizami, and Navoi) as well as Western philosophers (Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Kant, and Hegel). The *Qara Soz*, consisting of 45 short philosophical tractates or words, is one of the most well-known works of Abai Kunanbaev. It was written by Abai throughout his life and was published only after his death. A small part of his tractates from *Qara Soz* was published in 1918 by the journal *Abai*. Later in 1945, in commemoration of 100th anniversary of Abai Kunanbaev, the *Qara Soz* was published with a Russian translation by Viktor Shklovski (Kunanbaev, 1945). It has also has been translated into Russian by the Kazakh writers Satimjan Sanbaev (1970) and Rolan Seisenbaev (1992-93)².

Methods

The *Qara Soz* reflects the social, cultural and political situation in Kazakh society after the process of annexation of Kazakh steppe into Imperial Russian had been completed. Russian Imperial policies (urban, educational, agricultural, administrative, etc.), which were, in essence, modernistic, clashed with the tradition of Kazakh mobile pastoralism and this caused the bulk of challenges for the Kazakhs. Thus, in the work of Abai, the issues under scrutiny are concerned with the inter-societal relations of Kazakh

² Despite *Qara Soz* literary means black word, all of these authors provided different translations. Shklovski's translation was entitled as *Назидания* (Edification), Sanbaev translated it as *Слова назидания* (Words of Edification) and Seisenbaev as *Книга слов* (Book of Words).

people shaped by daily, religious, moral, educational, economic and cultural influences. Abai saw mobile pastoralism as outdated and less competitive in the world and advised his fellow Kazakhs to take a step forward by acquiring education and science and by learning languages such as Russian.

We can better interpret and understand Abai's text within the context of lament studies. To read Abai's text as a lamentation, we need to apply some theoretical concepts and models of interpretation, which is possible through intertextual reading. Intertextuality is one of the methods to put fundamentally different text in one framework. In this particular case, the Kazakh text will be read in the light of the Armenian lamentation. Intertextual model of interpretation is essential to avoid any attempt at labeling the comparison of the 19th century Kazakh lamentation with the 5th-century Armenian historical lamentation as 'speculative'.

Indeed, at first glance, under such substantial chronological break, the comparison between these authors could be perceived as ambitious. However, the paradigm of interpretation through the prism of lament study genre erases chronological and socio-cultural borders and offers a model for figuring out the interplay between the Armenian and Kazakh lamentations. The works of Khorenatsi and Kunanbaev being both written in the historical and literary genres of laments are in a state of mutual relation with history. It is noteworthy that the ideas outlined by Abai Kunanbaev in his lament — to come up with fear or unwillingness

of being changed in overcoming a chaotic state of the society— have already been represented in the work of Moses Khorenatsi fourteen centuries ago³.

However, this is the first attempt to apply the lament study framework to examine the Qara Soz, which became possible by the application of the theoretical model of interpretation of the laments text developed by Albert Stepanyan. Stepanyan has introduced his theoretical-intertextual model of the interpretation of lament texts in work entitled *On the basic Idea of the History of the Armenians* by Moses Khorenatsi [1]. So, Albert Stepanyan's original reading of a lamentation by Moses Khorenatsi will be used as a model of how we might better read Abai. Albert Stepanyan as one of the best experts in Greco-Armeno-Roman history consciously drew on the model present in the Greek historical-philosophical tradition, in which lament is not just a verbal expression of emotion, complains or of social ills; instead, it is a (genre) model or framework applicable to many different cases.

Stepanyan's theory is based on the semanticity of lament, which in fact offers algorithm of actions not to repeat the things or as Stepanyan conceptualized anti orders that pushed society into chaos or sociopolitical and cultural crisis. In interpreting the semantic codes of Khorenatsi's lament, Albert Stepanyan distinguishes three anti-orders. The first anti-order was the result of the anti-intellectual activity of teachers, students, clergy and monks, the second anti-order was the result of the anti-spiritual activity of warriors, princes, kings, and judges

³ Considering the fact that the work of Moses Khorenatsi have been internationally published since the 17th century—first by Tovma Vanandetsi in Amsterdam in 1675, and then translated into Russian in 1809 in St. Petersburg —it can be supposed that Abai, being an outstanding enlightened person of his time, could have read the lament of Moses Khorenatsi. See (Khorenatsi, *History of Armenia*, 1695), (Khorenatsi, *Armyanskaya istoria, sochinennaya Moisee Khorenskoy, s kratkim geograficheskim opisaniem Drevnei Armenii*, 1809). Moreover, the Kipchak — language of different religious and ethnic communities — being used by the Armenian and Kazakh nations in medieval ages became not only a unique source of interrelationships but also an interesting example of the partnership of languages and religions. [43], [44], [45].

but the third anti-order was represented by the egoistic and lazy laity [1, p.185-187]. To define the concept of anti-order Stepanyan relies on Greek philosophical thought borrowing Phlio and Plato's notions of cosmic collapse caused by moral erosion of humankind. In general, anti-order is a chaotic state of community and men similar to a sick organism without harmonic balance and order whose disease has reached its height [1, p.184-185]. To Stepanyan faults of every man, from laity to kings, could be overcome only via self-recognition and intellectual desires, which could hardly happen without education.

The idea and characteristics of anti-orders in the Armenian lament serve as a paradigm in analyzing the crisis of Kazakh society described by Abai Kunanbaev. This paradigm would be important in interpreting the critique of Abai as constructive, visionary, rather than as deconstructive, discouraging and failing [2, p. 36].

Additionally, to make the sympathetic link between the Armenian and Kazakh laments more apparent, the study emphasizes on the ideas shared by both Khorenatsi and Abai as evident in the historical, philosophical and religious layers of the laments. In their lamentations, the authors prioritized critical thinking that results in apophatic acceptance of the problematic issues of their societies to find solutions to different social, cultural, economic and political problems.

Results

LAYERS OF LAMENTS

The Historical layer of Laments

Historical experience has pivotal

importance in understanding not only the details of particular nations and societies but also the foundations and inspiring factors of various cultural, historical and literary texts or vice versa. Thus, despite cultural and historical differences, the interpretation of such kinds of works helps to offer new texts and open up new methods for analyzing specific periods of history. The historical layer of the Abai's *Qara Soz* contains various circumstances confirming the disruption of harmonic balance and order of the Kazakh society, which pushed Abai to write down his lamentation.

In the 19th century, Kazakh society was already under Tsarist Russian control. The Kazakh's incorporation into the Russian Empire had started in the 18th century. Three tribal agglomerations of Kazakhstan⁴ [3, p. 91] had established a political union with the Tsarist Empire, in which the elder tribal agglomeration was trying to preserve its independence in the time of the Russian military conquest of Tashkent in 1865, Samarkand and Bukhara in 1873 and Kokand in 1876 [4, p. 35]. Among the reasons for dependence on Russian power was the weak sense of national unity of the Kazakhs demonstrated since the 15th century. As Abai describe in word 6;

«According to a Kazakh proverb “the unity is the foundation of success, and of welfare –life”. But in what kind of country the unity and welfare are possible, a Kazakh does not know. A Kazakh thinks that unity is in common food, common clothing and in common wealth».

(Қазақтың бір мақалы: “Өнер алды — бірлік, ырыс алды — тірлік ” дейді. Бірлік қандай елде болады, қайтсе тату болады — білмейді. Қазақ ойлайды: бірлік ат ортақ, ас ортақ, киім ортақ, дәулет ортақ

⁴ The formation of tribal agglomerations is considered the significant phenomenon of Kazakh history. With respect to this, the integration of Kazakhs into three Zhuz (alliances of tribes, agglomerations) or hordes: Greater Horde (Ұлу жүз), Middle Horde (Орта жүз) and Little Horde (Кіші жүз) is of central importance in understanding different phenomena (economic, political, social, judiciary etc.) of the Kazakh history.

болса екен дейді) [5, бірінш сөз].

In other words, Kazakhs' social organization did not function by the shared national interests, but rather by the economic and social interests of different social groups or tribal agglomerations. As for Abai, such kinds of relations have an apocalyptic effect on the Kazakh society, and he went to write, «The greatest bane is the sale of unity for products [livestock]» (Бірлік малға сатылса антұрғандықтың басы осы) [5, бірінш сөз]. The urgency of Abai had deep roots, and apparently, these were among the encouraging factors that stimulated him to keep the corrupt relationships of different societal spheres in the center of his lament.

First of all, at that time, the Kazaks were faced with ethnic identity challenges given by the policies of Tsarist Russia. Indeed, the suzerainty of the Kazakh steppe by Russian authorities contained a package of colonial challenges likely to cause fundamental transformations in the Kazakh society. All of the problems described by Abai were derived from the poorly organized state and national institutions [3, pp. 90-91], [6, pp. 51-53], [7, pp. 318-319]. Without strong national institutions, the Kazaks' national unity and identity were very vulnerable to foreign challenges. So, this case of disruption of a harmonic balance and order in Kazakh society, which pushed them into cultural and social crisis, which Stepanyan would call anti-order.

Nevertheless, according to Stepanyan's theory if one takes different algorithm of actions anti-order can also turn into an opportunity. By this logic, the disrupted Kazakh order could serve as a space for generating intellectual and cultural activities, which in turn would lead to national identity.

According to Stepanyan's theory lament can guide a society to solve the problems and to cope with social ills. For example, for Khorenatsi the cultural experience of the Armenian nation was seen as a unique source that could provide the functional foundation for cultural and intellectual activity for overcoming chaos and re-establishing former statehood⁵ [8, p. 93]. To identify the evidentiary basis for the mentioned idea, it is enough to take into consideration the fundamental works of church fathers dated in the fifth century (The Golden Age of the Armenian culture), which included references to the concept of the "nation-state" [9, p. 167]. Thus, as Stepanyan thinks, Khorenatsi lived during anti-time of his lament, which as a space of anti-values results in distortion of a harmonic balance of Armenians causing the collapse of the Arsacid kingdom [10, pp. 29-30]. If Khorenatsi's anti-time was a result of disturbance of deeply-rooted, historical sense of national unity, then Abai's anti-time was the result of lack of or weak sense of such unity. Khorenatsi had already witnessed the once unity of the Armenians and lamented the crisis of the Armenian society, while Abai did not witness the former unity of the Kazakhs and criticised the factors that prevented the establishment of national unity and balance among the Kazakhs. Indeed, the contexts are different but, but characteristics of anti-order were the same.

Philosophical layer of Laments

The philosophical layer is quite essential for interpreting Abai's lamentation. Neo-platonic philosophical thoughts constitute the common framework that can put Armenian and Kazakh laments in a comparable line. However, the deciphering of the neo-

⁵ After Armenia's partition between Roman Empire and Sasanian Iran for the first time in centuries Armenia found itself without a king.

Platonic influence of the Kazakh lament is not the only evidence to argue that Abai was familiar with Greek philosophical thought. By including the famous conversation between the Socrates and his pupil, the scholar Aristodemos in the Word 27 of his lamentation Abai tried to stress his awareness of Greek philosophical mind [5].

According to Stepanyan, most of the ideas expressed in the History of Armenia were not coined directly by Moses Khorenatsi, but as Stepanyan argues were derived from Greek philosophical experience [1, pp. 188-189]. Concerning this, the philosophical thought of Philo of Alexandria is of evidentiary significance. While describing the corrupt relations in Armenian society, Khorenatsi starts with the description of catastrophic manifestation of nature; «spring has become dry, summer very rainy, autumn like winter, and winter has become very icy [...]» [11, p. 452]. Such kinds of approaches — to connect catastrophe with irregularities of the seasons — had been widely used by Greek philosophers (and then by Philo) to describe the imbalance of human harmony. The Greek philosophical thought had a significant influence on Stepanyan's theory of anti-order. According to Greek philosophical thought (Philo and Plato), anti-order is a part of a universal collapse that includes cosmos, social community, and man. The role of man is more than central in these catastrophes because as Plato puts these are results of moral erosion of mankind, who have not ordered their lives precisely [1, p.184].

What is interesting is that since the 9th century Greek philosophical thought has great influence on the development of Muslim world, i.e., Greek philosophical

texts of Aristotle, Plato and others were translated into Arabic in the Bayt al-Hikma (House of Wisdom) of Baghdad and to some extent that was due to Muslim World that West «custodianship of classical wisdom and its generation of new knowledge in cartography, medicine, and philosophy as well as in mathematics and optics» [12, pp. 51-52].

One of the great philosophers of Islamic civilization, Al-Farabi (c. 878–c. 950 AD), was born in the ancient district of Farab, and in present-day Kazakhstan is perceived by the Kazakh people as a Kazakh philosopher⁶. It is important to note that Abai is considered a follower of Al-Farabi, whose philosophy, similar to Greek philosophical thought,⁷ [13, p. 83] is based on the ideas of human harmony and perfection, [14, pp. 112-113] enlightenment, moral purification, the triumph of knowledge, etc [2, p. 7]. One of the most vivid pillars of Al-Farabi's philosophy is concerned with a theory for the origin of language. To Al-Farabi, the mastery of languages has a central place in the process of learning and in understanding the outer world and other cultures [15, pp. 10-15]. Similarly, Abai saw the learning of languages (primarily Russian) as one of the creative ways to overcome the crisis of Kazakh society and advised his compatriots to learn new languages to understand new meanings and concepts for proper development.

Of course, one can find the influence of Al-Farabi on Abai exaggerated. The case of Al-Farabi is taken into consideration, not because of Kazakh's perception of Abai as a follower of Al-Farabi, but to show the possible influence of neo-Platonism on Abai's worldview. Two arguments led us to take Al-Farabi into the examination. Firstly,

⁶In Addition Abu Nasr al-Farabi depicted on 1 Kazakhstani Tenge (issued in 1993)

⁷Due to his philosophical mind, Al-Farabi became known as “second Aristotle”, “the second Master”, “Eastern Aristotle” etc. and it was due to Al-Farabi (and particularly his philosophical explanation of human and divine phenomena) that a dialogue between philosophical minds of ancient West and Islamic East was established.

there are similarities between Al-Farabi and Abai's philosophical thoughts, which we tried to emphasize (God-man relations, etc.). Abai knew Arabic, and the works of Al-Farabi were considered inseparable part of Islamic or Arabic philosophical thought. Next, the intellectual Islam or Sufism has its root from Neo-Platonism. This explanation can be assumptive until we can provide a proof of this. As a proof can be the familiarity of Abai with Neo-Platonic philosophical works, in which one can find the algorithm of action in overcoming chaos by means of \neg «order» and by rejecting «anti-order».

On the other hand, according to Abai's friend Eugenie Petrovich Michaelis he was interested in western philosophy [16]. Moreover, with the help of Michalis (by his advice) he found New York University Professor John W. Draper's translated work entitled History Of The Intellectual Development Of Europe (1869) in two volumes [17, p. 1935]. Abai's acquaintance with Draper's book confirms American journalist-traveler, George Kennan:

«I was told about an elderly Kazakh Ibrahim Konobaye (Abai Kunanbayev), who visited the library and read Mill, Buckle, Draper, and others. At the first meeting, he surprised me with a request to talk about induction and deduction. He, it turns out, became very interested in English and Western European philosophers. When we once started talking about Draper's book "The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe" he revealed a great knowledge of the subject» [18, p. 26-27].

After looking at this book, one can argue that Abai was familiar with Neo-Platonic ideas. This book changed worldview and

value system and increased his interest in classical philosophy. The VII chapter of Draper's book The Greek Age of Intellectual Decrepitude focuses on Neo-Platonism, where you can find a paragraph on Philo of Alexandria [19, pp. 207-216]. The uniqueness of Albert Stepanyan's reading of Abai is that he is the first scholar in the world who interpreted the historical text of Khorenatsi within the context of neo-Platonic texts (like the text of Philo of Alexandria). Before Stepanyan, Khorenatsi's 3rd book was considered just a historical text about the social and political problems of the Armenian nation. However, Stepanyan's reading of Khorenatsi shows that some expressions in Armenian lament have a direct link with the some of the historical works of Philo of Alexandria. In the Chapter XVI of Draper's work (in 2nd Volume)- The Age Of Faith In The West The Western or Intellectual Attack On Italian System; The intellectual Condition of Christendom contrasted with that of Arabian Spain- there is a paragraph on the Philosophy of Algazzali [20, pp. 26-50]. This can provide us with another opportunity to assume that Abai was familiar with the philosophy of Al-Farabi because the Philosophy of Algazzali is based on the criticism of Al-Farabi's philosophy by which Al-Farabi tried to achieve a synthesis between the Quran and the methods and discoveries of classical philosophy.

By criticizing material desires and anti-intellectual activities of the ruling elite, e.g. biis (Adat judges), volostnoi (a community leader) etc., as will be shown later in this study, Abai tried to point out the deviation of rulers from the way to moral excellence and virtues that would turn out to be guaranteed for good life or happiness in a

⁸After the formation of the Semipalatinsk Regional Statistical Committee in 1878, Michaelis became the first secretary that committee. In 1886, by the request of Michaelis, Abai Kunanbayev became a member of the Semipalatinsk regional statistical committee hence becoming good friends.

⁹This information has been set down by many Kazakh encyclopedic articles dedicated to Abai Kuanabaev.

society. In fact, it was due to the absence of such kinds of values that rulers could not provide opportunities to achieve balance in society. Of course, such kinds of representations are not a novelty in the philosophical thought, but instead, they found a place first in the works of Plato Republic, then in St. the Augustine's City of God. However, to show the Neo-platonic link with Abai's lament in this regard, it is enough to look at Al Farabi's work On Perfect State, in which he brings values and virtues that should encourage rulers to possess full intellectual perfection [21, p. 241]. Likewise, the forms of critique of rulers by Khorenatsi — the punishment of rulers for their blasphemous arrogance, injustice, and anti-God activities — were also apparent in the philosophical writings of Philo on Emperor Augustus and Emperor Gaius [22, p. 192].

Religious layer of Laments

The discourse on specific religious themes can be considered a distinct layer of influence on the Armenian and Kazakh laments. Indeed, in contrast to Abai, Khorenatsi's text has been much more highly influenced by the idea of religiosity. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that Moses Khorenatsi was himself a church father and his intellectuality was rooted in the Christian experience of the 5th century. Taking into consideration the high influence of the Bible on Khorenatsi's lamentation, G. Sargsyan distinguishes some references from the Biblical texts, e.g. the works of the Prophets Jeremiah and Zakaria as well as the Apocalypse of Saint John (Revelation) to emphasize the influence of Biblical texts and ideas on Moses Khorenatsi's interpretation of Armenian History [23, pp. 128-129].

Likewise, Abai was influenced by

Islamic religious texts. Although Abai's worldview has been profoundly affected by Russian culture, he had received his primary education from an Islamic religious institution, the madrassa, and was familiar with the philosophical thought of the West, e.g., Socrates, Aristotle, and Byron. In particular, the ideas of purity¹⁰ [24, p. 94-95], true faith, and love in God are of central importance in the lament of Abai. Accordingly, in most of his Words, Abai emphasized the weak sense of purity among the Kazakhs to refer to various problems of Kazakh society. Concerning this, it can be argued that the discourse on purity¹¹ in Abai's thinking may have derived from the texts of the Qur'an [25, p. 27].

As we already mentioned Biblical texts, mainly the lament prayer genre, have an enormous impact on the development of the historical and literary genre of lamentations. Because Abai was familiar with Islamic ideas (he mostly advocated for liberal Islam), a question arises whether Qur'anic texts could contain lament genre of prayers that would, in turn, have some influence on the work of Abai? The answer to this question can be discovered in the work of Nancy C. Lee *Lyrics of Lament: From Tragedy to Transformation* [26], where she tried to point out references related to lament prayer. With respect to this, she referred to the Al-Fātihah, first Surah of the Qur'an and the fifth verse to emphasize petition to God for help and then to call attention to a lament prayer she stressed the sixth verse; "Show us the straight way" [26, pp. 130-133].

Many scholars are likely to think that by using Islamic ideas Abai tried to put Islam at the heart of Kazakh identity [27, p. 8]. It is especially evident in the Word 13, in which Abai criticizes a dichotomy of

¹⁰Note that the idea of purity is present in many Islamic texts. In addition, there are even scholars refer to this idea to decipher the name of Kazakh (white, pure). For more details see [24, p. 94-95].

¹¹Moreover, sometimes, the discourse on purity is emphasized by many scholars to decipher various historical, literary and religious lament texts of different periods.

Kazakh's faith, which is demonstrated in real and artificial manners [5, он үшінші сөз]. However, notably, Abai tries to employ religious texts and ideas or more concretely the discourse on real belief in Allah to attract Kazakhs towards science and education. Likewise, in 38 Word, he writes, «First of all you should love God. Science is the image of God. He [Allah] is the truth, and the love of God gives birth to justice and truth». (Аның үшін ол Алланың өзіне ғашықтық керек. Ғылым — Алланың бір сипаты, ол хақиқат, оған ғашықтық өзі де хақлық һәм адамдық дүр) [5, отыз сегізінші сөз].

Semantically speaking, this method was also used by Khorenatsi when he tried to bring biblical ideas into intellectual motion by using the experience of Greek philosophy [28, p. 380]. Moreover, the social aspects of lament once more come to verify that religious thinking left some traces in the work of Abai. The borders of Kazakh's religious thinking have not been restricted merely to Islam: as it is known, Central Asia is a region of multidisciplinary influences that historically has been affected by different religious ideologies, e.g., Shamanism, Tengriism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity.

The Ideas of Anti-Order in the Laments of Khorenatsi and Abai

In interpreting the Armenian lament, Albert Stepanyan distinguishes three anti-orders introduced, which caused chaotic relationships in Armenian Society. Albert Stepanyan goes on to say that the first anti-order manifests the anti-intellect [11, p. 452], which is demonstrated by the activity of teachers, monks, clergy, and students, who were under the control of material desires¹² [1, p. 185].

In the case of analysis of Qara Soz, we can notice that education and teacher-

student relationships are considered central ideas of the Kazakh lament too. Abai starts his lament with an appeal that it is quite a difficult to find a sophisticated person among the Kazakhs to speak with. He went on to write;

«To get involved in science [education]? No, even if you deal with science, there will be found no man who can understand you. And, then to whom shall I pass what I know and to whom will I ask what I do not know myself?» (Ғылым бағу? Жоқ, ғылым бағарға да ғылым сөзін сөйлесер адам жоқ. Білгеніңді кімге үйретесің, білмегеніңді кімнен сұрайсың?) [5, бірінші сөз].

In the Kazakh lament the corrupt nature of Islamic religious fathers is among the reasons of the establishment of anti-order in the Kazakh society, which Abai described in the following way:

«Today's mullahs are the enemies of sophisticated people [...]. Most of their students by learning a bit of Arab and Persian and some snappy sentences [prayers] by heart become self-opinioned considering themselves as distinctive, and instead of providing the help they harm people». (Бұл заманның моллалары хақим атына дұшпан болады. [...] Олардың шәкірттерінің көбі біраз ғараб-парсыдан тіл үйренсе, бірлі-жарым болымсызсөз бахас үйренсе, соған мәз болып, өзіне өзгешелік беремін деп әуре болып, жұртқа пайдасы тимек түгіл, түрлі-түрлі зарарлар хасил қылады) [5, отыз сегізінші сөз].

Then he warns Kazakhs that «they (mullahs) are fake intellectuals and can give anything else apart from damage». (Олар — фитна ғалым, бұлардан залалдан басқа еш нәрсешықпайды) [5, отыз сегізінші сөз]. Similar to Khorenatsi, as an intellectual Abai understood that

¹² «Students are lazy to study and eager to teach, they are “theologians before they have any comprehension”».

under crisis the smallest thing that he could do was to provide writing texts that would help Kazakhs and their future generations to become involved in culturally defined processes of behaving and education. This is especially clearly articulated in the following words of Abai:

«I could not put up with this situation. Afterward, I decided to write down my thoughts on paper; the white paper and black ink will console me and if somebody finds any necessary words, let him write down or read [memorize], but if not, they will stay with me. And, now I am occupied with this thing only». (Оны да ермек қыла алмадым. Ақыры ойладым: осы ойыма келген нәрселерді қағазға жаза берейін, ақ қағаз бен қара сияны ермек қылайын, кімде кім ішінен керекті сөз тапса, жазып алсын, я оқысын, керегі жоқ десе, өз сөзім өзімдікі дедім де, ақыры осыған байладым, енді мұнан басқа ешбір жұмысым жоқ) [5, бірінш сөз].

In the quote of Abai, the processes of writing and memorizing are rooted in thought of Neo-Platonism, which had already found a place in the philosophical work of Al-Frabi, Book of Letters, in which the author states «They [nations] use writing to set down in books what is difficult to memorize, what they cannot ensure not to forget over the course of time, what they seek to safeguard for future generations» [15, p. 12]. Thus, this tends to show how a memory triggered by a particular writing space can make the truth, moral and cultural values present. Likewise, Moses Khorenatsi's scholarly activity was directed towards the attempt to outline new paradigm of the identity of the Armenians in the space of writing [1, p. 193].

In Stepanyan's theory, second anti-

order in the Armenian society was caused by anti-spirit incorporated in the soldiers, princes (rulers), judges and kings [1, p. 186]. Khorenatsi described warriors as «false boasters, lovers of ease, haters of weapon» (սնապարծք, պղերգ, հեշտաստերք, զինաստեացք), princes (rulers) as «rapacious, avaricious and greedy, rebellious, companions of thieves» (կծիիր, կծծիր, ժխաւք, ազաւիք, ապստամբք, գողակից գողոց), and judges as «inhuman, false, deceitful and venal» (տմարդիիր, սուււր, խաբողք, կաշառառոււք) [11, p. 452].

This category of anti-order was evident in the Kazakh society too, which is lamented by Abai while describing heads of volosts (болыс) — sultans or members of aristocracy — and (би) judges, of his time:

«One is bii, another — ruler. If they decided to get education and wisdom, they could hardly have such occupations. They consider themselves as matchless and exemplary with an ability to teach others. [...] Their heads are busy only with a couple of concerns: whether superiors cannot punish us, can we harm thieves (surrounding us), we may stir up hostility among people and take advantage of [different deals]». (Біреу — болыс, біреу — би. Олардың ақыл үйренейін, насихат тыңдайын деген ойы болса, ол орынға сайланып та жүрмес еді. Олар өздері де оздықкісіміз, өзіміз біреуге үлгі беріп, ақыл айтамыз деп сайланды. Өздері түзеліп жеткен, енді елді түзерлігі-ақ қалған. [...] Басында өзіндік жұмысы бар: ұлығымызға жазалы болып қаламыз ба, яки елдегі бұзақыларымызды бүлдіріп аламыз ба, яки халқымызды бүлдіріп аламыз ба, яки өзіміз шығындап, шығынымызды толтыра алмай қаламыз ба? — деген ебіне қарай біреуді жетілтейін, біреуді құтылтайын деген бейнетінің бәрі басында, қолы тимейді) [5, сегізінші сөз].

The Kazakh *bii* had the role of judges (mainly Adat judges) in the Kazakh society; however, in contrast to judges who act by prescribed regulations and instructions, the 19th Kazakh *biis* were guided by the norms of adat or customary law and were engaged only in some cases outlined by Russian staff [6, p. 61]. Since the sense of justice is considered the main quality of being appointed to the authoritative position of *biis* [29, p. 51], any unjust action was perceived by Abai as a detour route from a direct course of *biis*' activity and as a result «they (*biis*) were framing up the honest people of the steppe». (Елдегі жақсы адамдардың бәрінің үстінен бекер, өтірік “шапты, талады” деген әр түрлі уголовный іс көрсетіп, арыз береді) [5, үшінші сөз]. To Abai it is the departure from a tradition of customary law that caused anti-order, which Abai tried to describe in the following sentence:

«Not everyone can enforce justice. In order to take a council on the top of Mountain Kultobe, as we say, it is quite crucial to have knowledge of all the laws inherited by our ancestors, e.g., Kasym Khan's “Righteous Pathway”, Esim Khan's “Ancient Pathway” and Az-Tauke Khan's “Seven Canons” created during the council held on top of Mountain Kul». (Бұл билік деген біздің қазақ ішінде әрбір сайланған кісінің қолынан келмейді. Бұған бұрынғы Қасым ханның “Қасқа жолы”, Есім ханның “Ескі жолын”, Әз Тәуке ханның “Күл төбенің басында күнде кеңес” болғанда “Жеті жарғысын” 7 білмек керек) [5, үшінші сөз].

Injustice and the fact that power is gained through the process of palm greasing shattered not only the order but also lost the link between mutual respect and interpersonal trust [5, жиырма екінші сөз]. It should be noted that

the demonstration of anti-spirit among the rulers had sourced from corrupt relationships around ordinary people. For example, Abai uses the term shame¹³ in emphasizing the right way of life that every Kazak has to live [11, p. 452]; «Let the life in which there is no shame disappear» (Ардан кеткен соң, тірі болып жүргені құрысын) [5, жиырма тоғыз інші сөз] because according to well-known Kazakh national proverb «There is shame, there is faith» (Ұяткімде болса, иман сонда) [5, отыз алтыншы сөз]. Next, Abai, without mentioning a separate category of people, complained that there was no shame among the people surrounding him [5, отыз алтыншы сөз]. The condemnation of all people without any specific occupation is described as the cause of third anti-order in Stepanyan's theory. According to Stepanyan laity that incorporates the corporeal principle of a wicked soul represented the third anti-order in Armenian society, which also was sourced from people's faithlessness and preferences of material values [1, p. 187].

Different Words of Abai, like Al-Farabi's philosophical thought, touch upon the relationships between faith and science, man and God, as well as real and blind faiths. Particularly, by the following words Abai tried to express Kazakhs' unserious attitude towards God:

A Kazakh does not worry whether his prayers satisfy God or not. He imitates others, i.e., he touches the head upon the ground and then lifts his head up. He deals with God as a lender [merchant]; «that is all I have, take if you want, but if not, don't ask me to procure livestock from somewhere». (Қазақ құлшылығым Құдайға лайықты болса екен деп қам жемейді. Тек жұрт қылғанды қылып, жығылып тұрса болғаны. Саудагер несиесін жия

¹³In condemnation of judges, Khorenatsi expresses his words in the following way: «And everyone thoroughly misses love and shame» (Եւ բարձուն առ հասարակ յամենեցունց սիրոյ և ա մ յ յ յ) .

келгенде, «тапқаным осы, біттім деп, алсаң — ал әйтпесе саған бола жерден мал қазамын ба»? дейтұғыны болушы еді гой) [5, он алтыншы сөз].

Discussion

The discourse on social ills and various problems of laity prevails over the discourse on kings and warriors across the paragraphs in Abai's lament. It has a logical explanation. First of all, there were no powerful and long-lasting Kazakh kingdoms in the steppe throughout the history. Secondly, it is more than obvious that it would be very difficult for Abai to write about more or less available Kazakh warriors of the 19th century who were in the process of social struggle against Tsarist Russian rule in a period of history when the political and cultural life of Kazakhs were shaped by Russian imperial ideologies and policies¹⁴ [30, p. 276-284]. However, it should be noted that Abai sometimes referred to warriors (*batyr*), not as a distinct category, but as adjective or sign of certain quality that he would like Kazakhs to possess.

Knowledge and Intellectual Activity: *Methods of Overcoming Crisis*

One of the positive aspects of the laments concerns the opportunities that could come with a chaotic form of society. Knowledge and intellectual efforts can be unique medium in overcoming anti-orders. Behind the reasons of anti-order in chaotic Armenian society lie anti-values of rational, psychic and corporeal principles incorporated by those who are under the control of material desire [1, p. 185].

Likewise, when Abai doubts whether he would see «at least one day, when the theft, lying, backbiting, and falseness would disappear among Kazakhs, when the Kazakhs will study art and accumulate

wealth through fair and honest ways»? He had in his mind material desires that could make an obstacle for Kazakhs to open their minds to knowledge. Later, in word 32 Abai would write:

«Those who want to get an education should follow certain preconditions. Preconditions, in turn, are consisting of requirements that should be acknowledged. If you do not have knowledge of these, you will not even discover it from somewhere. It should be understood that if one acquire science and education, it would be possible to look for all the interesting things of life». (Білім-ғылым үйренбөкке талап қылушыларға әуел білмек керек. Талаптың өзінің біраз шарттары бар. Оларды білмек керек. Оларды білмей, іздегенмен табылмас. Әуел — білім-ғылым табылса, дүниенің бір қызықты нәрсесіне де керек болар еді деп іздемекке керек) [5, отыз екінші сөз].

From the words of Abai, we can conclude that solutions to all the problems of Kazakh society are rooted in the deficiencies of education. Hence, Abai goes on to think that education is the most crucial precondition in establishing good life or happiness in society. The following quote from Al Frabi shows that Abai as a follower of Al Farabi — a pseudonym given by Kazakhs— remained true to his calling;

«The human things through which nations and citizens of cities attain earthly happiness in this life and supreme happiness in the life beyond are of four kinds: theoretical virtues, deliberative virtues, moral virtues, and practical arts. Theoretical virtues consist in the sciences whose ultimate purpose is to make the beings and what they contain intelligible

¹⁴Although most of the Kazakh's social and political protests had not transformed into a national liberation struggle, the struggle of Kennesary Kasymov (1837-1847) being free from the elements of fundamental Islam, distinguished itself from other movements born due to disruption of mobile pastoral lifestyle and had the concrete aim to redefine Kazakhs' national borders.

with certainty [...]» [31, p. 13].

As for Abai, the concepts of intellectual perfection and educational activity are of central importance not only for the development of Kazakh rulers but also for ordinary people. As described in the Word 10, education established not only the borders of worldview and the beliefs of individuals but also the welfare of society and the right form of relations within a family. By criticizing illegal ways of accumulating wealth, Abai wrote; «Assuming you have chosen this path [to accumulate wealth or acquire livestock by harrising, begging and cheating others]. All right, use it to achieve education, if not for you, then for your child. There can be neither faith nor welfare without education». (Хoш, сөйтiп жүрiп-ақ мал таптың байыдың. Сол малды сарып қылып, ғылым табу керек. Өзiңе табылмаса балаң тапсын. Ғылымсыз ахирет те жоқ, дүние де жоқ) [5, оныншы сөз].

Thus, from this point of view, it can be concluded that Abai touches upon contemporary problems concerning human capital. The mechanism offered by Abai — investment in human capital by means of education — provides answers to the questions how generations of wealthy elites (sometimes illegal and criminal) legitimate their inherited wealth and power.

Also, Abai's lament even contains some elements of human resource management. To Abai, there is still an opportunity to correct Kazakhs whose parents are under the control of material desires. To this end Abai wrote;

«First of all, it is necessary to have great power [strong ruler] to threaten adults and coercively take away their sons, and then send them to madrassas [schools] by compelling their parents to pay for education. There are countless scientific

areas in the world, and every scientific area has its school. It is necessary to send one of them [Kazak's sons] in one path of knowledge, the other — a different». (Әуел — бек зор өкімет, жарлық қолында бар кісі керек. Үлкендерін қорқытып, жас балаларын еріксіз қолдарынан алып, медреселерге беріп, бірін ол жол, бірін бұл жолға салып, дүниеде есепсіз ғылымның жолдары бар, сол әрбір жолда бір медресе бар, соларға тоздырып, бірін сен бұл жолды үйрен, сен ол жолды үйрен деп жолға салып, мұндағы халыққа шығынын төлетіп жіберсе, хәтта қыздарды да ең болмаса мұсылман ғылымына жіберіп, жақсы дін танырлық қылып үйретсе, сонда сол жастар жетіп, бұл аталары картайып сөзден қалғанда түзелсе болар еді) [5, қырық бірінші сөз].

The idea of being educated for Abai was not associated with Islam, but rather with secular Russian education. Russianness as a representation of otherness would challenge the traditions, identity, and ethnicity of Kazakhs. However, Russian education was perceived by Abai as an appropriate answer to that challenge that in turn could endow Kazakhs identity with new values and dimensions. Concerning this Abai writes;

«It is necessary to learn Russian. It contains wisdom, wealth, art and science. To escape disadvantage and reach to a common good, it is necessary to learn the language, to get education and science. [...] Their language [Russian] will open your eyes to the world». (Орысша оқу керек, хикмет те, мал да, өнер де, ғылым да — бәрі орыста тұр. Зарарынан қашық болуға, пайдасына ортақ болуға тілін, оқуын, ғылымын білмек керек. Аның үшін олар дүниенің тілін білді, мұндай болды. Сен оның тілін білсең, көкірек-көзің ашылады) [5, жиырма бесінші сөз].

Abai's intellectual heritage had great influence on the development of future intellectuals of Kazakhstan. History showed that if Kazakhs followed the advice of Abai, they have been added themselves into the constellations of the Kazakh intellectuals. In this context, the words of outstanding Kazakh writer, translator, historian composer and philosopher Shakarim Kudaiberdiev (1858-1931) are excellent case in point;

«The deceased Abai became an idol for me. By following him, I timely pulled away from intertribal dissension and humiliating infighting, I have chosen the way of truth and justice, engaged in scientific activity» [32, p. 98], see also [33]. «Кумиром для меня стал покойный Абай. Следуя ему, рано отстранился я от межродовой распри и унижительных междоусобиц, избрал путь истины и справедливости, занялся науками».

On Misinterpretation of Abai's Words on Learning of Russian Language

Due to Abai's heavy emphasis on the Russian language, some scholars in their analysis do use Abai as an example of a Russia-oriented intellectual. Soviet Historians of non-Russian people saw their task in describing the superiority and high influence of Russian culture over non-Russian people and intelligentsia. Lowell Tillet, in his book *The great friendship: Soviet historians on the non-Russian nationalities*, touches upon these issues and as evidentiary proof brings a quote from a Soviet encyclopedia article on Abai:

«Representatives of the Russian democratic intelligentsia-Chernyshevskiss' pupil Mikaelis, N. I. Dolgopolo and others, who were exiled in Semipalatinsk, were the friend and teachers of Abai. They played a decisive role in the intellectual

development of Abai, helping him study the works of the great Russian writers and thinkers Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov, Pisarev, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Tolstoi, Turgenev, Chernyshevskii, and Dobroliubov, which contributed to the formation of the views of the poet-enlightener» [34, pp. 391-392].

Such approaches began to be used much more widely during the post-WWII period when the Communist party put forward the motto of the «friendships of peoples». The book of Soviet Kazakh historian Beisembiev, *Мировоззрение Абая Кунанбаева*, (*The World View of Abai Kunanbaev*) supported the argument of most of the Soviet historians that Abai's worldview had been fully under the influence of Russian language and culture [35]. Abai's words, mainly from *Black Word*, have been widely cited by both Soviet Kazakh and contemporary western intellectuals who aim to emphasize the progressive influence of Russian language and culture on the Kazakh's worldviews and national identity. The case of Soviet Kazakh historian Bekmakhanov is an excellent example of this point. In his book *Kazakhstan from the 1820s through the 1840s*, written in 1947, Bekmakhanov idealized Kenesary and qualified his movement against tsarist Russian authorities in the Kazakh steppe as a progressive rebellion that aimed at establishing a unified government [34, pp. 111-112]. Bekmakhanov was blamed for his nationalistic work and criticized by the party and most of the Soviet Kazakh historians. Later, in 1957, in one of his works to "correct" his error, to emphasize the creative influence of Russians on the Kazakh people and to please his Russian audience, Bekmakhanov would use the words of Abai concerning Russian education of Kazakhs [36, p. 239].

Another author who tried to use Abai to support the Soviet axiom of the friendship of the peoples was the prominent Kazakh literary writer Mukhtar Auezov. It should be stated that the intellectual activity and works of Abai have been disseminated among the Kazakhs by Mukhtar Auezov via his two-volume historical novel titled Абай (Abai) and Абай жолы (Path of Abai), in which he from time to time used the discourse on Abai as being a Pro-Russian enlightener [37, p. 559, 605]. The same accent exists in the works of many contemporary western scholars, who also used the term 'pro-Russian' in describing the cultural activity of Abai. Martha Brill Olcott, in her work *The Kazakhs*, argues that due to Abai's pro-Russian worldview he was comprehended as a national hero by Soviets [38, p. 105]. Although Tillet understood all of the divergences concerning interpretation of Abai's intellectual activity, he also used the words of Abai «Learn from Russians- that is key to life» as an epigraph or the 17th chapter of his book, which focuses on the Soviet interpretation of the discourses of Russian superiority in the works of Soviet historians of the non-Russian peoples [34, p. 382]. Interestingly, Bhavan Dave in her book *Kazakhstan: Ethnicity, language, and power* again uses the words of Abai, e.g. «to learn Russian is to open your eyes to the world» as a headline in describing Russian hegemony in Kazakhstan in chapter three [4, p. 50]. Although the epigraph is the first impression an author makes on a reader, none of these authors provided reference directly to Abai's work *Qara Soz*, but instead they took his quote from already cited materials. A sentence cut from its original context will undoubtedly change its meaning and cannot be understood fully as the author intended.

Later in this study, it will be shown that investigation of Abai's texts from a lament studies point of view — considering lament as a petition for help — will raise new research questions and approaches to revise the image of Abai as a pro-Russian enlightener coined by Soviet historiography. Moreover, it will help to avoid misunderstandings regarding misinterpretations of Abai's words on the study of the Russian language and thus provide a remedial reading of Abai's *Qara Soz*.

There will be found some scholars who would try to interpret the words above of Abai through the prism of postcolonial thought, but one should keep in mind the historical background of Kazakh society of that time. It should not be forgotten that Kazakh society had been situated in the periphery of the Russian Empire, which, of course, for Kazakhs then became the primary medium in conducting relationships with the external world. Abai's outlined civilizing process using Russian education could be interpreted as a legitimating act of the imperial civilizing mission of Tsarist Russia. By disagreeing with this statement, the study puts forward new approach of analyzing the discourse on Russian education in Abai's *Words*. Of course, Abai as an intellectual enjoyed the respect of Russian authorities, but his propaganda of Russian education should not be confused with propaganda for Russian colonial ideologies or pro-Russianness, which sometimes derives from Soviet historiography. Abai has been blamed even by his contemporaries for his efforts to send Kazakh children to Russian schools [39, p. 301]. To avoid such kinds of misunderstandings and comprehend the full picture, one should go back to the Soviet Kazakh historiography, when most of the ideas concerning national, ethnic

and traditional relations were entered into the textbook under the control of Communist Party.

Neither Soviet nor contemporary scholars took the Black Word of Abai into investigation from a lamental point of view. This, virtually, would lead us to think that Abai did not consider the Russian language as a colonial medium of interpretation; rather he saw it as key to the gates of interpretation of values surrounding them. Alternatively, by the words of Abai «Russian science and arts are the key to the world; by mastering this key, the world will be more accessible for you [kazakhs]». (Орыстың ғылыми, өнері — дүниенің кілті, оны білгенге дүние арзанырақ түседі) [5, жиырма бесінші сөз]. As described in the Word 8, one of the drawbacks of Kazakhs was connected with the weak culture of learning from others [5, сегізінші сөз], and then he continues in 39 Word;

«If we had in our behaviors these two characteristics [diligence and decisiveness, ability to learn from others] of our ancestors we would be able to join the ranks of other nations. But, since we do not have such kinds of behavioral characteristics, our whole life is likely to be not a normal human life, but a thing that stretches to emptiness». (Осы күнгілер өзге мінезге осы өрмелеп ілгері бара жатқанына қарай, сол аталарымыздың екі ғана тәуір мінезін жоғалтпай тұрсақ, біз де ел қатарына кірер едік, мінез жоқ болғансоң, әлгі үйренген өнеріміздің бәрі де адамшылыққа ұқсамайды, сайтандыққа тартып барады) [5, отыз тоғызыншы сөз].

To Abai, the study of the Russian language was not only an opportunity to break stereotypes of their imagined “heights of perfection” but also to take

advantage of Russian language and culture and become more enlightened. Some of the Kazaks' problems, described by Abai in Word 14, are not the results of their lack of intelligence, but rather that they do not have the courage and fortitude to take and follow wise advice [5, төртінші сөз]. The text of Abai establishes some perspectives for the development of the Kazakh nation. Abai inclined to think that learning the languages and cultures of other nation makes an individual not only enlightened but also an equal to that nation: «By learning language and culture of other nations an individual becomes equal among them, hence escaping the senseless cringe» (Әрбіреудің тілін өнерін білген кісі соныменен бірдейлік дағуасына кіреді, аса арсыздана жалынбайды) [5, жиырма бесінші сөз].

Indeed, no one can reject the influence of Russianness — apart from problems caused by the Russian language in the wake of post-Soviet nation-building — on Kazakhs' social and cultural development. After a century the ideas of Abai – to learn foreign languages to get knowledge – would be used by the President Nursultan Nazarbaev, during one of his annual addresses to the Kazakhstani people, in which he particularly pointed out: «We need the English language to enter the global arena. Out of 10 million books published in the world, 85% is in English. The science, all the new developments, and information – they are all in English nowadays» [40]¹⁵.

Thus, it can be concluded that among the reasons for the crisis of Kazakh society Abai outlined inability or unwillingness of the Kazakhs to provide appropriate responses to the challenges given by history. To put it more precisely, the incorporation of secular education

¹⁴ Moreover, the dissemination of English language among Kazakh at different levels is a part of independent Kazakhstan's trilingual policy. See Official Site of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Events of 14.12.2012, Address by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Leader of the Nation, N. Nazarbayev, Strategy “Kazakhstan-2050”: new political course of the established state.

into Kazakh reality was due to Russian conquest; it was during the Russian conquest that Kazakh girls received the right to school education. The problem of being colonized or civilized via the active use of Russian language was out of Abai's research interest, at least in the Black Word.

After independence, it became evident that Russian rule over the Kazakh steppe had left enormous traces; Russian-speaking people constitute the majority of Kazakhstan's population, which in turn weakened links between Kazakhs' ethnic and cultural definitions. Nevertheless, the post-Soviet identity crisis provided a foundation to adopt a visionary process of nation-building in Kazakhstan. To turn visions into a reality, contemporary leaders of Kazakhstan set-up specific missions of long-run educational processes. Thus, chaos as a part of a social construction of educational reality has potential in organizing reproduction of the social order [41, p. 1]. Likewise, in his work *Rituals of Chaos* — written more or less in a lament genre — Carlos Monsivais in describing a life in Mexico City, where material desires, crime, and overcrowding blurred ideas of morality, patriotism, religiosity and nationality, concludes with an optimistic and opportunistic idea, e.g. «the perfecting of order begins in chaos» [42].

Conclusion

To sum up, the interpretation of the Abai's lamentation through the prism of Stepanyan's theoretical concepts of anti-orders in the current paper provides new insight into understanding and rethinking lament aspect of *Qara Soz*. The intertextual examination of historical, religious and philosophical layers of the Kazakh and Armenian laments set forth mechanisms to establish linkage between different texts.

Stepanyan's theoretical concepts extracted from his original and theoretical reading of Khorenatsi's lamentation turns *Qara Soz* into a text with unique algorithms for overcoming different challenges and treating social ills of Kazakh society. This is an algorithm with a potential to generate cultural production in society. The paper argued that gaining good education could counterweigh sources of backwardness and anti-order in the Kazakh society. Concerning this Abai criticized the unwillingness or inability of Kazakhs to make a step forward, to overcome traditional *modus vivendi* and establish a new kind of rule (or modern way of life), that would put Kazakhs in a competitive relationship with the developed people of the World. That is why Abai provided numerous references to the mobile pastoral lifestyle of Kazakhs in describing the reasons for social, educational and cultural problems. Nevertheless, Abai emphasized the process of intellectual activity and self-recognition in coming up with solutions to problems.

Similarly, throughout his words it became more than evident that Abai wanted to see Kazakhs endowed with the educational virtues and through the propagation of education, Abai tried to set-up idea of self-awareness amongst Kazakhs that would create a vision for future development.

Abai perceived the learning of Russian language as a starting point in generating intellectual activity among Kazakhs. So, after the examination of *Qara Soz* as a lament text, we can conclude that Abai was more a pro-Kazakh than, as represented in Soviet historiography, a pro-Russian writer.

In summing up, all of the criticisms of Kazakhs by Abai aimed at providing a model for overcoming the crisis by means of 'apophatic affirmation' of social,

cultural and intellectual problems. In fact, it became prophetic for the Kazakh society. This view is primarily a matter of

verification under the light of innovative educational policies of independent Kazakhstan.

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АБАЙ ҚҰНАНБАЕВТЫҢ "ҚАРА СӨЗДЕРІ" АРМЯН ЛАМЕНТАЦИЯСЫН АЛЬБЕРТ СТЕПАНЯННЫҢ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЯЛАУ ТЕОРИЯСЫ АЯСЫНДА

Аңдатпа

Бұл жұмыстың мақсаты Абай Құнанбаевтың "қара сөздері" әдеби-тарихи ламентация үлгісі (жылау, сықтау) мысалында түсіндіру болып табылады. Осы мақсатта зерттеуде армян тарихшысы Альберт Степаняның Моисей Хоренаци немесе Вогба ламентациясының алғашқы оқылымы негізінде құрастырылған ламентация теориясы пайдаланылады. Абайдың мәтінін ламентация ретінде қарастыру үшін мәтінаралық оқу арқылы мүмкін болатын түсіндірудің тұжырымдамасы мен интерпритация үлгісін қолдану қажет. Моисей Хоренацидің ламентациясы Альберт Степаняның алғашқы оқылуы, бізге Абайды дұрыс оқып-тану үлгісі ретінде қабылданып отыр. Осы мақсатта зерттеуде армян және қазақ ламентацияларындағы тарихи, философиялық, діни және әлеуметтік қабаттар әсерлері анықталады. Екі жағдайда да авторлар дағдарыс жағдайында өз қоғамдарының жағымсыз имиджіне наразылық білдірді. Дегенмен, бұл шағымдар жай ғана шағым емес, оның орнына болашақ пайымын пайдалануға көмек ретіндегі петиция деуге болады. Қара сөз кітабындағы мәселелерді шешу үшін ұсынылған шешімдер, негізінен мәдени шиеленіс, білім беру және өзін-өзі тану адамгершілік құндылықтарымен байланысты.

Трек сөздер: Абай Құнанбаев, Моисей Хоренаци, анти-тәртіп, ламентация, тәрбие, зияткерлік қызмет.

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«КНИГА СЛОВ (СЛОВА НАЗИДАНИЯ)» АБАЯ КУНАНБАЕВА В СВЕТЕ «ТЕОРИИ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ ЛАМЕНТАЦИИ АРМЕНИИ» АЛЬБЕРТА СТЕПАНЯНА

Аннотация

Целью данной работы является интерпретация работы Абая Кунанбаева «Книга слов» как пример литературно-исторической ламентации (плач, стенание). С этой целью в статье будет использована теория ламентации армянского историка Альберта Степаняна, разработанная на основе его первоначального прочтения ламентации Моисея Хоренаци или Вогба. Чтобы рассмотреть текст Абая в качестве ламентации, необходимо будет применить концепции и модели интерпретации, что возможно посредством межтекстового чтения. Первоначальное чтение Альбертом Степаняном ламентации Моисея Хоренаци должно быть воспринято как образец того, как нам лучше читать Абая. С этой целью в исследовании выделяются исторические, философские, религиозные и социальные слои влияний в армянских и казахских ламентаций. В обоих случаях авторы сетовали на негативный имидж своих обществ в условиях кризиса. Тем не менее, утверждается, что эти жалобы не просто жалобы, но вместо этого петиция за помощь в использовании видения будущего. Решения, предложенные для решения проблем в Книге слов, в основном связаны с человеческими достоинствами культурного напряжения, образования и самопознания.

Ключевые слова: Абай Кунанбаев, Моисей Хоренаци, анти-порядок, ламентация, воспитание, интеллектуальная деятельность.

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