

# Kazakh Literature in Emigration and Works of Mazhit Aitbayev

Nuraddin Sadykov, Altynai Zhussipova, and Omirkhan Abdimanuly

**Abstract**—Major social changes in the last century had significant impact on the Kazakh literature. Participants of the World War II, writers and poets imprisoned during the war, formed the Kazakh literature in emigration within the framework of ‘Turkistan Legion’. This was a topic which remained closed until Kazakhstan gained its independence, though even after the independence, there were few research works done about the literature in emigration. The article studies the formation of the Kazakh literature in emigration, its prominent figures, its artistic heritage, and notes of emigration in works of poets and writers.

**Keywords**—Literature in emigration, ‘Turkistan legion’, pseudonym, periodicals.

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE Kazakh literature in times of emigration is one of the topical issues, which still demands a careful study and a relevant assessment. As a consequence of the rigorous Soviet Union policy which prohibited any studies of national cultural wealth, there were no scientific research works done in this field until the country gained its independence. Furthermore, most of the historical truth related to 1937 repression and World War II remained closed until nowadays. This also applies to unavailability of any research works on Alash intellectuals - innocent victims of totalitarianism, and public figures that were forced to leave their country under pressure of the political regime. The reasons for emigration could be identified by bringing in broad consideration of psychological, sociological, philosophical aspects of this process. It is only now that all the aforesaid aspects are becoming objects of research works. Political scientist S.Borbassov defined the process of emigration as follows, ‘Wars, ethnic conflicts, economical crises, ecological anthropogenic disasters, revolutions and radical changes could be the reasons for emigration. Forcible collectivization and Stalin’s repression policy in Kazakhstan led to mass tolls of more than 2 mln Kazakhs, whereas 1.5 mln Kazakhs became involuntary emigrants. Movement of people within boundaries of one country is called migration, and international and interstate resettlements are called emigration. Escalation of emigration

in the world political history covered the second half of the XIXth century and the first half of the XXth century’ [1].

The Kazakh literature during the period of mass emigration is called by researchers as ‘Muhajirin literature’. Translated from the Arabic language ‘Muhajir’ means ‘movement’ ‘resettlement’, ‘moving into the long distance’. Initial semantic meaning of the word ‘Muhajir’ conveys such notions as ‘to cut’, ‘to separate’, ‘to break the bonds’, ‘to repudiate’ and ‘to deny’. Later, this concept started to have been applied to describe the action of ‘moving from one place to another’. During the withdrawal of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, those who followed him were called Muhajirun. According to Islam, Muhajirun are ‘those who were oppressed by the pagans and were forced to leave their homeland because they obeyed and followed Allah and his messenger, and accepted Islam as their religion’. Muhajirun are mentioned for several times in Quran and sayings of the Prophet [2]. Therefore, the concept of ‘Muhajir’ initially had a religious character. Gradually, this concept started to be used as a common denotation of people who were forced to leave their country and move to faraway places and other countries due to oppression by the governing power.

## II. PERIODS OF LITERATURE IN EMIGRATION

Millions of Kazakh people had to abandon their homeland and flee to foreign countries by result of the Russian government’s colonial policy and Soviet repression policy. ‘Alash’ movement leaders, who constituted a community of national intellectuals, have been punished guiltless and the rest have been forced to leave their native lands, particularly, in 30s of the XXth century. This certainly had its own impact and left its traces on the Kazakh literature and culture. Generally, the history of emigration and its influence on the Kazakh literature date back to ages. The history of emigration could be divided into the following periods:

**Period I: XV-XVII cc.** This time frame in the history of the Kazakh literature is commonly known as the period of ‘The Literature of Khanate Era’. Prominent literary figures of this period are performers of oral poetry, called zhyraus, such as Kaztugan-zhyrau Suyunushuly, Zhiyembet Bortogashuly and others. In his poetic monologues-tolgaus, such as ‘Alan zhurt’ (‘Anxious nation’), ‘Kayran Edil’ (‘Sorrowful river Edil’), Kaztugan-zhyrau expressly describes the psychological state of a person, who was bereft of his homeland and was forced to migrate to the faraway land; his sorrows and yearnings for his native land. The birthplace of Kaztugan-zhyrau is located along the banks of Edil River – Akhtuba, Bodan (Bozan). Another representative of Muhajirin literature is Zhiyembet

N. Sadykov, PhD Candidate of the Kazakh literature and literary theory Department of the al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan. (E-mail: nuraddin\_q@yahoo.com).

A. Zussipova, Candidate of the Kazakh literature and literary theory Department of the al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan. (E-mail: altynai-74@mail.ru).

O. Abdimanuly, Dr. Professor of the Kazakh literature and literary theory Department of the al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan. (E-mail: abdimanuly@rambler.ru).

zhyrau Bortogashuly. A note of emigration is also noticeable in songs and poetic monologues of Zhiyembet zhyrau, who lived during the reign of Yessim khan. Zhyrau was exiled by Yessim khan to the Far East for his oppositional views. While being in exile, the poet has written numerous songs and poetic monologues showing his grief and torment in his verses. Generally, researchers state the opinion that national mentality of the Kazakh people was built on the unity of concepts like 'hearth-welfare-power'; i.e. deprivation of the homeland turned into the grief of the whole nation [3]. This nationwide tragedy has been genuinely described by poets and zhyraus through their songs, poetic monologues and tales. There are enough evidences reflecting that the formation of Muhajirin motives in the Kazakh literature was triggered by Russia's policy towards Kazakhstan.

**Period II: 20s-30s of the XX-th century.** Social processes that take place in the life of a country have a profound influence on literary, cultural, spiritual and social state of the nation. This is a historical axiom proven over the years of experience. Change of power and change of the form of government trigger the changes in the outlook and viewpoints of intellectuals. Formation of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the XXth century, i.e. in 1917 has completely changed the spiritual lives of nations which constituted the Soviet Union. First nations to suffer the policy of the Bolsheviks were the nations which were the parts of the Internal Russia. Intellectuals, who lived in Russia, were the first ones to resort to emigration. For instance, the notion of 'The Literature of Russian Emigration' first appeared after The October Revolution of 1917, when the emigration acquired a mass scale. Approximately 2 mln people moved from Russia to foreign countries after 1917. They mostly centred in Berlin, Paris, Harbin; literary circle has been formed in these places preserving all the features of the Russian community. Magazines and newspapers continued to be published abroad; secondary and high schools kept opening, Russian Orthodox Churches kept functioning in foreign countries. Despite the fact that the first surge of emigration preserved all the features of the Russian community before revolution, the fate of refugees retained a tragic character. They were bereft of their families, homeland; they lost their social status and had to adapt to alien conditions. Their hopes to return to their native land were not met at all. In the mid of 1920s, it became known that it was impossible for them to return back to Russia. According to materials, 'Russian literature of emigration evolved in 1917 and is the part of the Russian literature created and published beyond the boundaries of Russia and the USSR. It is divided into three periods or three waves. The first wave of literature in emigration dates back to the period from 1918 until the start of the World War II; emigration of writers to Paris at this time has grown into a mass phenomenon. The second wave of emigration emerged at the end of the World War II (I.Yelagin, D.Klenovskiy, L.Rzhevskiy, N.Morshen, and B.Phillipov). The third wave of emigration started right after The Khrushchev Thaw and conducted to departure of outstanding writers from Russia (A.Solzhenitsyn, I.Brodskiy, S.Dovlatov).

The literature of the first wave is rife with great cultural and literary meaning' [4].

Aggressive political activities were also conducted intensively in Kazakhstan, which was one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union. By direct order of Stalin, Goloschekin started his campaign of Minor October Revolution in Kazakhstan. As a result, 1,200,000 people had to move to foreign countries such as China, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and others in 1930-1933. Most notables among them are representatives of 'Alash' party and writers such as S.Nurtayev, M.Shokay, K.Duisebay, S.Zhanazarov, etc. When the Bolsheviks came to the power after the revolution, forward-minded Kazakh intellectuals demonstrated a foresight, understanding there was no place for them, and relocating in foreign countries, analogous to Russian intellectuals, who had to take the same actions. One of these intellectuals was Mustafa Shokai. He was one of the few intellectuals who expressly opposed totalitarianism and Stalin's dictatorship by voicing his protest opinion with no disguise.

The life of Mustafa Shokai is being discussed a lot these days, and this is quite appropriate. The personality of Shokai does not belong only to the Kazakh nation; he is considered as the common prominent figure among all Turkic nations. He knew that his emigration would give him the opportunity to oppose Soviet totalitarianism and he consciously chose to struggle the regime in Muhajirin (emigrational) way while being in emigration. Staying abroad, he remained an advocate of the idea of Kazakhs' national liberation. He was actively involved in publishing newspapers and magazines abroad; he united like-minded exiled citizens of Turkic nations and initiated numerous significant activities. Mustafa Shokai has carried out his political service in France, Germany, and Turkey.

**Period III. 1941-1945 yy.** On June 22, 1941, Germany, under the rule of Hitler, declared a war against the Soviet Union. This war in the history is known as 'The Great Patriotic War' and involved representatives from all 15 Soviet republics, who went to the war to defend their homeland. Approximately 100 poets and writers from Kazakhstan left to the war; most of them were taken captive during the first battles. One of them was Khamza Abdullin, who later wrote in his memoirs, that 'he fell into enemy's hand due to blunders of military leaders' [5]. The Kazakhs, the Kyrghyz people, the Tatars, the Bashkurts and other representatives of Central Asian nations, who were captured during the war, carried out literary and cultural activities within the framework of 'Turkistan Legion' military unit. The most prolific and efficacious heritage of the Kazakh literature in emigration was provided by poets and writers, who were the members of 'Turkistan Legion'.

### III. WRITERS AND POETS OF 'TURKISTAN LEGION'

When explaining the concept of 'Turkistan' in a summarizing manner, it is worthwhile to mention the viewpoint of the famous historian Mambet Koigeldiyev, 'The whole idea of 'Turkistan' (the historian uses the phrase

‘Turkic idea’) is an important factor, which came into existence with the emergence of Turkic nations; the idea has gone through trials of time and has served as a protective immunity for Turkic people in various difficult historical periods [6]. Thereby, it is impossible to indicate a certain author of the whole ‘Turkistan’ idea; it arised in hearts and souls of Turkic nations together with their emergence, and was developed, revived and reinforced over centuries. Thus, Turkistan is a geographic, ethnic, cultural and political territory which demonstrates the integrity of Turkic nations. Despite any territorial changes, dwelling places for Turkic people has always been called as Turkistan. It is no accident that Mustafa Shokai, who wished to unite Turkic prisoners of war into one association, has called this military unit as ‘Turkistan Legion’.

Turkistan legion has been studied by several foreign researchers. According to their works, ‘The first Turkistan Legion was mobilized in May 1942; by 1943 it expanded to 16 battalions and 16,000 soldiers’ [7].

Materials of modern scholars about the Legion show that the association had an influential power. ‘Turkistan Legion expanded from 180 thousand soldiers up to 250 thousand, this military structure was the largest of all eastern legions’ [8].

The structure of the Legion comprised of the following divisions: **Military Division, Division of Propaganda, and Division of Science, War Prison Department, Radiocommunications Division, Eastern Workers Department, and Healthcare Division.**

Mustafa Shokai, the leader of Turkestan Legion, has put forward two conditions to Whermacht, the unified armed forces of Germany.

The first condition was that Germans should render a comprehensive assistance to train personnel for future Turkestan state. The second condition demanded to organize a military unit comprised of Turkic-speaking prisoners of war and to involve them in battles against the Red Army only after Germans reach borders of Centrals Asian states.

These two conditions were approved by German military leaders. Mustafa Shokai and his assistant, Veli Kayyn Han, formed Turkestan National Committee with the help of German military leaders [9]. However, Mustafa Shokai suffered a severe illness and died in Berlin in December 27, 1941. Veli Kayyn Han, his substitute, attempted to use interests of the legion for his own personal motives. This led to controversies between soldiers and they started to get into groupings. For instance, after the death of Mustafa Shokai, a group of Kazakh soldiers under the leadership of Karys Kanatbayev started to remonstrate to Veli Kayyn Han against his deeds. Later, Karys Kanatbayev and his followers separated from Turkestan National Committee led by Veli Kayyn Han and formed a separate organization called Turkestan National Council [10].

Exiled Turkic nations fell under the influence of those who sponsored them. Veli Kayyn Han and his group started to cooperate with Englishmen in Germany. Karys Kanatbay and his associates got into touch with the Americans. Many in The United States of America knew that it would be wrong to

consider the issue of Russia only in the aspect of its tributary nations; they knew it was necessary to use both tributary nations and Russian intellectuals that opposed to the Soviet regime. ‘Based on the reason, that the Germans made a big mistake handing over the Russians in exile to the Bolsheviks, the Americans cooperated with all groups that came from the Soviet Union and formed a special committee to deal with these issues. The committee was led by Kirkpatrick, former Ambassador in Moscow. Kanatbay, who was able to publish his magazines due to this committee, came out into the open, saying the American Government that he would not fight in a one battle together with those, who support the idea of ‘united, integrated Russia’ like Kerenskiy and Melgunov. The magazine, published by Kanatbay, adhered to nationalistic, Turkic, anti-Russian position’ [11].

The Propaganda Division of Turkistan National Legion facilitated the formation of Turkistan national literature, i.e. the formation of Kazakh literature in emigration. Periodical literature of those times has been being published for ideological purposes. The political magazine ‘Milli Turkistan’ (‘National Turkistan’) has been being published twice a month and the literary magazine ‘Milli Literature’ (‘National Literature’) has been being published once a month. ‘Milli Literature’ served as a main tool to awake captured Kazakh soldiers to their sense of national consciousness. The role of this magazine, which reflected the outlook of the whole Kazakh nation, was profound in forming the Kazakh muhajirin literature. It is truly lawful, since the editors of the magazine were the vehement fighters and activists such as Mazhit Aibayev and Khakim Tynybekov.

Kazakh poets and writers intensively focused on their creative work to develop the idea of ‘Integral Turkistan’ which was set forward by Mustafa Shokai. Some of them were writers who became popular in literary circles long before the war – Mazhit Aitbayev, Khamza Abdullin, Mazhit Ayapbekov, Maulikesh Kaiboldin, Khakim Tynybekov and others. Numerous periodicals published by the legion in those times promoted the propaganda of Turkistan ideology. ‘Milli Turkistan’ (‘National Turkistan’) (1942-1975, Berlin/Düsseldorf), the editor – Veli Kayyn Han; ‘Milli Literature’ (National Literature) (1943-1945, Berlin) editors – Veli Kayyn Han, Mazhit Aitbayev, and other newspapers encouraged captured Turkic prisoners of war to fight for their freedom and cherished their hopes to achieve a better life in future. These publications became heralds of emigration literature in Europe, introduced the essence, thoughts, mentality and worldview of Central Asian people to Western culture. The following periodicals such as ‘Ozod Turkistan’ (‘Liberal Turkistan’) (1954, Kahyra), the editor – Mekhmet Yemin Turkistani; ‘Turkistan’ (1953, Istanbul), the editor – Mehmet Yemin Bughra, Ziyaeddin Babakurban; ‘Turkistan sesi’ (‘Voice of Turkistan’) (1956-1957, Ankara), the editor – Mekhmet Yemin Bughra; ‘Buyuk Turkeli’ (‘The Great Turkic People’) (1962, Izmir) the editor – Khassan Oraltai, etc. have also contributed to the development of the spiritual life of Turkic nations abroad.

In this regard, it is remarkable that Turkistan Legion oriented on upholding political and enlightening stance. Writers and poets laid foundation to the flourishing, freedom-loving, independent literature full of new ideas. They mostly published their works, poems and odes under the pen name (pseudonym). Use of pseudonyms without showing the real name of the author is one of the relevant features and artistic devices of Muhajirin literature. Use of pseudonyms was not a new device in the Kazakh literature. Alash leaders Alikhan Bokeikhanov, Akhmet Baytursynov and Mukhtar Auevov preferred to keep their real names in secret using pen names to publish their works in the first Kazakh publications such as 'The Kazakh', 'Aikap'. Shakarim Kudaiberdiuly, wise and sagacious poet, also published his poems under the name 'Mutylgan'. It is only after the study of his works when it became known that this pseudonym had a deep meaning related to religion and spirituality. Likewise any other writer hides personal information and publishes his own works under the pen name; it is evident that the pseudonym would imply an ideological conviction which requires serious studies. It is obvious that most of the writers resorted to pseudonym to avoid oppression and prosecutions. The authors, who expressly described bitter and distressful truth of the lives of people, faced prosecution of the authorities.

All the poets and writers of Turkistan Legion used pseudonyms. Approximately twenty pseudonyms were found only in few editions of 'Milli Literature': Kobyzshy Korkyt, Assan Kaigy, Sairan, Sagym, Sabyr, Syr Balasy, Bati, Bekzada, Zarlyk, Aidyn, Manas, and Gaiyp. The main function of pseudonyms in literature is 'to serve strictly for practical purposes'. In his work, devoted to studies of the formation of Turkistan literature, A.Zhalmyrza, the theorist of literature stated that 'the editor of 'Milli Literature' was registered under the name 'Kobyzshy Korkyt' and he didn't know his real name [12]. The studies showed that the person aforesaid was Mazhit Aitbayev. Mazhit was born in Kyzylorda region, the birthplace of the musician Korkyt who is deeply respected by all Turkic nations. Thereby, it is no wonder that Mazhit Aitbayev has chosen this pseudonym. Another prose writer, Maulikesh Kaiboldin, was known as Assan Kaigy. 'Honoured graduate of The Faculty of Languages and Literature of Moscow University, Maulikesh Kaiboldin, taught the Russian Language and Literature at Kazakh State University in the mid of 30s'. He continued to practice his creative work while studying. His works written in both Kazakh and Russian languages were published in 'Adebiyet maidany' ('Battles in Literature') and other mass periodicals [8]. He stayed in close friendship with writers and poets such as Isa Baizakov, Kassym Amanzholov, Gabdol Spanov, and Abdolla Zhumagaliyev. Being a member of Turkistan Legion he learnt German and English. Not only fluent he was in these languages, but he also wrote humorous poems' [5]. He met Mazhit Aitbayev in Berlin. Becoming aware that Mazhit published his works under the pen name 'Kobyzshy Korkyt', he started his work as a reporter using a pseudonym 'Assan Kaigy'. Maulikesh Kaiboldin worked for Liberty Radio afterwards. Kara Abduakap, a Turkish scholar who studied the

works of Shokai, wrote, 'All the reporters who were involved in making programmes in Turkic languages at the Liberty Radio, which started its broadcast in 1951, were prisoners of World War II and those who stayed in Germany after the war. This is why most of them have seen or met Shokai at Nazi concentration camps. Some of them, namely, Maulikesh Kaiboldin, known as Assan Kaigy, Daulet Tagyberli, Abdolla Zhusupuly, and Zhaken Bapysh worked within the same Kazakh editorial staff that I worked in. They developed among their successors in Kazakh editorial staff the image of Shokai as a prominent historical figure of Kazakh land [13]. Maulikesh Kaiboldin lived few years after the war and died abroad.

Another member of Turkistan Legion, Khamza Abdullin, wrote his poems under the pseudonym 'Sairan'. 'Sairan' – Khassan Oraltai, an emigrant-activist wrote about Khamza Abdullin in his book 'National mottos of Alash-Turkistan nations' published in Istanbul in 1973: 'Mr. Sairan served in Turkistan National Committee in Berlin; his contribution was profound in the activities of the Committee. His books and poems published in periodicals were as powerful and as influential as works of Magzhan Zhumabayev. This is why his works were most-read by Turkistan National Army members' [14]. His translation of Shota Rustaveli's 'The Knight in Panther's Skin', his research work 'Mustafa and Magzhan' can be deservedly considered as the part of the 'Golden Fund' of the Kazakh Literature. Abdullin started his creative activities in 1940 by publishing his poem 'On an Iron Path' in 'Literature and Arts' magazine. Alongside with the aforesaid figures, there was another member of the legion who served under the pen name 'Mazhit Dara'. It was Mazhit Ayapbekov who stayed abroad after the war and worked for Liberty Radio for many years. The author of 'Syrym Batyr' novelized play, Kazi Kazbekov, was condemned as a 'traitor' and punished. Thereby, all former prisoners of war who got their liberty and returned back to Kazakhstan were accused and heavily sentenced to imprisonment.

Mazhit Aitbayev could be considered as the most notable of the abovementioned writers. While being the member of Turkistan Legion, M.Aitbayev has written his largest poetical composition – 'Abylai' – dedicated to Abylai, the powerful khan of the Kazakhs. 'Abylai' is a work that masterly combines both artistic expression and compositional structure. Many writers and poets touched upon the figure of Abylai khan in their works before Mazhit Aitbayev, including Magzhan Zhumabayev and Saken Seifullin. The poem 'Kokshetau', written by Saken Seifullin, implied the coldness and chillness of Soviet ideology by describing one of the episodes in khan's life when he, returning after the campaign, was about to give the Kalmyk woman to one of his soldiers. Writers of those times had to resort to this unwillingly; it would be wrong to blame Seifullin from the viewpoint of the Kazakh literature. It is inappropriate to assess or criticize the past from the angle of present views.

'Batyr Bayan', the poem of Magzhan Zhumabayev, is a unique masterpiece written by a genuinely talented master of words, which cannot be restricted by pressure, restraints or

hamshackles. 'Batyr Bayan' is a reflection of poet's restless thoughts and furious dreams. Being concerned that his nation, which always elevated khans and deeply believed that there could be 'no nation without a leader', could completely lose all their national values and live the life of 'the grey mass', he expressed the repercussions of Khanate idea in this poem. However, his deep thoughts did not find its resonance due to the suppressing policy of the regime; Magzhan Zhumabayev could not deliver his Khanate idea to his nation in a full manner. Although the poem is finished, it leaves the impression that it still is waiting to be finished. 'Batyr Bayan' is written on a high artistic level due to special poetic inspiration of the author. A sense of heroism, love of homeland, love of the nation, feelings of inner crisis twine with the poem. Batyr Bayan puts the supremacy of the spirit of nation and the spirit of the hero above other values. The interests of the nation are the most valuable for Bayan; he is ready to fight till the last ditch to prevent his nation from being conquered by enemies; he is a model of bravery and a true patriot. The poem 'Abylai', written by Mazhit Aitbayev, is too based on the same idea. The truth, awaited by the Kazakhs for more than half a century, was declared in Mazhit Aitbayev's work and served as a basic idea for his poem. Works created in liberal times are lack of any fear, perturbation, indecision or cowardice. Liberty in thinking fascinates with its enchantment and captivates from the very first moment the reader starts to read the work. Masterly skills of a poet in describing landscapes and developing portraits demonstrate his artistry. It should be mentioned that all the works of Mazhit Aitbayev contain such concepts as 'Altai' and 'Turkistan'. The concept of 'Turkistan' for the author is not a Turkistan city located in Turan steppes. For him Turkistan is a homeland, whereas Kazakhstan is a birthplace. Therefore, it is reasonable that the author does not use such concepts as 'My fellow Kazakhs' 'My Kazakhstan'; instead he worries about his 'Turkistan'.

Mazhit masterly and skillfully describes geographic features of the Kazakh land using various artistic devices. Nevertheless, he does not call these lands as the Kazakh lands, but uses the name 'Turkistan'. This work shows the author has completely absorbed the idea of national consciousness. The poem became the extension of Magzhan's works which were designed to promote the Turkic rather than 'Kazakh' idea. Not only had the poet dreamt of the unity of the Kazakh nation, he had also hoped for the unification of all Turkic nations. Ideology of the legion is noticeable too in the poem.

Mazhit Aitbayev is also known as an outstanding translator. He has published numerous poetic translations before the war. He was the first to translate V.Lebedev-Kumach's 'If Tomorrow War Comes', M.Svetlov's 'Kakhovka', "Grenada", Goethe's 'Forest King' into the Kazakh language [15].

While serving for Turkistan Legion, Aitbayev has intensively started doing translations. Having learnt the German language in a short time, he started translating the works of classic poets. Interpretation of Goethe's 'The Legend' may prove as an example. Western theorists of literature widely acknowledged that Goethe skillfully used

Christian and Islamic mythological plots in his works with religious motives [16]. This poem, written in the genre of fairytale, is based on Christian Myth as well. It describes the dialogue between the Saint and the goat-legged savage. The savage meets the Saint and confesses to him that he has made a lot of mistakes and now repents his sins, he asks the Saint if he could save him from the wrath of God and let him go to the Heaven. The Saint refuses saying that 'the savage does not look appropriate to be sent to the Heaven. The Heaven is for angels only'. The savage replies to this as follows, 'If it is true, how could be goat-headed people sent to Heavens'.

Hereby both authors criticize the religious dogmatism. They promote the stance that a man should first clear his heart and thoughts; the external appearance comes always second. The translation of the 'Comfort in Tears' of Goethe also carries the deep meaning. Another work, translated by Mazhit Aitbayev, is a poem of J.V.Evsendorff – 'The Broken Crutch'. The poem is a lyrical work which describes the feelings of a betrayed person. The beloved one gives a ring as a symbol of faithfulness. However, the ring gets broken when one of spouses betrays. The broken crutch symbolizes the unfaithful spouse.

Interpretations of Mazhit Aitbayev are fully artistic translations that reflect the author's masterly writing skills. It should be noted that translations in the Kazakh literature are commonly made from Russian; direct translation from the other foreign language is not a frequent phenomenon.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

To sum up, the Kazakh literature in emigration consisted of three periods; and reached its peak in the mid of the XXth century. The literature, developed within the framework of Turkistan legion, which was widely studied by Western and Eastern historians, left the most prominent and prolific heritage to the entire Kazakh literature. Nevertheless, the main task of modern scholars today is to apply this literary heritage in research works and study them comprehensively as research objects.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] The Encyclopedia of Kazakhstan.//S.Borbassov. 'Emigration'. – Almaty: The Kazakh Encyclopedia, 1997. Volume No.10, p. 459.
- [2] Hüseyin Algül. Muhacirun-Ensar üzerine bir araştırma. // T.C. Uludağ üniversitesi. İlahiyat fakültesi. Sayı:5, 1993, p. 26.
- [3] A.Sharip. 'Artistic expression of the national idea in Kazakh poetry: genesis, evolution and transformation. – Almaty: The Kazakh University, 2000.
- [4] [http://www.krugosvet.ru/enc/kultura\\_i\\_obrazovanie/literatura/LITERATURA\\_RUSS\\_KOGO\\_ZARUBEZHNYA.html](http://www.krugosvet.ru/enc/kultura_i_obrazovanie/literatura/LITERATURA_RUSS_KOGO_ZARUBEZHNYA.html).
- [5] Kh.Abdullin. 'Captured writers'// Kazakh National Liberation Movement. 8<sup>th</sup> book. – Almaty, 2008, p. 175, 4.
- [6] M.Koigeldiyev. 'The Idea of Integral Turkistan and M.Shokai'//In the book: Türkistanda Yenilik Hareketleri ve İhtilaller: 1900-1924. Osman Hoca Anısına İncelemeler. SOTA. – Haarlem, 2001, p. 320.
- [7] Flagmaster Nr. Turkistan legion. 105, Summer 2002, Publikation von „The Flag Institute“, Mayfair, London, W1J5NS, United Kingdom.
- [8] A.Kaken. 'Turkistan Legion'. - Astana. The Republican Typography and Publishing Centre, 2000, p. 38, 69.
- [9] Zh.M.Akhmetova. 'Facts about Shokai'\\ The Kazakh History. 2004. – No.2, p. 199.
- [10] A.Bakirov. 'For the Liberty of Turkistan'\\ Ana tili, 7 April, 1994. P. 4.

- [11] Toğan Z.V. Türkistanlıların birleşme davaları // T.C. Serdengeçti. №16, p. 47.
- [12] A.A.Zhalmyrza. 'Anti-colonial Turkistan Literature: formation, development and artistic features. Abstract of the dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences. – Astana, 2010, p. 21.
- [13] K. Abdukap. 'Mustafa Shokai' - Almaty: Arys, 2004, p. 7.
- [14] K.Issabay. Sairan – Khamza \ The Kazakh Literature.-1996, - No.29, p. 15.
- [15] M.Aitbayev. 'Anxiety. Collected works. – Almaty: Zhazushy, 2005, p. 11.
- [16] Shamel, Mir Shafiq. "Goethe and Hafiz: Poetry and History in the *West-Östlicher Divan*." Diss. Stanford University 2007. [DAI 68/09A: 3844].

**N. Sadykov** is a PhD Candidate of the Kazakh National University named after al-Farabi. His area of study is Kazakh literature in emigration, Literary trends and course of the early twentieth century in Kazakhstan.