
ӘДЕБИЕТТАНУДЫҢ ӨЗЕКТІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ ЛИТЕРАТУРОВЕДЕНИЯ RELEVANT ISSUES OF LITERATURE STUDY

Article

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Literature-History Relationship and Genghis Khan in Kazakh Literature

There is a relationship based on mutual interaction between literature and history. As a science, history pursues the truth and is based on documents. Since literature is a branch of art, it is the product of the author's or poet's imagination and presents a fictional world to the reader. There is a boundary between history and literature based on the difference between reality and fiction. No matter how much an author who deals with historical subjects tries to remain faithful to reality, his work is not historical reality but fiction. When examining literary texts, especially those about a historical figure, it is necessary to consider the theory of biography and the relationship between literature and history. Kazakh literature is very rich in historical works. Genghis Khan, one of the most influential figures in world history, attracted the attention of Kazakh poets and writers because he was a ruler who was influential in the geography of Kazakhstan. In this article, after providing theoretical explanations about the relationship of literature with history and biography, we will discuss how the image of Genghis Khan is reflected in the poetry, novel, theater, and story genres in Kazakh literature.

Keywords: Kazakh literature, Genghis Khan, literature, history, biography.

Introduction

Literature, a branch of art, plays an important role in helping people make sense of life, both individually and at the community level. One of the ways that literature responds to this search for meaning is to create a sense of identity and belonging by establishing a relationship with the past. History, a branch of science, often goes beyond the academic world and when it becomes popular, it can respond to human societies' search for identity and meaning at the level of collective memory. History fulfills this function by enabling people to connect with the past around a common memory and by turning the memory accumulation in the collective unconscious into a narrative. At this point, the fields of activity of literature, an art, and history, a scientific discipline intersect. Fictionating past events through literature and presenting them to people by telling them stories through the means of art enables the sense of identity and belonging to be gained through narratives. In this way, societies that define themselves and have an identity continue to narrate the historical memory that makes them have an identity, even if their perception of reality changes over time. The formation of history and literature as two separate disciplines is a result of humanity's search for identity and meaning. But this interaction also brings conflicts and arguments. The basis of the discussions involving historians, literary critics and sometimes large audiences is based on the fiction-reality opposition. Especially if, in a literary work on history, figures who have made a name for themselves in history and have a place in the memory of large masses are included as protagonists/heroes, how these people are fictionalized and from what perspective they are told becomes a separate topic of discussion.

While literary works on history continue to increase in popularity around these discussions, more attention is paid to their examination by literary scholars. Especially in a geography like Kazakhstan, where the perception of history was confined to strict ideological barriers by the Soviet Union for many years, it is

of particular importance to examine the relationship between literature and history and to evaluate the works written on historical figures. Because, in addition to its own local dynamics, Kazakh-Soviet literature also reflects socialist realism's perspective on the historical process before the October Revolution. With the independence of Kazakhstan in 1991, a significant break occurred in both the perception of history and the understanding of literature. In order to evaluate all these processes, historical works in Kazakh literature should be examined. Examining how historical figures are fictionalized in literary works and what kind of image is created for them constitutes an important part of the studies that need to be done in this context. Genghis Khan, one of the most discussed figures in world history and whose popularity has been brought to the fictional world by writers from different geographies, also has an important place in Kazakh literature. For this reason, while examining historical-biographical Kazakh literature, it would be useful to also consider works on Genghis Khan. In this study, the subject of Genghis Khan in Kazakh literature will be discussed, based on the literature-history relationship, biography theory and imagology studies.

Literature-history relationship, biography theory and image in literature

When we look at the history of the relationship between history and literature, we can go back to the epic period. However, there is no clear distinction between history and literature in this period. It can be seen that there was “an understanding of history mixed with the art of narrative” in the times when the modern understanding of science had not yet emerged. In epics, historical reality is given together with fictional elements in genres such as *cenknâme* and *gazavatnâme*. However, in this period, there was no understanding of science in the current sense, and there was no sharp distinction between scientific reality and fiction. Modernism's understanding of identity and perception of reality reshapes the reader's expectations from both history and literary text. As Hülya Argunşah emphasizes, with the emergence of nation states, the phenomenon of national identity becomes a “modern way of existence”. It is with the help of literature that this way of existence becomes a “collective memory” to meet the meaning and identity needs of the masses. Historical memory, which was once narrated through epics, becomes the subject of genres such as novels in the modern period, in accordance with the new understanding of reality [1; 9–10].

When it comes to literary works that take their subject from historical events or figures, the boundaries between science and art, fiction and reality, history and literature are brought into question, and this causes theoretical problems to arise. Because the world and aesthetic structure of literature/fiction as an art may not always fully match the purpose of the author who created the text and the function he expects from the text. This situation, which is seen especially in popular works written with a didactic attitude, is not only related to the attitude of the person who created the literary work. The acceptance that exact fidelity to historical reality is necessary also creates some problems in terms of literary criticism. Because some critics want the reality of the work of art to be in harmony with historical reality. In order to distinguish the realism understanding of literature and history, it is necessary to take into account the epistemological breaks in the view of scientific reality, which is accepted to belong to the field of historiography.

According to the paradigm of the modern understanding of science, history is the process of writing down the events that took place in the past, specifying the place, time and place, in a cause-effect relationship and based on documents [2; 66]. In this respect, history is a science within the social sciences, and historiography is a scientific activity. As a scientist, a historian tries to reveal the reality of the past by looking at research and documents. Like other sciences, the science of history examines what exists, not what should be or what is wished to be, and is obliged to present the results it reaches objectively. Even when a historian makes a comment, he has to support his interpretation with documents. Literature is a branch of art and is based on fiction. Even if a literary work takes its subject from history, it does not reflect reality exactly like a historical work, and it does not have to reflect it. By reconstructing history, the author fills in the areas that historians cannot explain with his imagination. Unlike history, literature focuses on people and human psychology rather than society. Since fiction, artist's imagination and literary style are involved, it is wrong to expect a literary work to undertake the function of historiography. For this reason, art/literature's search for reality and history's search for reality are different [3; 11–12].

When the understanding of science of Enlightenment modernism is taken into the center, the boundaries between science and art, fiction and scientific reality are quite clear. For this reason, although some writers — especially popular novelists — say that they write their works in a didactic manner in order to remain faithful to history, to teach history or to create historical awareness, many literary critics have stated that the theoretical dimension of the work does not fully allow this. One of them is Richard Lee, who

expressed his views on historical novels in his article titled “History is but a fable agreed upon: the problem of truth in history and fiction”. Lee explains the distinction as follows:

This is what the historical novel does. As a hero, he makes us feel what would otherwise be dead or lost to us. It takes us to the past. And the best historical novel presents us with the truth of the past, which is not the truth of the history book, but the greater truth, the more important truth — the truth of the heart [4].*

Postmodernism's perspective on science and knowledge brings an epistemological break, and movements such as “New Historicism” argue that, let alone expecting literary works to reveal historical truth, even historiography cannot reveal objective truth, and the work done by historians is a kind of fiction [5; 123]. For this reason, postmodern writers adopt an approach that will make the reader feel that their works are fictional, unlike the didactic attitudes of traditional writers based on the understanding of teaching history, and sometimes use techniques of postmodernism such as parody and intertextuality to ridicule the history teaching function of didactic narratives.

When we look at literary works on history, we see that the majority of them also have the feature of biographical narrative. While writers construct the plot to take place in a certain period of history, they generally include in their works people who lived in that period and came to the fore with their actions. Since these people are people who actually lived in history, they attract the attention of the general readership more and make it easier to create popular narratives. The widespread perception among readers that “history is made by great figures” is also effective in this. Authors who adopt a didactic attitude include the biographies of people who lived in history in the fiction, as they want to create a sense of truth in their works written with the aim of “teaching” the reader a lesson based on history or “raising awareness” on a certain subject, and their biographies play a decisive role in shaping the plot. In order for the historical achievements of “great figures” and the values they represent to create a sense of motivation in the reader, these biographies need to be reconstructed and aestheticized in a way that will convey a message to today's readers.

Discussions in the theory of biography also lead to the emergence of different approaches when evaluating historical literary works. Traditional biography is written with the aim of telling the lives of “great men” and revealing their achievements. In the history of every nation, there are great figures who give it identity, and their biographies meet the need for a common narrative that builds the national identity [6]. Biography is similar to historiography in that it is based on personal documents and tells a past life chronologically with a causal relationship, but it also has the feature of being a literary genre with the style and narrative techniques used. For this reason, it is debated whether biography is a type of historiography or a literary genre. Theorists who express their opinions on the subject say that biography is a hybrid genre at the intersection of history and literature, and therefore science and art, and therefore sometimes suffers from legitimacy problems [7; 6]. As modernism reveals the belief that truth can be grasped with the scientific method, the idea that human life can be written objectively with an empirical method becomes stronger. However, over time, biography theorists express the view that human life and self are not a coherent whole, that biographers construct a life to create a sense of consistency by “selecting and sorting” from the material they have, and this view begins to prevail. For this reason, theoretical studies emphasizing the fictional aspect of biography increase. According to this approach, which argues that even biographies written to describe an individual's life objectively (!) are fictional, biographical novels and stories, which are literary products, are completely fictional texts.

When we look at the historical and biographical narratives in the Turkic world literature, it is seen that works that emphasize the didactic attitude are written in which the traditional realistic approach predominates, rather than postmodern narratives that emphasize the fictionality of the past. Various factors play a role in this, such as the fact that the Turkic peoples, who were closed to Western literature in the Soviet Union in the 20th century, were not introduced to postmodern literature, the lack of opportunity to follow the developments in the West in biography theory, and the fact that literature was expected to be primarily helpful in repairing the damage suffered by the national identity. As a result, works about figures such as Oguz Kagan, Koroglu, Tugrul and Chagri Bey, Genghis Khan, Timur, and written by trying to remain faithful to the information obtained from historical sources, emerge. In these novels, biography becomes a carrier of ideology. Authors use the biographies of historical figures to make their own ideology dominant in the work, to give the message they want, and especially to criticize Soviet policies. For this reason, while determining that it is not possible to completely purify history and biography writing from

* This quote comes from Richard Lee's speech at the *Romantic Novelist's Association* in 2000. The text was translated by Orhan Söylemez. For the original text, see www.historicalnovelsociety.org/lion.htm (10.02.2010).

ideologies, it should be said that literary works subject of which is history and based on the biographies of historical figures are also narratives aimed at conveying the author's worldview and ideology and in this way creating awareness in the reader.

Works on history in Kazakh literature

Kazakh literature is very rich in terms of historical periods and personalities. Especially in the 20th century, when modern written Kazakh literature was born. In Kazakhstan, which continued its existence as a republic affiliated with the Soviet Union in the 19th century, writers who started writing and wanted to make socialist propaganda turned to the past and criticized the feudal period in order to explain the “gains of the revolution”, or nationalist artists who wanted to criticize the Soviet regime but could not do so openly addressed dictatorships in history. Contrary tendencies, such as giving an indirect message to the reader, have been effective in creating this richness. Although the censorship, which controlled literature directly in accordance with the Communist Party policies during the Soviet period, was understanding of the writing of works in which historical figures were criticized as “despotic representatives of the feudal period”, it is impossible to write works on history in order to create identity awareness and to portray past leaders in their positive aspects. After the independence gained in 1991, the efforts of writers and poets to establish national identity ensured the continuation of the tendency towards history in literature, but as the opportunity to move beyond the Soviet paradigm in looking at history became possible, the socialist propaganda in the works was replaced by the 20th century. It takes the nationalist perspective of “Alash Literature”, which was formed at the beginning of the century. According to historians of Kazakh literature, the reason for this situation is the need to emphasize the common past and common values in order to rebuild the national identity, which was degenerated by the socialist regime in order to create a “Soviet man”.*

Genghis Khan Reflected in the Works of Kazakh Poets and Writers

The fact that Kazakhstan is located in the geography where Genghis Khan, one of the great figures of Asian history, reigned makes Genghis Khan one of the prominent figures of Kazakh history. Kazakhstani poets and writers include Genghis Khan and his actions in history in their works in line with their own worldviews. For this reason, revealing how Genghis Khan takes place in Kazakh literature and how he is associated with history and national roots is an important issue for the history of Kazakh literature.

The inclusion of the life and actions of a historical figure such as Genghis Khan in literary works means the coming together of history, biography and fiction. Biographical narratives that emerge at the intersection of the scientific nature of history and the artistry of literature are suitable for examination from different perspectives. First of all, biography is a genre that is already at such an intersection and therefore often has a «legitimacy problem». The increased permeability of fiction and reality in a biographical narrative causes such texts to be discussed a lot in terms of historical relevance and function. If the artist who writes the text is not a postmodern writer and does not see history as a fiction, his aim is to give a message based on history and to give the reader a perspective on a certain subject. This kind of historical-biographical narrative has a pragmatic and didactic nature. The works written about Genghis Khan in Kazakh literature are mostly a product of this approach.

The first examples of the Genghis Khan theme can be seen in oral literature before the formation of modern Kazakh literature. In his article titled «The Image of Genghis Khan in Contemporary Kazakh Literature,» A. Nusipov describes this situation: «If five Kazakhs came together in ancient times, in the middle of the conversation, a legend or poem about Genghis Khan would be mentioned,» he says. The well-known Genghis Khan legend about dombra, the national symbol of the Kazakh people, is a remarkable example in this respect. According to legend, when Genghis Khan's son died, the state officials, afraid of being punished, could not give this news to the Khan. Later, a bard appears and makes Genghis Khan feel this news with the küy/tune he plays on his dombra. Thus, Genghis Khan received the news of his son's death, but the one who told him this was not a bard but a dombra. Genghis Khan, who had previously said that he would kill the person who brought him the news of his son's death, punished the dombra and had lead poured into his body to keep his word. It is believed that the hole in the middle of the dombra, called

* For detailed information about “Alash Literature” and the return to national roots during the independence period, see Janar Serkeşkızı Talaspayeva-Nurgül Kayırbekkızı Smagulova. “Kazak Edebiyatında Çeyrek Asırlık Edebî Tecrübe: Millî İmaj ve Edebiyatın Gelişimi”. Edit. Orhan Söylemez-Ömer Faruk Ateş. *Türk Dünyasında Çeyrek Asırlık Edebî Tecrübe: Millî Ruh ve Edebiyata Yansıması*. Ankara: Bengü Publishing.

«undik», was formed in this way. The fact that a legend about the national instrument of the Kazakh people is associated with Genghis Khan shows the trace of Genghis Khan in the collective memory.

Genghis Khan also has an important place in Kazakh poetry. Even when poets do not write a poem directly about Genghis Khan, when they touch on history and heroism, they refer to Genghis Khan in some verses and even ask for help from him and his descendants. On this subject, Muhtar Mağavin, one of the important representatives of Kazakh literature, said, «Қазақ хандығы құрылғаннан бастап, Шыңғыс хан әулие болды (From the Establishment of the Khanate, Genghis Khan Became a Saint)». The information he provides in his article titled “From the Establishment of the Khanate, Genghis Khan Became a Saint” is remarkable. Magauin [8] refers to the following poem by the Kazakh folk poet Murat Akın to show that the image of Genghis Khan in the historical-collective memory is positive:

Ақ шалмалы пірлердің Мешітке жаққан шамдары-ай! Кәпірден теңдік алуға Қайтып та келер деймісің, Мұсылманның баласы, Шыңғыстан туған хандар-ай!	Pirs with white turbans The candles they lit in the masjid — hey! To achieve equality with the infidel Will you come back? son of Muslims Khans born from Genghis — hey!
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In this poem, Murat Akın expresses his desire to return to the times when the Muslim Kazakh people were equal in power with their enemies after the Kazakhstan steppes were occupied by non-Muslim Russians. These khans, who ruled the Kazakh Khanate and were the protectors of Muslims, are descendants of Genghis. In a resistance poem, the poet seeks help from Genghis and his descendants and sees them as the saviors of the Islamic world and the Kazakhs. This shows that Murat Akın presents a positive image of Genghis Khan.

In the written Kazakh literature that emerged in the 20th century, some poets talked about Genghis Khan. Magcan Cumabayev, who is in the Alash movement, is one of these names. Muhtar Magavin mentions Magcan's “Turkistan” poem as an example of a positive Genghis Khan image:

Тұмайды адамзатта Шыңғыстай ер, Данышпан, тұңғық ой, болат жігер. Шыңғыстай арыстанның құр аты да Адамның жүрегіне жігер берер.	Humanity did not give birth to a man like Genghis. Genius, deep thinker, determined as steel Genghis Khan is also the name of the lion It gives courage to one's heart.
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In the poem, Magcan Cumabayev says that a brave man like Genghis has not been born throughout human history, and that he is both a genius and a determined leader. But just being determined is not enough for a leader; strategic thinking and foresight are also required. According to Magcan, Genghis has both of these qualities. Genghis Khan is such an example of courage that even hearing his name gives courage to people. In the rest of the poem, the descendants of Genghis Khan are mentioned:

Шыңғыстан Шағатай, Үкітай, Жошы, Төле Атаға тартып туған бәрі бөрі. Шыңғыстың қол бастаған екі көзі — Жолбарыс Сұпытай мен көкжал Жебе.	From the Genghis lineage, Çağatay, Ögedey, Čuči, Töle, They are all like wolves born after their ancestors. Genghis's two eyes that led the army Tiger Subitay and Graywolf Cebe. [9]*
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In these verses, Magcan praises the leaders who are descendants of Genghis Khan, just like Murat Akın, and attributes the value of these leaders to their resemblance to their ancestors, Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan's children are brave and strong like “wolves” and “tigers”. The remarkable point here is that a poet like Magcan, who advocated Kazakh modernization with a nationalist approach at the beginning of the 20th century and used his poetry in this way, presented Genghis Khan as a role model. As a poet trying to defend his Muslim and Kazakh identities against the Russian occupation, Magcan chose to praise Genghis Khan, who was not a Turk or a Muslim. At this point, it would be a reasonable explanation to say that the poet

* In the translation of the poem “Turkistan”, the translation in Hüseyin Kahraman Mutlu's article “Mağjan Jumabayev and Turkistan Poetry” was also used, and changes were made in some places where necessary. This article also contains information about other historical figures featured in the poem. See Hüseyin Kahraman Mutlu. “Mağjan Jumabayev ve Türkistan Şiiri”. *Uluslararası Türk Lehçe Araştırmaları Dergisi*. C. 1, S. 2, 2017, p. 56-66.

turned to Genghis Khan because he had a positive and charismatic image in Kazakh folk legends and collective memory, rather than looking at what he wrote in written historical sources. Considering that the rulers descended from Genghis Khan are also mentioned in this poem, it can be seen how effective the belief that Genghis's lineage intersects with the Kazakhs is.

One of the verse narratives dealing with the subject of Genghis Khan in Kazakh literature is Shadi Jangırulı's work named *Tarihnama* (*Tarihnâme*). This work, which was not published as a book but a manuscript copy of which has survived to the present day, is divided into two main parts. The first part of the *Tarihnama* contains information about Genghis Khan, and the second part contains information about Abılay Khan. The reason why the work was not published must be sought in the conditions of the Soviet period. Because it is not possible to write a book that talks positively about Genghis Khan during the Soviet period. History, written in verse, has the feature of a chronicle composed of short stories. Nemat Kelimbetov argues that while writing Shadi Jangırulı's work titled *Tarihnama*, he was inspired by Ebulgazi Bahadır Khan's work titled *Şecere-i Türk* [10].

In this work, Shadi describes Genghis Khan as a just ruler who respects Islam. The work includes “The birth date of Genghis Khan”, “Genghis Khan's war with Ong Khan from the Kerait tribe”, “Timuçin becoming khan”, “Genghis Khan's victory against the Naymans”, “Death of Jamuka”, “Genghis”. It consists of many chapters with names such as “Khan's subjugation of the Merkits”, “Genghis Khan's wives and children”, “Genghis Khan's character”. While writing this work, Shadi refers to folk legends transmitted through oral culture, as well as various historical sources. The section in the Chronicle where Genghis Khan conquers Otyrar is particularly striking. In the Chronicle, Kayır Khan kills the people in the Mongolian trade caravan and confiscates their treasures. Genghis Khan got angry and went on an expedition to Otırar. Otırar Khan is subordinate to Sultan Muhammed in Khwarezm. In Shadi's work, the blasphemy of Sultan Muhammad is shown as the reason for the defeat of Muslims against Genghis. Genghis Khan, on the other hand, is described as a leader who respected the religious beliefs and traditions of the people in the lands he conquered. The dialogue between Genghis and the scholar Gazi Eşref when he came to Bukhara is an indication of his respect for Islam. According to Shadi, when Genghis Khan came to Bukhara, he said to the people, “You are Muslims. So what should Muslims do?” he asks. The people say that all humanity was created by one God. There is no equal to God who is not born and does not give birth. Genghis agrees with these words and asks what God's commands are in the Islamic faith. When people say that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, Genghis confirms this and asks questions again to find out whether there are other commandments in Islam. Scholars list the basic acts of worship of Islam such as prayer, fasting and pilgrimage to Genghis. Genghis is impressed by these words and presents gifts to the ulama and wants to find out if they have any requests from him. Ulama requests that the people of Bukhara be exempt from taxes, and Genghis Khan accepts this request. The general features of the portrait of Genghis Khan appearing in Shadi's *Tarihnama* are as follows:

- Genghis Khan is a brave leader who leads the front line troops on the battlefield.
- Genghis Khan, who has full self-confidence, does not make decisions by being influenced by the words of others.
- It is open to agreements and alliances offered by other peoples and generally responds positively to them. This shows that he is not someone who waits for an opportunity to wage war.
- He is a soldier who never hesitates to fight if war becomes inevitable.
- Even if he gets angry suddenly, his anger calms down quickly.
- He never kills scholars and artists because he knows that the people will need them [11].

There are also prose works about Genghis Khan in Kazakh literature. Chief among these are novels and stories. The basis of the plot of this type of fictional texts is generally Genghis Khan's struggle with the Naymans. In this respect, Tursınhan Zekenulı's novel *Көк Бөрілердің Көз Жасы* /*Grey Wolves' Tears* is remarkable [12]. The phrase “tears of the gray wolves” used by the author in the title of the book actually describes the tears shed by the Naymans and the pain they suffered because of Genghis Khan. Since Tursınhan Zekenulı wrote his work from a perspective that centers on the Naymans, the image of Genghis Khan in the novel is negative [13].

According to the novel, the period when Genghis struggled to establish his own khanate was the period when the Naymans were the most powerful politically and militarily. The novel is about the period when the balance of power was in favor of the Naymans, until Genghis Khan brought the Naymans to their knees. Before Genghis Khan became a great power, there were two powerful khanates in the region, the Kerey and Nayman khanates. At first, Genghis did not have the power to defeat these khanates. For this reason, he

prefers to implement a policy of balance between the two khanates and skillfully takes advantage of the struggles and conflicts of interest between the Kerey and Naymans. While Tursinhan Zekenuli describes in her novel the period when Genghis Khan implemented a policy of balance, he also reveals what a cunning leader he was [13].

In the novel, "Genghis Khan's relationship with the Kereys" is told through the characters of the novel, "About Khan and his son Sangun". Genghis Khan helps the Kereys and makes them feel indebted to him. While Kereys trusts Genghis Khan very much, his son Sangun, on the contrary, hates Genghis. For this reason, Sangun and Cengiz are constantly fighting each other. In the novel, it is emphasized that the friendship between Genghis Khan and the Kereys is actually based on a relationship of interest. Tursinhan Zekenuli constructs Genghis Khan as someone who does not give up in the face of difficulties and constantly struggles, believing that these difficulties are temporary. Genghis Khan has an expansionist policy in the novel. According to him, the area under the sky is wide and there are many different countries on earth, but the Mongols have not thought of taking over these places until now. According to Genghis Khan, this is stupidity and it is time for the Mongols to establish a great empire. While Genghis Khan's goals were big, he also had the qualities such as foresight and patience required to achieve them [13]. In this novel, Zekenuli drew the image of Genghis Khan, who, although he is a bad person who should be judged in humane and conscientious terms, has the qualities that a successful ruler should have and "gave the imperial vision" to the Mongols.

One of the works about Genghis Khan is Duvlat İsabekov's drama called *Börte*. Before writing this drama, the author made a detailed study of Genghis Khan and Mongolian history. The main source of the author is the *Secret History of the Mongols*. In the note at the bottom of the first page of the work, it is stated that all the poems in the play are taken from *The Secret History of the Mongols*. As can be understood from the name of the play, Börte, Genghis Khan's wife, is in a central position in the work, and thanks to her prudent personality, Genghis Khan is saved from many difficult situations. At the beginning of the play, general information is given about the power struggles between the peoples of the Central Asian steppes. There are forty tribes and forty tribes in Mongolia, and nomadic tribes are constantly fighting each other. There is no peace and tranquility in this environment where the defeated side attacks again for revenge. The Kazakh tribe named Konırat, living in the valleys on the banks of the Kerulen River, has a chief named Day Şeşen. Day Şeşen is also Börte's father. At the beginning of the play, Yesükey, the chief of a Mongolian tribe, sets out for his wife Uvelin's hometown to look for a wife for his son Timuçin. During this journey, he stops by his friend Day Şeşen while passing through his hometown. Here Timuçin and Börte meet and like each other. Börte manages to attract Timuçin's attention with his self-confidence and intelligence at a very young age. The parents of the two young people think that Timuçin and Börte are suitable candidates for each other.

In the later parts of the play, Timuçin's father Yesügey is poisoned and killed. Merkits raid Timuçin's house to kill him, but at the last moment Timuçin manages to escape. Timuçin asks Tugırıl, the khan of the Kerey tribe, for help to save his wife. He saves his wife with his friend Jamuka and the men given by Tugırıl. Meanwhile, Börte is pregnant. Timuçin thinks that this pregnancy is from one of the Merkits who kidnapped Börte, but when Börte says that the child is Timuçin's, he is forced to accept the situation. In the play, Börte is presented as an intelligent woman who makes good observations. Thanks to this aspect, Börte realizes that Jamuka will betray him and warns Timuçin, but Timuçin does not think that his blood brother will betray him and scolds Börte, saying that he should not "interfere with men's affairs with a woman's mind". When Jamuka fails in her betrayal plan, Börte is proven right.

There is both love and conflict between Genghis Khan and Börte in the play. Börte criticizes Genghis for some of his actions, but Genghis Khan always says that he will not seek advice from a woman on political matters. The development of events proves Börte right every time. In this play, Duvlat İsabekov attributes Genghis reason for being such a successful ruler to the fact that he is married to a woman like Börte, who warns him and somehow saves him even when he ignores her warnings. In this respect, the play differs from other works that focus only on Genghis Khan's foresight and military abilities. In the play, where the author makes remarkable emphasis on gender roles, Genghis Khan and his actions are conveyed with a critical eye. It is especially important that Börte is the only person who can criticize Genghis Khan by addressing him as "you" and that he is right in his criticisms. The author of the play, Duvlat İsabekov, also emphasizes this situation and says in an interview that after completing the writing of the play, he read it again from beginning to end and was moved by Börte, which he created, and even cried and fell in love with him [14].

Perhaps the most popular work about Genghis Khan in Kazakh literature is Mukhtar Shahanov's novel in verse called *The Secret of Genghis Khan*. This is also one of the works with the harshest criticism of Genghis Khan. Mukhtar Shahanov deals with the issue of evil as the main theme of the work. Shahanov's main thesis is that evil is committed by tyrants who emerged at certain periods in human history. The emergence of tyrants who commit the same evils centuries later is a result of evil genes found in people and passed on from generation to generation. In *The Secret of Genghis Khan*, the evil genes inherited from Genghis Khan are revealed in the 20th century. It is seen that it emerged in Şeben and Timuçin in the century.

In the work, Genghis Khan's armies destroy the city of Otyrar under the rule of Kayırhan. But this victory does not bring happiness to Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan, who is sick and on his deathbed, learns that the scholar named Aybar, who knew the medicine to cure him, was killed while Otyrar was being plundered. The only person who knows the formula is Akerke, Aybar's wife and Kayırhan's sister. Akerke is brought to peace by the order of Genghis Khan, but despite all the promises made, he refuses to tell Genghis Khan about the medicine. Because, according to Akerke, if Genghis Khan recovers, he will continue to shed blood and do evil. At this point, it is noteworthy that Akerke, a defenseless woman, was not afraid of the world conqueror Genghis Khan. Akerke is not afraid of Genghis Khan killing himself because he is also on his deathbed and they are both in an equal position in the face of death. It would not be correct to say that Mukhtar Shahanov in this work only criticized Genghis Khan, who plundered Otyrar. Because Shahanov here saw evil as a universal problem of humanity and said that tyrants emerged in every period of history. He also indirectly pointed out Stalin's oppression in the 19th century [15].*

Abish Kekilbayulı, one of the master names of Kazakh prose, tells about Genghis Khan in his work called *Hansha Dariya*, which he wrote in the story genre [16]. The last years of Genghis Khan's life come to the fore in the story. The author both gives information about Genghis Khan's personality and talks about the wars he fought. Genghis Khan is a person who keeps his feelings and thoughts inside and does not show any color about his mood. His close attention to his army and constant presence at the head of his soldiers make him a successful commander. The story tells about Genghis Khan's war with the Tanguts. The Tangut army appears to be stronger and more organized than Genghis's army in terms of equipment. Genghis Khan's army does not even have a military uniform. However, Genghis Khan, who won the war by applying a successful strategy, captured Gürbelcin, the beautiful wife of the leader of the Tanguts, and brought her to his headquarters. Gürbelcin's sole purpose is to take revenge on Genghis Khan, who killed his own people and her husband. For this reason, he cuts a diamond, turns it into a cutting tool and keeps it in his body. Genghis Khan orders them to bring Gürbelcin to his tent to be with him. Before entering the tent, Mongolian soldiers search Gürbelcin for security purposes and make sure that the woman does not have any sharp objects on her. Gürbelcin enters the tent and Genghis Khan is with the beautiful woman he captured. Genghis Khan feels great pain during sexual intercourse. Because the diamond piece that Gürbelcin placed in his body cut off the khan's genital organ. While Genghis Khan collapses in blood, Gürbelcin escapes from the tent by wearing his dress and throws himself down a cliff. The soldiers who follow the woman find only Gürbelcin's dress and bring it back. Genghis Khan had a tent set up and put Gürbelcin's found clothes in that tent.

After Gürbelcin's escape, Genghis Khan became ill and did not leave his tent. The soldiers do not know why he fell ill and bring doctors and healers to restore the khan's health. However, no doctor who enters the tent to treat the inn can come out alive. The soldiers waiting outside cannot understand why all the doctors came out of the tent dead. In fact, the reason for this is Genghis Khan's concern to hide the deficiency in his masculinity. There is no possibility of the doctors returning the khan's lost sexual organ, but if the doctors leave the tent alive, they can tell others about this situation. Genghis Khan, who did not want to take risks because it was shameful for what happened to be heard, had everyone who entered the tent killed. Here, the author wants to reveal that masculinity is directly related to power and power in terms of gender in steppe life. A man who has lost his masculinity and has no sexual power cannot maintain his prestige and power in society, even if he is Genghis Khan. For this reason, Genghis Khan commits suicide by drinking poison from a bowl with Kasar, the closest person. Thus, Kasar, who witnessed the situation, dies along with Genghis Khan, and there is no one left to announce the khan's situation to others.

At the end of the story, it is stated that the place where the tent where Cengiz put Gürbelcin's dress was built caused rumors among the people over time, and that vows were made and sacrifices were made there.

* For a detailed analysis of the work, see. Orhan Söylemez. *Türk Dünyası Edebiyatları Roman I*. Ankara: Akçağ Publishing, 2005, p. 108-124.

The place where the tent is located becomes a sacred place. The name “hansha dariya”, which means “princess river”, was given to the river due to Gürbelcin's story. It was already said at the beginning of the story that it would be explained why the river was named “Hansha Dariya”. Thus, this question finds its answer. According to Kazakh literature researcher Samat Öteniyazov, the most important aspect of Abish Kekilbayuli's *Hansha Dariya* story is that, unlike the works that show Genghis Khan as a leader who made great conquests, it reveals that he had weaknesses and internal conflicts like other people [17]. In the story, Genghis Khan questions himself when he is away from his homeland for a long time for conquests and thinks that he is wasting his life. Whether a life is wasted or not is partly related to whether life is given the correct meaning and lived correctly. Although there is no universal answer to the question of what is right here, the internal conflict that Genghis Khan experienced shows that he himself doubts whether his actions fully comply with his own truth. The universal aspect of human nature causes the conflicts that occur in people whom history sees as “ordinary” to also occur in Genghis Khan's inner world. This shows that while Abish Kekilbayuli was fictionalizing Genghis Khan, he distinguished himself from the writers who presented him only as a charismatic leader and highlighted the khan's human side and psychological conflicts. The break between modernist literature, which treats people as individuals with their inner world and psychology, instead of the traditional approach that depicts figures who stand out only with their actions as epic heroes, actually arises from the difference in perspective on people. This situation is reflected not only in fictional works but also in biographies. While the traditional understanding of biography focuses on the actions of great men, modern biography tries to describe the person as a whole with his loneliness, internal conflicts and fears. Abish Kekilbayuli takes a leading role in Kazakh prose by displaying a modern attitude and deals with Genghis Khan with his inner world. Genghis Aytmatov will make this innovation in Kyrgyz literature in his work called *The Cloud Who Resented Genghis Khan*.

Conclusion

The research conducted and the data presented above show that Genghis Khan is one of the most popular historical figures in Kazakh literature. Genghis Khan's role in world history as well as his activities in the geography of Kazakhstan were effective in this. The states established by the rulers of Genghis Khan's descendants after his death are also important for the history of Kazakhstan. This situation is concretized in Kazakh literature by mentioning not only Genghis Khan, but also his sons and descendant khans. The image of Genghis Khan also changes depending on the perspective of the writer or poet. Genghis Khan is sometimes portrayed as a leader and savior that Kazakhs under occupation and exploitation long for when they remember the bright historical past, and sometimes as a tyrant who drenched the Central Asian steppes, including Kazakhstan, with blood.

Genghis Khan's military and political sphere of influence, including the steppes of Kazakhstan, continued after his death and continued through oral folk narratives in the collective memory of the Kazakh people in the region. For this reason, there are legends about Genghis Khan in Kazakh folk literature. Despite the censorship during the Soviet Union period, these legends have survived to the present day without being erased from the public's memory. Poets such as Murat Akin and Magcan Cumabayev mention Genghis Khan as a hero in the heroic poems they wrote to encourage the people. While artists create a positive image of Genghis Khan, they sometimes identify Genghis Khan with the Islamic religion and Kazakh national identity. Although historical data indicate that Genghis Khan was not a Turkic or a Muslim, there are also beliefs among some Kazakh artists and a part of the public that his lineage intersected with the Kazakhs at some point or that his mother or wife was a Kazakh. In Shadi Jangiruli's work titled *Tarihnama*, Genghis Khan is described as a leader who approves of the principles of faith of Islam when they are explained by the ulema and respects Muslims, even if he does not say that he is a Muslim. In Duvlat İsabekov's drama *Börte*, Genghis Khan's first wife Börte is described as a Kazakh. In fact, in the play, Börte, during his first encounter with Genghis Khan — then known as Timuçin — gives information to the khan about the ruv/boy structure in the Kazakh social structure. Considering that Genghis Khan shared the country among his children born to Börte, the message is given that the rulers who will come from Genghis's lineage in the future are Kazakhs on their mother's side.

However, there are also writers and poets who portray Genghis Khan in a negative image. In Mukhtar Shahanov's work *The Secret of Genghis Khan*, Shahanov conveys the evil potential within humans with the metaphor of “evil genes”, mentions Genghis Khan among the great villains in history and criticizes the destruction he caused in Otyrar city of Kazakhstan. In Abish Kekilbayuli's work *Hansha Dariya*, when Genghis Khan, who killed the Tanguts, tries to possess his enemy's wife by force, he pays the price by losing

his manhood. Both artists emphasize the power of Genghis Khan, but they want to explain that when power is not used for good, it brings destruction not only to the oppressed but also to the oppressors. In Muhtar Shahanov's work, Genghis Khan, who was helpless against a woman while on his death bed, cannot find a solution other than suicide by losing to a woman in Abish Kekilbayul's work.

Literature, which is a branch of art, can take its subject from history and historical figures, but due to the nature of art, literary works are fictional texts. The author's perspective, imagination, world view, the message he wants to give and the environment in which he grew up are effective in the construction of the work of art. When we look at the works on Genghis Khan in Kazakh literature, we see that writers and poets present different images of Genghis Khan. The point to be noted here is that what is written is literary work, not history. Even if the artists researched historical sources and tried to remain faithful to reality, the works they wrote are fictional due to the nature of literature, and each fiction is a product of the perspective and imagination of the author who created it. This difference stems from the fact that Genghis Khan is presented in different ways in the works of Kazakh artists, some emphasizing his heroism while others highlighting his human side and internal conflicts. The duty of the literary critic is to see these texts as literary works and evaluate them with the aesthetic criteria of art.

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О. Сойлемез, О. Фарук Атеш

Әдебиет пен тарих қатынасы және Шыңғыс хан образының қазақ әдебиетінде бейнеленуі

Әдебиет пен тарихтың өзара әсерлесуіне негізделген байланыс бар. Тарих ғылым ретінде ақиқатты іздейді және құжаттарға негізделеді. Әдебиет өнердің бір саласы болғандықтан, ол автордың немесе

ақынның ой-қиялының жемісі болып, оқырманға көркем дүние ұсынады. Шындық пен көркем әдебиеттің айырмашылығына негізделген тарих пен әдебиеттің шекарасы бар. Тарихи тақырыпты қозғаған автор қаншалықты шындыққа адал болуға тырысса да, оның шығарған туындысы тарихи шындық емес, көркем шығарма. Әдеби мәтіндерді, әсіресе, тарихи тұлға туралы мәтіндерді зерттегенде өмірбаян теориясымен қатар әдебиет пен тарихтың байланысын да ескеру қажет. Қазақ әдебиеті тарихи шығармаларға өте бай. Дүниежүзілік тарихтағы ең маңызды тұлғалардың бірі Шыңғыс хан Қазақстан географиясында ықпалы зор билеуші болғандықтан қазақ ақын-жазушыларының назарын аударды. Осы мақалада әдебиеттің тарихпен, өмірбаянмен байланысы туралы теориялық түсініктеме жасалған соң, қазақ әдебиетіндегі Шыңғыс хан образының поэзия, роман, театр, әңгіме жанрларында қалай көрініс тапқаны сөз болады.

Кілт сөздер: қазақ әдебиеті, Шыңғыс хан, әдебиет, тарих, өмірбаян.

О. Сойлемез, Ö. Фарук Атеш

Взаимосвязь литературы и истории и воплощение образа Чингисхана в казахской литературе

Существует связь, построенная на взаимодействии литературы и истории. История как наука стремится к истине и опирается на документы. Поскольку литература является отраслью искусства, она продукт воображения автора и изначально предлагает читателю вымышленный мир. Существует граница между историей и литературой, основанная на различии реальности и вымысла. Как бы автор, занимающийся историческими сюжетами, ни старался оставаться верным действительности, произведение, которое он создает, — это не историческая реальность, а вымысел. При изучении художественных текстов, особенно об исторических личностях, необходимо учитывать теорию биографии, а также взаимосвязь литературы и истории. Казахская литература очень богата историческими произведениями. Чингисхан — как одна из важнейших фигур в мировой истории — привлекал внимание казахских поэтов и писателей. В настоящей статье, после теоретических разъяснений относительно связи литературы с историей и биографией, рассмотрено, как образ Чингисхана нашел отражение в жанрах поэзии, романа, пьесы и рассказа в казахской литературе.

Ключевые слова: казахская литература, Чингисхан, литература, история, биография.

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