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ЛИТЕРАТУРА И ФОЛЬКЛОР

On the genesis of the epos «Alpamys Batyr»

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Opinions about the origin and creation of the epos «Alpamys Batyr», as well as about the specifics of its distribution are not clear. Today, the views of A.K.Borovkov, H.T.Zaripov and V.M.Zhirmunsky on this issue are widely known.

It is known that V.M.Zhirmunsky's opinion has prevailed among scholars that the work appeared in the VI-VIII centuries, on the southern slopes of the Altai Mountains, and at the beginning of the XVI century stories about the exploits of Alpamys on the Baisyn land reached by the nomadic Uzbeks of Shaybani Khan, the epos originated in the south of Uzbekistan, and then spread among Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, and Kazakhs. This concept of the scientist did not develop immediately. In 1943, V.M.Zhirmunsky put forward the opinion that the epos «Alpamys» belongs to the Konyrats. Hence it can be understood that the reason for changing in the position of V.M.Zhirmunsky was the heroic saga «Alyp-Manash», recorded from the mouth of the Altai kaichi N.Ulagashev and published in 1941. Taking these and other data into account, we can be sure that both versions of the epos «Alpamys», in the form of a heroic saga and an epos, originated near the Syr Darya river about 1200 years ago.

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## **Introduction**

One of the most popular epics among Turkic peoples is «Alpamys Batyr». In the Turkic language it is known as «Alpamysh», «Alpamysa», «Alyp Mamshyan» and «Alyp Manash». The song has been preserved mainly among Turkic peoples, including the Konyrat tribes. In addition to this fact, we can say about the Altai people. There is no the tribe of Konyrats in the Altai. «Alpamys» can be called a clan epos of Konyrats not only on the basis of this fact, but also because of the textual features of the work, the system of images, the main plot, plot-compositional line, and the linguistic references. Not only the origin of the song, but also the features of its wider circulation and the geography of its distribution closely linked to the historical fate of the Konyrat tribe. The genesis of the poem can be determined by looking at the Turkic versions of the song as a whole and analyzing them both historically and comparatively. The overall picture of the origin, creation and artistic transformation of «Alpamys» in accordance with different social environments can be seen in the national versions. Although it is obvious that Konyrat is a tribal epos, most researchers bypass this fact in relation to Alpamys.

## **Materials and research methods**

Comparative, historical-comparative, descriptive, analytic, synthetic methods are used in the Alpamys Batyr epos genesis. The historical-typological method was dominant in the study of the Alpamys-Batyr epos genesis. The comparative method contributed to the definition of some chapters of the investigated work as a version of the Oghuz oral poem. Based on this method, it was revealed that historical consciousness prevails in epic works, as opposed to the mythical thinking that dominates in oral poems and folk songs about Alpamys. A comparative historical study made it possible to see the repeatability of the plots and poetic details in the national songs about Alpamys Batyr. The method of analysis was also fundamental in the study. The analytical method contributed to the expansion of ideas about the semantic and aesthetic side of the studied epos.

## **The degree of research**

Valuable information about the genesis of the epos «Alpamys Batyr» is contained in the studies of A.K. Borovkov, H.T. Zarifov, V.M. Zhirmunsky, M. Gabdullin, T. Sydykov, R. Berdibai and A. Valitova. Some of them have become popular concepts among the scientific community. Most of the subsequent studies are guided by such concepts. In the discussion, we will analyse their main content and features, their correspondence to reality and some of their shortcomings.

## **Analysis**

The genre and stage character of the world's nation folklore epic is diverse. Thus, scholar S.D. Mukhopleva, studying the Sakha epos, tells about the world peoples epos feature and refers to the second stage period of such epic examples as «David Sasunsky», Russian Byliny,

«Manas», «Alpamys», «Zhangar», as their main distinguishing feature is a «historicized» Heroic poem, in which people fight for independence and resist occupation» (Mukhopleva, 2000: 20).

In fact, the epics, which were born in the epochs when the state emerged or the ancient form was redesigned, are a clear sign of the people's historical vision. It is not difficult to guess that this feature is the main characteristic of the epos of all Turkic peoples. Considering the genesis of the epic model with a predominant historical character is a big deal for folkloristics.

As is known, the poem Alpamys Batyr («Alpamysh», «Alpamysa», etc.) occupies a significant place in the folklore of Turkic peoples. Although a great deal has been studied about its genesis, the question has not been fundamentally resolved. There was no discussion about the time and place where the epic appeared. For example, in volume I of «History of Kazakh literature» in Russian version it is said: «Someone says that «Alpamys» appeared in the XII-XIV centuries. According to others, the tribal epos of Konyrat, developed in the Desht-i-Kipchak region, was formed in the lower Syr Darya, along the Urals, before the formation of the Uzbek, Kazakh and Karakalpak peoples, and before becoming an epic legend of Konyrat. According to the third hypothesis, the ancient form of «Alpamys» appeared in the VI-VIII centuries, i.e. in the era of the Turkic Kaganate in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains and spread in the early XVI century by nomadic Uzbeks of Shaybani-Khan. They brought the Baisyn land narration about the exploits of Alpamys. The epos «Alpamys Batyr» was formed in the south of Uzbekistan and was further disseminated among Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs. (The history... 1988: 249) The authors of the «Kazakh literature history» were guided by the original opinion of A.K. Borovkov (Borovkov, 1956: 7), the second opinion of T. Zarifov (Zarifov, 1956: 9), and V.M. Zhirmunsky (Zhirmunsky, 1956: 15).

The third hypothesis, formulated by V.M. Zhirmunsky prevails in science. An example is the scientific and practical conference, dedicated to the 1000th anniversary of the epos, held in 1999 in Astana, where the opinions of leading scientists that the poem should be studied on the basis of the «Altai version» were put forward. «Research on the version of Konyrat may lead to errors» (Kunanbai, 1999: 4). This opinion was expressed following the systematization of V.M. Zhirmunsky and affirming his main concept. V.M. Zhirmunsky, on the question of grouping the versions of the poem among the Turkic peoples, said: «At present, the following versions of the epic legends on Alpamysh are obvious. 1) Konyrat version (Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Kazakhs; 2) Oghuz version («Bamsy Bairek» and modern fairy tales); 3) version that we conventionally called «Kypchak» (some heroic fairy tales of Bashkirs, Kazan Tatars and Kazakhs close to them); 4) Altai version («Alyp Manash»); 5) a group of works (the Khorezm-Turkmen battle story» by Yusuf and Hamra «and a Kyrgyz poem «Janysh and Bayysh»), which represents an independent reworking of the «Alpamysh epic» in later times «(Zhirmunsky, 1959: 27). The fact, that V. Zhirmunsky singled out national versions of the epic in such basic versions and showed the Altai «Alp Manash» as the oldest of them, found full or partial support of the most subsequent researchers.

However, there were scientists who demonstrated the doubtful aspects of V. Zhirmunsky's concept. For example, the famous folklorist R. Berdibaev rightly pointed out in the issue of genesis that Zhirmunsky allowed «some superficiality in reflecting the connection of the epic with the history of specific countries, in particular, that «evidence» in the language issue was not taken into account at all» (Berdibay, 1982: 57). This concept of «Alpamys» genesis by

V. Zhirmunsky was not formed immediately. It was written based on a story by N. Ulagashev, who before and after publication in 1941 (Ulagashev, 1941: 79-126) had a different point of view. For example, in the preface to the Uzbek version of the epos published in 1943, he said: «The Alpamysh fairy tale is strikingly different from the later period of national division, in its origin it is similar to the genealogical epos of Konyrat. And what the Konyrats saw in historical information refers to the periods after the Mongol conquest» (Alpamysh, 1943: 8).

In this point of view, the logic was that the era of the epos should be the beginning of Mongol rule, i.e. the beginning of the 19th century. Even X. Zarifov, after full acquaintance with the Altai version, emphasized that «Alpamys» is a Konyrat epos that emerged between Kalmyks and Tatar tribes in Central Asia (XV-XVIII centuries) in such a general historical framework as the period after the Shaybani invasion (XVI century), when Konyrats moved to the Termez area and Lake Baisyn (Zhirmunsky, Zarifov, 1947: 72) The question whether this story reached Bashkiria and the Altai, the authors left open this time. Although they considered the differences in the versions of each nation, they did not indicate which nation had previously released the national versions of the epic about Alpamys» (Gabdullin, Sydykov, 1972: 63). Consequently, V. Zhirmunsky himself, who first showed a search for the origins of the epos in the Altai version, did not immediately come to this thought. It is also legal to be so. In the «Alyp Manash» there are few ancient symbols. Old motifs here become a characteristic feature not only of a separate work, but of the Altai epos as a whole.

First of all, the lack of common characteristics about Alyp Manash, based on the V. Zhirmunsky concept can be seen in the fact that there are many secondary similarities with the Konyrat version, especially with the Kazakh versions. For example, the miraculous birth of the hero, the absence of vulnerabilities, the failure of the enemy's country, the secret arrival in the country, the arrest of the main character in a dream, not to mention the enemy's attempt to kill him to get out of the abyss. There are also such details, as the fact that only his own tulpar has a chance, it lends his tail to his captive master, women prepare the hero's bride for her wedding and braid her hair, and the hidden hero responds to her in the form of Aitysh. In case if the «Alyp Manash» was a suffix of the ancient version of the VI-VIII centuries, as V. Zhirmunsky believed, would there still be such a small episode between versions of a similar one more than twelve centuries before this fairytale epic was written?

Of course not. This is evidenced by the national versions of «Nogai songs», which existed for only five centuries. Although «Poems of Nogai» is the result of an epoch in which historical consciousness dominated, it is unlikely that a work of an epoch that has not completely got rid of mythical consciousness will be able to withstand social changes of later times. Correctly realizing this, the scientist is looking for aspects in Alyp Manash that do not contradict his position. The scholar explains this intention by the fact that the Oghuz and Konyrat versions of the epos cannot be considered a direct source, as the N. Ulagashev version of the Alyp-Manash has recently undergone significant changes (Zhirmunsky, 1974: 72).

In fact, changes in N. Ulagashev's version of Alyp Manash, caused by the long course of historical development, are not obvious. The main sign of this situation may be the slight similarity of the version to the already mentioned Konyrat edition. The main difference between the version and the Konyrat edition is the introduction of images and motifs typical for the Altai folklore in general. The subsequent introduction of these poems is confirmed

by the fact that they appeared in the work with logical contradictions, i.e. they have not yet entered the system. Therefore, V. Zhirmunsky was right. This is testified by the opinion of the scholar: "The story of N. Ulagashev's version of the husband's return to his homeland is much shorter than the capture and release of the hero, and symbolizes the considerable haste of the narrative. (...) In the first part of the legend - the lack of heroic divinity can be considered such a novelty of the modern form of the Altai fairy tales. The traces of the first part have been preserved in the form of a clear contradiction in the second part of N. Ulagashev. On the one hand, the unloved and abandoned wife of heroine Kumizhek-Aru becomes the main character in the legend of her husband's return. (...) On the other hand, the «fatal companion» Alyp Manash, who, as is known from the Book of Wisdom, was born on the same day with him and was a soul for herself, turned out to be the daughter of Ak Khan. However, Alyp Manash, who had gone to the usual heroic deity, was immediately captured by Ak-Khan, and as soon as he was released, he ruthlessly killed his «comrade» and returned to his unloved wife as the main character in the second part (Zhirmunsky, 1959: 34-7.35). A.K. Borovkov draws attention to the fact that in other Altai epics there is no such thing as the traitor in «Alyp Manas» who married the wife of the hero (Borovkov, 1959: 84).

What is the conclusion? The irrational contradictions in N. Zhirmunsky's Alyp Manash show that this version is based on the Konyrat version. The fact is that when the main character was outside his country for a long time, the tyrant's motive to rule this country became widespread in the era of the state. Obviously, this situation is closely related to the historical and typical situation when a weakened state is conquered by another invading country. And it is quite natural that this tradition is alien to the folklore of the Altai people, who have not experienced either slavery or the developed feudal society that appeared in the first states. The absence of this motif in other Altai epics indicates that the Alp Manash was transferred from the folklore of related peoples.

This situation is connected with the irrationality of the actions of the characters of Alyp Manash by N. Zhirmunsky. In the version of the Konyrat epos, there is a trace of a logical crisis that arises from the inability of the new environment of other religious beliefs to accept polygamy. In the version of Konyrat, Alpamys married Gulbarshin and Karakozai, who saved him from captivity on enemy soil. In our opinion, having studied the Konyrat version and distributed it among themselves, the Altai psalmists decided not to give away the main character to marry two women, but to portray the hero as the daughter of Ak-khan, an analogue of Karakozai in «Alpamys». This led to the irrationality mentioned above. Therefore, the fact that this logical contradiction does not disappear, and the fact that the actions of the main character are inconsistent, shows that the epic has not been in a new environment for long.

One of the vivid proofs that the Alp Manash appeared on the basis of the Konyrat version is that the names of the characters in the version were changed long ago. According to V. Zhirmunsky «In addition to the published version of N. Ulagashev, there is a version written in early 1957 by S.S. Surazakov, Head of the Literary Department, and the Altai poet Ochubai Alexeyev (from the Kuman tribe), from the Research Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Mountainous Altai. According to this poet, which is more consistent with information from N. Ulagashev, this legend belongs to the Bochat (Teleut) tribe and was

brought to the Kumans a hundred years ago by a Bochat poet named Kobek (from the village of Ton-Askak). The legend was learned by Daimat, a poet from Kobek, and Alexeyev, who listened to Daimat from Kobek himself. According to Alexeyev, the source of N. Ulagashev's version is also this version. This explains the detailed similarity between the new version of the letter and the previous one. Some inaccuracies can be seen in the names of the characters. O. Alexeyev did not name his character Alp-Manash, but Alpamysh, and Daimat Kobek named his character Akpomysh (probably the next replacement). The hero's mother is Edje-Buddey, and her sister keeps an ancient epic name Karlagach (Karlygash) in the Konyrat version, her husband is Erke-Mendir, her daughter Ak-Khan is Altyn-Manjak, and the carrier is Ortobok elder" (Zhirmunsky, 1974: 212-213). It is not difficult to understand that N. Zhirmunsky's statement «another replacement» in parentheses makes no sense. Surprisingly, because of the similarity of the heroes' names, he tried his best to find the intersection of the plot «Alyp Manash» and the Kyrgyz epos «Manas» (Zhirmunsky, 1974: 79). It is unlikely that the scientist who mastered the epos of the Turkic peoples and the regularities of its development did not realize that it arose from the version of the Konyrat «Alyp Manash», or is there a political background to this question?

«There is sufficient evidence that the Alyp Manash is not the «first version». However, since this is not our main goal, we will limit ourselves to these facts and stop at the fact that the oldest version of the epos is the Oghuz version. Here we confirm the correct prediction of the famous epicologist R. Berdibay that the epos should have originated about one thousand two hundred years ago, along the Syr Darya River (Berdibay, 2000: 12). In our opinion, the legend originated among the Syr Darya Oghuzes when Islam first spreaded. This situation can be explained by the predominance of religious motives in national versions, with the exception of the Alyp Manash. It should be noted that the first version was created among the Oghuz, an ethnic group that formed the basis of the later Konyrat tribe. Abulghazi Bahadur's «Turkish Chronicles» shows that the Konyrats were separated from the Oghuz (Abulghazi, 1991: 40-41). There is a reason to believe that the epos began to become a work of the Konyrat tribe when it was formed among the Oghuz.

According to Kazakh chronicles, the Konyrats lived not far from Otrar until the conquest of Genghis Khan, and during the invasion, they moved to Zhideli Baisyn. It seems that the Konyrats that remained in the ancient settlement of the Oghuz tribes during Genghis Khan's invasion moved to the left bank of the Syr Darya, in its lower course. The Baisyn in Kazakh genealogy should be this region. According to H.T. Zarifov, the name Baisyn in modern Uzbekistan was born in connection with the subsequent migration of Konyrats to the region (Zarifov, 1959: 12-14).

The main secret is that Alpamys is the only genealogical epos among Turkic peoples and is closely connected with the historical fate of the Konyrat tribe. It is known that before the invasion of Genghis Khan the Turkic peoples had tribal states (Nayman, Uysin, Uigur, etc.). Historians and scholars point out, that Genghis Khan systematically mixed tribes in order to prevent the uprising of these conquered states and preserve the internal unity of the new founded empire (Zhandarbek, 2000: 144-145). In this case, it is only natural that many examples of tribal epics are forgotten or ceased to be the property of a particular tribe. The position of the Konyrat tribe was different at the time. This tribe was both Genghis Khan's

aunt and son-in-law. Thus, they were excluded from Genghis Khan's reforms and maintained their ethnic unity. Many secrets can be deduced from the words of B.H. Karmysheva, who studied the history of Turkic tribes in Central Asia: «The Konyrats stood out among other tribes for their special position - Genghis Khan and his brothers took their wives from them. According to reliable researchers' assumptions, the tribes of Kiyat from Genghis Khan and Konyrat from his mother had mutual match-making relations. It is known, that marriages between these two tribes existed even before Genghis Khan. According to Alisher Navoi, this traditional marriage continued even during the reign of Amir Temur. A. Navoi repeatedly stated that the khans deserved to choose their wives from the Kiyat and Konyrat daughters» (Karmysheva, 1976: 211-212). The ancestral epos of the Konyrat «Alpamys», which was able to preserve its tribal integrity, also lived like their ancestral creation.

One of the special proofs of the origin of the Syr Darya Oghuz epos is the preservation of historical artifacts in this region that testify to the content of the work. This place is Barshinkent. In the chapter of «The Turkish Chronicle» by Abulghazi Bahadur, published by A.N. Kononov «Strong Girls in Oghuz Land», the author tells the story of Mamysh Bek about Barshore Salor, heard by Turkmen gardeners, and links it with the history of Barshinkent (Kononov, 1958: 78). There is no doubt that one of the chapters of «The Book of Korkyt Ata» - «The Song of Bamsy Bairek» - was born exactly in this region and tells the story of the origin of «Alpamys Batyr». Considering that the Turkic peoples also alternate the sounds of «b» and «m», «sh» and «s», we see that «Mamysh» and «Bamsy», mentioned by Abulghazi, are names of the same root. Currently, Uzbeks say «Alpamysh» and Kazakhs and Karakalpaks say «Alpamys», but it is easy to see that this indicates linguistic differences that arose in the past, and not in more recent times.

However, this «Book of Korkyt Ata» can prove that the oldest version of this book is «Alpamysh», i.e. «Alpamysh Bams».

V.M. Zhirmunsky noted that myths about Beyrek (Bamsy) began to spread from the Oghuz days (Zhirmunsky, 1974: 162). However, it is still necessary to determine his opinion that this myth, which is widespread in Anatolia and Armenia, did not originate from the «Book of Korkyt Ata». One thing is clear: during Genghis Khan's invasion, the epos turned into a clan epos of Konyrats. The realm of the song's further spread corresponds to the historical places of the Konyrat tribe. In particular, such settlements are the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, Khorezm, Volga, Kashkadarya and Surkhandarya provinces of Uzbekistan, Karakalpakstan and others.

The Oghuz legend began to be told as its own epos among the Konyrats that remained in their historic homeland when they moved to other lands. Apparently, already at that time the Konyrats considered Bamsy Bairek to be their ancestor. The future fate of Alpamys was closely connected with the historical events of this tribe. Konyrats, which originally had good relations with Genghis Khan, took an active part in Khan's campaigns to the west.

The famous historian M. Tynyshpaev wrote on the basis of the Russian Nikon Chronicle that in the middle of the 15th century there were 30 thousand bells on the Crimean peninsula led by Mr. Haidar. They actively participated in the power struggle between one of the greatest events of that period - the Great Muhammad and the Younger Muhammad Khans (Tynyshpaev, 1925: 18). At least 40-50,000 soldiers came out of 30,000 houses, therefore, it was not hard to understand what kind of power they had become. In fact, the Konyrats led

by Mr. Haidar won on both sides of the Muhammad. Apparently, Mr. Haidar's twofold policy showed that he also had a taste for power.

By the end of the 15th century, 30,000 Konyrats inhabiting the Crimean peninsula had moved to the Volga region after the death of their leader, Mr. Haidar (Tynyshpaev, 1925: 18-19). However, it cannot be considered that the Konyrats sailed along the Syr Darya River together with Genghis Khan's army. There is no doubt that most of them remained in their historical places. A tribe that first moved to the Crimea and then the Volga region rode and fought. Thus, we can say, that the work «Alpamys» that they took with them was filled with new jokes in connection with various historical events of that time. In our view, the epos at that time included the story of Baisara, the father of the main character's wife, Gulbarshin, who moved to Kalmykia. The Konyrats lived on the banks of the Volga for almost a century and a half. The Karakalpak scientist K. Mambetov asserts that the migration of Karakalpaks from the Volga to the Turkestan delta took place after the Kalmyk invasion led by Kho Orluk, i.e. in 1596-1597 (Mambetov, 1995: 14-15). The scientist also noted that Karakalpaks at the time were called «Konyrat» and «Mangyt» (Mambetov, 1995: 68). If we pay attention to this information, as well as to A. Margulan's opinion that Uzbek and Cossack bells coexisted until the 30s of the 16th century (Margulan, 1985: 181), then to M. Tynyshpaev's opinion that this tribe joined the Kazakh people in the middle of the 18th century [Tynyshpaev, 1925: 56], therefore, they united. This is an ethnic group that was not fully integrated into previously divided nations (Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, etc.). This was also a great reason to preserve Alpamys as a tribal epos.

All of the above means that the Konyrats moved from the Volga to Turkestan, as that was their ancient homeland. However, only a small part of them survived there, as archival documents from the 19th century testified that the ancestors of Konyrat (Tashkent, Tashly, Algazy, Ilgeri, Aksury, Tatysh) lived in the Crimea, as well as among the Nogay people in the lower reaches of the Volga. In the modern Nogay village of Ikon-Khalyk, there are four more genealogical Konyrats - «uzinaidar», «zhukaytar», «shadyr» and «kany». (Kereytov, 1993: 24). The Konyrats that remained in the Crimea and among the Nogay people not only fought against the Kalmykian army under the command of Kho Orluk in 1596, but were also supposed to live in peace. Of course, this peaceful life depended largely on the Kalmyks.

For example, as mentioned above, the lower reaches of the Volga, which included the tribe Konyrat, in 1716, were subordinated to the Kalmyk Khan Chabderzhap, and in 1724, they tried to get rid of the Kalmyk power, according to archival data (Nogays, 1998: 52-54). There is no doubt that this independence lasted more than a century. It is clear that such episodes as Sarybai's stay in the «giant» among the Kalmyks appeared at that very time.

A group of Konyrats, who survived the largest Volga raids in the Crimea, included many feats in the Alpamys epos. They witnessed not only the Kalmykian invasion led by Kho Orluk, but also the invasion of Ivan the Terrible (Ivan IV), who fully conquered the Volga in 1556. The genealogical continuation of the epos - the Uzbek epos «Yadgar» and the Kazakh song «Alatai and Zhapparkul» depict the enemy epos in Russian.

However, it was not the Konyrat of the Volga region that developed and brought these themes to perfection in a work, but brought them to the level of a heroic epic. The Konyrats on the bank of the Volga River preserved an ancient mythological or fairytale form of the epos.

This is evidenced by the versions of the Tatars and Bashkirs. We have already mentioned that V. Zhirmunsky conventionally called this version «Kypchak». In fact, the name «Kypchak» here comes not from the name of the tribe but from a linguistic term, that defines a linguistic group. It is impossible to fully agree with the scientist's statement in this version that «there is no mention of Konyrat» (Zhirmunsky, 1974: 168). Scholar A.A. Valitova disproves it. According to him, the Bashkir version written by A. Valitova. The Bashkir version written by A.N. Kireev tells about the city of Konyrat (Valitova, 1960: 209). Given the absence of materials proving that the epos lived in Tatarstan in ancient times, the opinion of A.A. Valitova that she moved there from Central Asia (Valitova, 1960: 201-202) is consistent with our hypothesis. The Konyrats left along the Syr Darya from the very beginning of their ancient historical homeland also preserved the ancient version. This is evidenced by the fairy tale «The Six Years Alpamys» written by A.A. Mukhammadov. Divaev through E. Akyzbekov. Thus, the Kazakhs have two genre stages in the artistic development of the epos. One is a heroic story, the other is a heroic epic. According to V. Zhirmunsky, there is reason to believe that Alpamys' instructions in the form of a heroic epic were formed not in the Baisyn district of Uzbekistan (Zhirmunsky, 1959: 28), but in the delta of Turkestan. In the spring of 1723, the region was invaded by Dzhungar invaders. In connection with this situation, K. Mambetov said: «Kazakhs joined their brothers in the vast steppes, the Uzbeks. In the midst of a crisis, the Karakalpaks, remembering that they had an ancient settlement on the Aral Sea, moved to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya. But not everything shifted to the side. Some went up to the Syr Darya and moved to the lowlands of Tashkent, Andijan and Fergana. In addition, there were those who moved from Samarkand to Bukhara via Nurata and then to the Karshi desert and Surkhandarya mountains» (Mambetov, 1995: 16).

However, the above data shows that the ethnic groups which the scientist calls «Uzbeks», «Kazakhs» and «Karakalpaks» are Konyrats. The Konyrats must have divided into these peoples immediately after that event. In our opinion, the former ethnonym «Karakalpak» was used to designate a group of Konyrats in the Volga region, not the current people of the same name. As M. Tynyshbaev noted, those people did not go to the Crimea and stopped on the left bank of the Syr Darya, in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (Tynyshpaev, 1925: 19).

In any case, there is enough evidence that the heroic epic, as V. Zhirmunsky pointed out, came from Turkestan Oblast, not from nomadic Uzbeks who went to the Baisyn fortress with the Shaybani army. This can be seen in the content of the epos. The fate of the Konyrats in the hands of the enemy in Turkestan Oblast also led to the finale of the episode about Baisar and his daughter Barshin, which was included in the poem in connection with the events on the Volga. This section is filled with new details influenced by new historical events. Speaking about this section in the Uzbek version, R. Berdibay says: «(...) Baisary goes to the Shilbyr desert in Turkestan district of South Kazakhstan region, not to Dzungaria, which is far from Zhideli-Baisyn. XVIII century, at first, the entire southern part of Kazakhstan, including Turkestan, remained under the control of the Oirat invaders» (Berdibay, 2000: 38). This assumes that the heroic epic was formed and spread in Turkestan region. Of course, it is possible that the Konyrats who moved with the Shaybani army to the Baisyn fortress also took the epic model with them. But they seemed to spread a fairy tale, not a heroic song. It is hard to believe that almost all the Shayban Uzbeks are Konyrats. The next wave of Konyrats

among Uzbeks should be numerically dominant. In the Uzbeks, versions of fairy tales and heroic verses do not seem as independent as in the Kazakhs, and they seem to merge with each other. This is evidenced by the fact that in the version of Fazil Yuldashev, Barshin is depicted as a giant girl, as in the ancient Oghuz version.

There are indirect evidences that part of the Konyrats, escaping from the onslaught of the Kalmyks along the Volga, went to the foothills of the Altai and on this basis formed the Altai version of the epos. One of them is the popularity of stories about Edige, Shora Batyr and Toktamys, who sang at the Konyrats of the South Kazakhstan region in the Altai Territory (Potapov, 1949: 125). It is also clear that the image of Ak Koben, who came to the aid of the main character in «Alyp Manas» and returned for no reason, was based on the image of his friend Karabay, who tried to save an ancient hero, such as «Six-year-old Alpamys», compiled by A. Divaev. «Six-year-old Alpamys» explains why Karabay could not save the main character. Here Alpamys refuses to get out of prison, saying that «then he would give me tribute». Taking into account L.P. Potapov's conclusion «The Modern Altai people cannot be considered a direct descendant of the ancient Altai Turks» (Potapov, 1949: 124), we see once again that the Alyp-Manash is not the oldest version. To sum up, the earliest version of the «Alpamys» appeared at the Oghuzs of the Syr Darya. However, the chapter «Bamsy Bairek» in «The book of Korqyt Ata» gives a lot of information about the source of the epos, but it is not the same. Although «Bamsy Bairek» originated from an oral tradition, it was developed by social conditions among semi-neighbouring Oghuz tribes. Professor Sh. Ibrayev traced that process in his work through a system of linguistic and artistic means (Ibrayev, 1997). This epos soon became a kind of epic for the Konyrat tribes, and its dissemination was closely linked to the historical settlements of this tribe. The Syr Darya has a special place in the genesis of the epos among historical monuments. Here both the original heroic story of Alpamys and the later heroic epic were formed. Referring to the concept of E.M. Meletinsky and V. Zhirmunsky, he said: «However, the view that the story originated in Central Asia and then spread to Asia Minor, the Volga and Altai» (History of world, 1985: 585). «in Central Asia». The most important of them are the Oghuzs, «in Central Asia». As L.P. Potapov Ulagashev's «Alyp Manash», pointed out that it was possible during the reign of the Dzhuchi ulus (XII-XIV), which dominated the Altai, that the Kipchak-speaking Turks were replaced by Konyrats in recent years (Potapov, 1949: 131). It was redesigned in a new environment, taking into account the peculiarities of archaic consciousness and supplemented with mythical images and sarcasm. In this way, different versions of the epos changed the genre structure. And the versions that were classified from each other not only developed in a closed way, but also reunited over a certain period of time and in a certain place, and experienced the phenomenon of infection. The myths about the giant emerged during the exchange of social consciousness, i.e. during the transition from mythical thinking to historical thinking, and at the beginning of the penetration of Islam among the Turks. That is why it has many religious motifs and historical character.

Of course, within the framework of one article it is impossible to completely refute the ideas established in science. However, the identification of the main causes of contradictions between concepts is one of the most important directions in science. The conclusions we have presented also follow from this goal. However, the detailed similarities between the «Alip-

Manash» and the Kungrad version could be seen as a result of mutual correspondence, and the logical contradictions in its plot as a result of contamination. Nevertheless, this conclusion is not supported by data indicating that «Lip-Manash» lived for a long time in the epic tradition of the Altaians. There is no data that this saga was performed by the Altai storytellers, except the versions by N. Ulagashev and O. Alekseev.

The conclusions presented by us did not arise from an empty place. Firstly, the evidentiary factual base is not small, and secondly, the thoughts corresponding to our proposal can be found in V.M. Zhirmunsky's works. We have also cited the important opinions of A.K. Borovkov, E.M. Meletinskii, L.N. Potapov, A.A. Valitova, M. Gabdullin and T. Sydykov, R. Berdibay, which coincide with our conclusions. Data relating to the history of Kungrad family in the works of such famous scholars as B.H. Karmysheva, A. Margulan, M. Tynyshpayev have many aspects that confirm our conclusions.

According to V. Zhirmunsky, a heroic tale version of «Alpamys Batyr» appeared in the South of the Altai mountains in the VI-VIII centuries. The reason for this position was the fact, that N. Ulagashev presented the Altai-Manash heroic fairy tale not in the VI-VIII centuries, but in the period when part of the Konyrats escaped under the pressure of the Kalmyks along the Volga River, at the foot of the Altai mountains. Therefore, on the basis of cultural exchanges, only in the XVIII century the appearance of the Altaic version of the epos was shown and can be confirmed by both the evidence and the historical data. Moreover, it was also noted that V. Zhirmunsky's concept of Alpamys in the form of the heroic epic was formed in the South of modern Uzbekistan and later it was spread to other Turkic peoples. Many facts of the epos show that the version in the form of a heroic epic was formed near the city of Turkestan. There were amendments and additions to A.K. Borokbov's view that the epos was formed in the place of Deshti-Kypshak and to H.T. Zarifov's review that the epos was formed in the Zhaiyk. It is undoubted, that «Alpamys Batyr» is widely mentioned in those parts, but there is no reason to say that it was developed in those regions. Since the facts testifying in favor of this point of view are characteristic of refutation. However, it is quite logically reliable, empirically configured, convinced that the epos was formed on the Syr Darya, among the Oghuz tribes that later became a generic epos of Konyrats, and distribution of epos was closely associated with the historical migration of this kind.

## Results

– It is assumed that the version of «Almamys Batyr» in the form of a heroic fairy tale appeared in the IX-X centuries among Oghuz tribes, and the heroic poem appeared in the XV century in the vicinity of Turkestan, as well as in the Syr Darya.

– The Altai version of «Alyp Manash» was supplemented by Konyrats that moved from the Volga to the Altai and ancient myths typical of the epic traditions of the Altai people in the 18th century. Even the narrator N. Ulagashev consciously edited the version of the Konyrats to the Altai version.

– The chapter of «Bamsy Bairek» in «The book of Korkyt Ata» should be regarded as a variant of an oral Oghuz poem developed by the settled Oghuz.

– The main reason why «Alpamys Batyr» was retained as a clan epos is that Genghis Khan gave the Konyrat tribe a special status.

- The poem appeared in the early Islam distribution among the Oghuz.
- These conclusions were developed as a new proposal regarding the genesis of the epos and it cannot completely separate itself from already established concepts. There are still weaknesses that need to be proven with sufficient factual evidence.

### Conclusion

We have made an effort to determine the origin of «Alpamys Batyr» by comparing national versions of «Alpamys Batyr» epos. There are various scholarly disagreements about the formation of the epos. This was due to the fact that scholars of each nation were addressing the interests of their own nations and the internationalist goal of Soviet policy, i.e. scholars from outside tried to distance themselves from the history of the nations in line with Soviet ideology. It is obvious that after the version of N. Ulugashev's poem, created by artificial and purposeful corrections, was published in 1941, V.M. Zhirmunsky turned the idea of the Konyrat origin of the epos and tried to prove that the origins of the epos were Altaic, although it did not make the reader trust. However, we have not been able to determine the exact cause of the problem, because it is different from the research question we are considering in the paper.

The Alpamys Batyr epos was born in the Syr Darya, region among Oghuz tribes when the Oghuz people began to savor Islam. Therefore, in the earlier versions of the epos as well as the later versions, there are many religious figures. And in the epos versions, the influence of historical consciousness is more prevalent than mythical thinking. Overall, it is best to consider «Alpamys Batyr» as a tribal epic of Konyrat tribal epic poem.

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**«Алпамыс батыр» эпосының генезисі жайында**

**Аннотация.** «Алпамыс батыр» эпосының пайда болуы мен қалыптасуы, таралу ерекшеліктері жөніндегі пікірлер біркелкі емес. Бұл туралы айтқан А.К.Боровковтың, Х.Т.Зариповтың және В.М.Жирмунскийдің көзқарастары кеңінен танымал. Осының ішінде жырды VI-VIII ғасырларда, Алтай тауларының оңтүстік бөктерлерінде пайда болып, XVI ғасырдың бас жағында Шайбани ханның көшпелі өзбектері Алпамыстың ерліктері жайлы баяндауларды Байсын бектігіне алып келіп, жыр Өзбекстанның оңтүстігінде қалыптасып, одан әрі өзбектер, қарақалпақтар, қазақтар арасында тарала бастады деп есептейтін В.М.Жирмунский пікірінің ғылымда үстемдік алғаны мәлім. В.М.Жирмунскийдің бұл концепциясы бірден қалыптасқан жоқ. Ол 1943 жылы «Алпамыстың» қоңырат эпосы екендігін айтқан болатын. Бұдан біз В.М.Жирмунский ұстанымының өзгеруіне қайчи (алтай жыршысы) Н.Улагашевтің айтуынан жазылып алынып, 1941 жылы жарық көрген «Алып-Манаш» батырлық ертегісінің себеп болғанын аңғарамыз. Жирмунский жырдың

шығу төркінін «Алып-Манаштан» іздеу керегін айтқанымен, мұндағы қоңырат версиясымен, әсіресе, қазақ нұсқаларымен ұсақ-түйек ұқсастықтардың себептерін көрсетпеген. Егер «Алып-Манаш» ғалымның көрсеткеніндей, VI-VIII ғасырларда пайда болған болса, кейінгі он екі ғасыр ішінде версиялар арасындағы мұндай ұсақ-түйек ұқсастықтардың сақталуы мүмкін болмас еді. Керісінше, Улагашев жырлаған алтай нұсқасының қоңырат версиясының негізінде пайда болғанын мезгейтін нышандар көп-ақ. Осыларды және басқа да деректерді ескере отырып, «Алпамыс» эпосының батырлық ертегі және қаһармандық эпос түріндегі екі нұсқасының да 1200 жылдай уақыт бұрын Сырдария өзені бойында пайда болғанына көз жеткіземіз.

**Кілт сөздер:** Алпамыс, Жирмунский, Улагашев, Очубай Алексеев, қаһармандық эпос, батырлық ертегі, эпос айтушысы, эпос варианттары мен версиялары, жыршылық мектептер, жанрлық-стадиялық ерекшелік.

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### **О генезисе эпоса «Алпамыс батыр»**

**Аннотация.** Происхождение, формирование и распространение эпоса «Алпамыс батыр» всегда было дискуссионным в научном мире. В настоящее время широко известны взгляды А. К. Боровкова, Х. Т. Зарипова и В. М. Жирмунского, среди которых доминирующими являются идеи М. Жирмунского, который считал, что эпос был создан в VI-VIII веках на южных склонах Алтайских гор. В начале XVI в. рассказы о подвигах Алпамыса на Байсынской земле дошли до кочевых узбеков Шайбани-хана, эпос сформировался на юге Узбекистана, а затем распространился среди узбеков, каракалпаков, казахов. Данная концепция ученого сложилась не сразу. В 1943 году он выдвинул предположение, что эпос «Алпамыс» принадлежит конуратам. Причиной изменения взглядов В.М. Жирмунского стала алтайская версия эпоса «Алып-Манаш», записанная с уст алтайского кайчи Н. Улагашева и изданная в 1941 году. Если бы алтайская версия эпоса появилась в VI-VIII веках, то, по мнению В.М. Жирмунского, сохранить столь незначительное сходство между версиями в течение следующих двенадцати веков не удалось бы. Наоборот, есть основания утверждать, что алтайский вариант, воспетый Улагашевым, восходит к конуратам. Принимая во внимание эти и другие предположения, авторы статьи выдвигают версию, что оба варианта эпоса «Алпамыс», в виде героической сказки и эпоса, возникли около 1200 лет назад в бассейне реки Сырдария.

**Ключевые слова:** Алпамыс, Жирмунский, Улагашев, Очубай Алексеев, героический эпос, богатырская сказка, варианты и версии эпоса, сказительские школы, стадияльно-жанровые особенности.

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