

红湖人文学科丛书

# 2014年中国西部文学 与地域文化国际高端论坛论文选

陈国恩 冯冠军 和 谈 主编



暨南大学出版社  
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# 目 录

论古代突厥文字的起源与发展：以蒙古和新疆为例	[俄] 捷利岑	/1
11 世纪喀什噶尔突厥文学中最早的穆斯林神秘主义因素	[俄] 佩列夫	/10
文学维度的“西部精神”阐释	黄 健	/20
当代中国西部小说的地域文化内涵	陈国恩	/31
当代中国西部文学的“流动现代性”概观	万莲姣 何彩章	/37
在风景化和主体化的张力中——当代文学中的新疆体验	汪树东	/46
地域文化视域下的西部文学两种叙事模式	吴 矛	/61
重识新疆文学及其当代意义	袁盛勇	/66
前现代时期新疆多民族文学的启蒙序曲	胡康华	/72
史影姗姗：西域文化审美旅径探隅	林艺鸣	/83
生态批评：新疆文化价值建构	郑 亮	/89
“天山牧歌”与闻捷的国族价值观构建	方维保	/97
新时期回族文学创作中的乌托邦倾向	李 雁	/104
中国当代西部文学在韩国的翻译与研究	[韩] 金英明	/111
奉献与乡愁：稳定性与流动性之间的兵团民间文学	吴新锋	/121
新疆新生代汉语文学的现实主义书写与反思	王 敏	/134
“鲁拜”“柔巴依”与中国的新诗	成湘丽	/142
飞天形象演变：中西人体艺术理想化途径之差异	胡 敏	/153
朱玛拜短篇小说集《蓝雪》的文化意蕴	祁晓冰	/160
从女性形象看锡伯族女性文学	吴晓棠	/165
新疆当代散文的关键词：生命、边缘、焦虑	汪 娟	/173
论唐祈的西部诗	周仁政	/182

论王蒙新疆叙事的文化记忆及其价值	陆兴忍 /190
放逐 孤独 回归——以张贤亮《灵与肉》为中心	[韩] 徐 榛 /199
红柯《喀拉布风暴》的文学间性研究	姚芮玲 /208
足迹与方向——沈苇诗歌创作发展论	冯庆华 /216
西部草地的别样书写——严歌苓《雌性的草地》与《陆犯焉识》	梁小娟 /227
董立勃小说创作的地域特征	张 凡 /233
岑参至林则徐对西域诗意的建构	罗浩波 黄晓东 /244
耶律楚材在西域的交游及诗文创作	和 谈 /250
清代伊犁将军与西域文学及文人	史国强 /257
纪昀谪戍乌鲁木齐的诗作研究	易国才 /267
萧雄西域事迹考	吴华峰 /276
马穆鲁克—克普恰克文献综述	塔力甫江·吐尔逊艾力 /285
纳吾热孜节及其文化内涵	迪亚尔别克·阿力马洪 /290
后 记	/297

# 论古代突厥文字的起源与发展： 以蒙古和新疆为例

[俄] 捷利岑

(圣彼得堡国立大学)

本文以蒙古和新疆考古发现为基础探讨6至9世纪古代突厥文字的起源与发展，并深入讨论有关历史、文化、宗教和语言因素。

对第一突厥王朝时期突厥语碑文的研究给我们展现出一幅突厥人书写发生和形成的独特图景。可以推测，在第一突厥汗国（552—630年）的出现和建立时期，以及在其之后的统治延续中，突厥王朝对文字有着强烈的需求。

本文首先会谈及对有着丰富书写传统的毗邻民族文字的采用。由于缺乏自己的文字，突厥人起初是使用毗邻文明的文字和语言——粟特文。

接着，本文叙述突厥语书写的第二种类型——突厥如尼文。这种书写经历了三个发展阶段：①古体——七河流域（6—7世纪），叶尼塞（6—10世纪）的突厥碑文；②经典——只出现在第二突厥汗国的纪念碑上（8世纪前半叶）；③最后——回鹘汗国（8世纪后半叶到9世纪）和东突厥斯坦（9世纪）的纪念碑与碑刻。尽管对这种书写的产生和发展还有其他看法，但传统上我们认为，这种如尼文书写来自非斜体的粟特字母。

而且，第三种书写也可能来自民间，为适应突厥语的语法和语音，其必然带有突厥人从其他民族那里拿来的粟特文、摩尼文、景教福音体、婆罗门以及其他种文字的色彩。

普遍认为回鹘文书写的出现建立在公元前的粟特草书的基础上。回鹘文书写的历史应该既与回鹘汗国（744—846）的历史和发展密切相关，又与那个时期回鹘社会的政治和社会进程相联系。

通过比较如尼文和回鹘文两种主要的书写方式的时间框架，可以看到一些规律：在突厥汗国时期（6—8世纪）时期，在臣服或者依附汗国的突厥部落中普遍是如尼文书写，这种文字被创造出来用以稳固疆土、财产，之后用于墓志铭。

回鹘文书写的出现和它与如尼文书写平行共存的情况可以从以下的事中看到。8 世纪中期,回鹘国时期,已经存在的文字对游牧民族实现某些目的来讲是必要的——经济(标记土地面积)和文化(创建墓志—历史记录)。对那个时期来说,这种书写已经“足够”用了。

## Some thoughts on the origin and development of Turkic writing in the ancient time (Mongolia and Xinjiang).

**Nikolay N. Telitsin**

Traditionally the so-called Runic alphabet is considered to be the first type of Turkic. The “Runes” were inscribed on monuments, which date back to the consolidation period of separate Turkic tribes and the rebuilding of the once mighty Turkic Khanate in the middle of the VII century. However, according to the Twenty-four Histories (Chinese official historical books) there were two types of writing already in the VI century during the First Turkic Khanate (552 – 630 A. D.). The first was similar to Sogdian; the other resembled signs on wooden sticks, which were used for fiscal purposes. This non-cursive writing existed along with the cursive Sogdian. In this regard, we should elaborate which types of writing were generally used among the Turks as well as we should take a look at how they obtained a certain form of writing.

From the historical point of view most of the nations that used writing could either independently invent it, so that it would be fully consistent with the requirements of their own language and be the most accurate method to transmit the necessary information, or to borrow it from other nations with a more developed culture. The study of the first Turkic monuments (focus on the Turkic and not Turkic-speaking) gives us the following picture of the genesis and formation of writing among the Turks. One can only assume that in the period of the emergence and existence of the first Turkic state-First Khanate (approx. 552 – 630 A. D.), there was already an urgent necessity in writing in order to fulfill the needs of the Khanate’s state mechanism, as well as the perpetuation of certain events and stories of rulers themselves for the descendants. Sogdian cursive writing and Chinese hieroglyphics had a huge impact on the culture of the Turkic tribes at that time. Specifically, they could have borrowed letters from neighboring

sedentary peoples with a richer historical tradition of writing. Indeed, since their own widespread writing did not exist, the Turks began to use both writing and the language of the neighboring civilization—the Sogdians.

In 1956, a Mongolian archaeologist—Ts. Dorjsuren discovered the remains of a funerary complex and a stele with a finial 10 km west of Bugut (Arkhangai province, Mongolia). The inscriptions on the stele were later interpreted as Sogdian. In the fragments of inscriptions two references to temporary benchmarks can be noted. The date of the construction of the stele is obviously indicated at the beginning of the inscription: “Stele constructed the Turks (under the rule) of Chinese emperor Kutsat.” Another date marks an event that took place in the year of the Rabbit. As for the first mention of time it seems to be very complicated and currently impossible to interpret it using the existing plot. The second indication of time is more interesting. During the period of the First Turkic Khanate (approx. 552–630 A. D.) the year of the Rabbit in a twelve-year animal cycle was in 559, 571, 583, 595, 607 and 619. There aren’t any other direct references to the temporal localization of the monument. In this case it should be dated based on both the already given information and on circumstantial evidence contained in the text itself. And indeed, fragmentary information allows us to determine the reference on the creation of the Buddhist sangha in the Khanate as reported in the Chinese dynastic chronicles. Since the formal adoption of Buddhism by the Turks is traditionally associated with the name of Khan Taspar it is possible to recover the time frame of the period. According to the historical evidence, Buddhism spread into the territory of the First Khanate in 574, after the beginning of the persecution of adherents of that religion in the state of the Northern Zhou during the reign of emperor Wu (武帝) (561–578 A. D.). It is known that in this period some sutras were translated into Turkic, Buddhist temples and monasteries were erected. Even Khan Taspar participated in religious ceremonies.

Thus, the inscription most probably dates the last quarter of the VI century. If we compare this assumption with the date specified in the monument itself (the year of the Rabbit), it can be presumed to date it 583 or 595. It should be noted that until recently Bugut stele was considered to be the only monument that documented the use of the Sogdian language and writing for the needs of the rulers of the First Turkic Khanate, and one of the few monuments



that can be clearly attributed to the period of existence of the first Turkic state. In 1953, in Xinjiang, 5 km south of the settlement Zhaoxi the remains of a funerary complex and a stone statue were discovered. The size of the statue was  $2.30 \times 0.5 \times 0.3$  m. Unfortunately, these findings have not been subjected to any textual research for almost forty years. At the bottom of this statue, there is an inscription (20 lines) in Sogdian similar to the one on the Bugut stele. Presumably, the inscription could date the end of the VI beginning of the VII century. Only 8 out of 20 lines can be interpreted, the rest is hard to parse. According to the description of T. Osawa, who first published a detailed study of the monument, the memorial complex and the statue were created in honor of the Niry-Kagan, son of Yangsu tegin (Yang su tegin), grandson of Mugan Kagan. Niry-Kagan, according to other sources Nily-khan (Chinese Nily-khan, in the inscription in ancient Sogdian as nry h'γ'n), ruled from 587 to 599, and the monument dates 599 – the year of death of the Niry-Kagan and also the last years of existence of the First Turkic Khanate.

According to historical tradition the Khan of this period is called Dulan Kagan (Chinese · 都蓝可汗 – Doulankehan), also known as Yun-Ulugh. The name Nili kehanya, a description of his life and related events, matches with the name of the son of Yansu tegin-Nili Khan (Chinese. 泥利可汗 – Neely khan) or II-tegin Buiruk, the former governor of the western lands of the Turkic Khanate from 599 to 603 A. D. . From 603 to 604 A. D. , the first Khan of the separated Western Turkic Khanate. Therefore, it would be more correct to date the inscription around 603 – 604 A. D. . Inscription in honor of Nili Khan and the Bugut stele give us an opportunity to reaffirm one of the basic concepts of the development of writing and literature among the Turks of the first Turkic Khanate, which can be defined as follows. The first Turkic state was established by nomadic tribes that didn't have any form of writing. They were under a huge impact from the cultures of peoples they borrowed the writing from. It is noteworthy that the Turks did not just simply borrow and adapt the Sogdian writing for the needs of their own language, but they have intentionally used the Sogdian. This may indicate a tolerant attitude of Turkic conquerors towards those peoples who remained on the territories of the Khanate.

We can only assume that after conquering, Central Asia the Turks left the same system of control and reassigned it to themselves. In this case, they were

free to use Sogdians, who were at that time more civilized in terms of education, architecture, etc. Sogdian influence on Turks can be found in the Chinese sources that date back to the period of Shibi Khagan's reign (609 – 619 A. D. ). For example, one of the high-ranking Chinese nobles Pei Ju-a former governor of the Western Region ( East Turkestan ), reported the following: "The Turks themselves are simple-minded and short-sighted, and a discord can be easily made between them. Unfortunately, among them there are many Sogdians who are cunning and treacherous; they teach and guide the Turks. " Other monuments dating the period after the deviation of the First Khanate into the West (603 – 657 A. D. ) and the East (603 – 630 A. D. ) Khanates were not found. Therefore, we can conclude that before the formation of the Second Khanate the Turkic tribes didn't not have their own writing or even a tradition of writing. The Sogdian writing and language were rarely used to log information about Khans or important historical events. The next type of writing can be called the ancient Turkic Runic script. We can assume that it did not emerge until the second half of the VII century. This script was spread over a vast area from the Caspian Sea to the northern Mongolia. It is represented by monuments that date VII – IX centuries. Traditionally the language of runic monuments is recognize to be "above the dialects"; A literary language of the Turks who formed or were exposed to existing major associations of Turkic tribes and the Turkic states [ Turkic Khanate ( VI – VIII A. D. ), Uyghur Khanate ( VIII – IX A. D. ), the kingdom in East Turkistan ( IX – XIII A. D. ) ] of the time.

It should be noted, however, that the runic script, according to many specialists in Turkic languages, has undergone three stages of development: (1) an archaic, which includes Turkic monuments of Zhetysu ( VI – VII centuries ) and Yenisei ( VI – X centuries ); (2) classic, which should include only the monuments of the second Turkic ( tyurkyut ) Khanate ( the first half of the VIII century ); (3) late period, covering monuments of the Uyghur Khanate ( the second half of VIII – IX centuries ) and monuments of eastern Turkestan ( IX century ). According to the traditional point of view the runic script arose from the Sogdian non-cursive alphabet. There are also other points of view on the origin and development of this script. According to the latter one, which in our opinion is a very convincing and worthy of mention, Turkic Runic ( runic-like ) script is of an autochthonous origin, i. e. writing, originating in the settlement of Turkic-

speaking tribes out of their own “picturesque National Fund”. Indeed, as mentioned above, the Twenty Four Histories note the presence of two types of Turkic writing. One of them looked like Sogdian, this is already confirmed by the presence of monuments ( VI – VII A. D. ) in Sogdian writing and Sogdian language. The other script was similar to the signs on wooden sticks, which were used for fiscal purposes. You can imagine that after the collapse of the First Khanate it took the Turks less than a century to form this indigenous writing, the first monuments of which date from the period of the Second Khanate ( approx. 682 – 744 A. D. ). The main impetus for the emergence of their own script includes the desire of Turkic tribes to revive the former powerful state, as well as the need for means of information exchange, governance, etc. The ancient runic script consisted of 39 – 40 letters ( graphemes ) of geometric shape and was well adapted for inscription on stone and other materials. This script accurately conveyed almost all phonetic features of the Turkic languages. Most of the characters for the consonants had two versions-to denote the hard and soft consonants used with vowels of the back and front row.

The script itself was created in a broader cultural and economic ties of Turkic tribes with the surrounding peoples, many of whom had developed writing and written tradition. First and foremost the Sogdians and the Chinese. We mentioned earlier that the first Turkish state used the Sogdian writing and language to perpetuate in the history of any events related to the life of the Turkic ruler. According to some researchers, this kind of writing has been widely distributed, indicating “literacy” among the ancient Turks. Turkic tribes had long historical ties with China, which were not always peaceful. It is known that after the fall of the Eastern Turkic Khanate ( 630 A. D. ) children of noble families were sent to China for training, a kind of “compulsory education”. One of the iconic figures of the Second Khanate-Tonyuquq of the Ashide-wrote about it in the monument himself. The text of Tonyukuk displays events associated with the history of the Second Turkic Khanate, but the main focus of the author is given to the description of the merits of Tonyukuk. Historical events interested the author only as a background to create images of the heroes of the Turkic people and their glorification. Probably because of this, the text is supported by numerous parables and sayings. This may represent the tradition of writing that the Turks possessed at that time.

And finally, the third type of writing the ancient Turks could have borrowed from neighbors and adapted for the grammar and phonetic needs of the Turkic languages. For example, Sogdian, Manichean, Esrangelo, Brahmi and some other scripts that have been borrowed from other peoples of the ancient time. The most common is considered to be the Uighur script. It emerged on the basis of Sogdian cursive letters in I A. D. . More precise temporal localization of occurrence of this type of ancient Turkic script can only be based on historical facts that contribute to a more detailed study of the period of its origin and development. The history of the origin of the Uighur script should be linked with the history of the emergence and development of the Uighur Khanate (744 – 840 A. D. ), and with the political and social processes that occurred during the period of the Uighurs. One of the first mentions of Uighurs can be found in Chinese sources of the V century, which mention the tribes “tele-tegreg”. Uighurs were part of this tribal union. They were a part of it from the beginning of the First Khanate, but we’re mostly in the state of rebellion. After reconstitution of the Second Khanate, the Uighur tribes went to the lower reaches of Ejingol, which was under of the Tang Empire.

In the middle of the VIII century, the Uighur tribes with the support of Basmil and Karluk tribes crushed the Turkic Khanate and established their own state called the Uighur Khanate (744 – 840 A. D. ). The spread of Manichaeism among the population occurred during the Uighur Khanate. The impetus for a wider spread of Manichaeism was the fact that one of the rulers, Tengri Eltutmysh Inga Alp Bilge Kagan, better known as Begyu Kagan (757 – 779 A. D. ) adopted Manichaeism in Luoyang around the 60s in the VIII century. The troops under his leadership helped the Tang empire to crush the rebellion of An Lushan-Shi Chaoi. By the way, after this rebellion the Tang Empire was never able to recover.

After the suppression of the rebellion, the Uyghur ruler Begyu Kagan began to promote Manichaeism within his Khanate. Sogdian Manichaen missionaries were invited. In addition, it should be noted, however, that the Uighur influence in the East of the Tian Shan. According to one point of view, it might have been an “open protectorate”. The Uighur nobility continued to profess Manichaeism even after the collapse of the Uighur Khanate in 840 A. D. . This fact should be, most likely, considered if not as the start of development of the Uighur script, then at least, its wide dissemination. The Uighur script started to spread wider together with Manichaeism, because it was used by the Manichaean community along with

the Manichaean script in the vast territory of Central Asia.

“Khuastuanift” or the confession prayer of the Manichaeans, V A. D. , is considered to be the earliest work in the Uighuric script. It is traditionally believed that it is a translation from ancient Persian or Greek into the Uighur. However, according to Radloff the text is written in a good Turkic language and shows no signs of translation. According to other sources, the initial stage of the ancient Turkic literature on paper should be associated with the translation of the “Nirvanasutra” (approx. VI A. D. ). When comparing the time frame of the existence of the two main types of script of the ancient Turks-the Runic and the Uighuric-a certain regularity can be noticed: in the period of the Turkic Khanates (VI – IX centuries A. D. ) the Runic script was most common among the Turkic tribes somehow subordinate or related to the Khanate. This script was created to record the boundaries of property. It was later used in epitaphs.

Therefore, this type of writing was widely used and understandable for a large number of ancient Turks. This in turn indicates a lack of “cult” of the script, as it happened in many other cultures. The emergence of the Uighur writing and the fact of its parallel coexistence with the Runic script can be explained by the fact that by the middle of the VIII century there was already a widespread form of writing which the nomadic peoples, whom the Turks and the Uighurs were in those days, was necessary only for certain purposes-business (labeling land areas) and culture (creation of epitaphs-historical records). At that time, such script was “sufficient”.

Only with the spread of Manichaeism among the Uighurs, there comes a need for “improvement” of the script. Here we should not forget the fact that in the Uighur Khanate Manichaeism conditionally could be considered being imposed “from above”, therefore, the script could be brought pro the Uighurs from the outside. Apparently, those Sogdian missionaries were the ones to implement a script created on the basis of their own along with the religion. Apparently the Uighuric script was created in connection with the missionary activity of the Sogdian Manichaean communities, seeking to spread their faith among the nomadic peoples-Turks, Uighurs and others. They have adapted a kind of Aramaic used by the Sogdians (Sogdian) for this new script. Initially it existed only among Manichaean communities and did not have a widespread support of

the people or the rulers of Turkic and Uighur tribes. An important factor in the spread of the Uighuric script is found in the “relative compactness” of the system, which is based on 16 graphic elements that transmit around three dozen phonemes.

## 11 世纪喀什噶尔突厥文学中最早的 穆斯林神秘主义因素

[俄] 佩列夫

(圣彼得堡国立大学)

本文探讨 20 世纪发现的 11 世纪卡拉韩的东可汗国所创造的文学著作，即瑟夫巴拉萨古妮的长诗以及马赫穆德喀什噶尔的诗歌，并讨论其中的穆斯林神秘主义因素。

创作于 11 世纪，以喀什噶尔（今新疆）为首都的东喀喇汗国的突厥语文学作品，自被发现之日起就引起了学术界的大量关注。其中，由巴拉沙衮人玉素甫于 1069—1070 年在喀什噶尔创作的劝诫性长诗《福乐智慧》和由语言学家马哈默德·喀什噶里于 1072—1078 年在巴格达编写的、收录了两百多首歌谣的《突厥语大词典》是其中的杰出代表。

众所周知，中世纪突厥语穆斯林诗歌受到了苏菲主义（伊斯兰教的神秘主义）的极大影响。根据对东喀喇汗国最古老文学作品的研究，我们可以确定早在 11 世纪，就已经有突厥（回纥喀喇汗）语写作的苏菲诗歌了。

根据对马哈默德·喀什噶里《突厥语大词典》中特定诗歌的分析，我们可以推断，不管是从形式上（来自阿拉伯—波斯的阿鲁孜格律），还是从意义上（时间的无常、苦行与自我完善的强烈愿望，关于人类恶事的哀歌等），这些诗歌都应该被看作突厥语苏菲诗歌的最初范本。显而易见，这些诗歌摘录是由第一批在突厥族群中传教的突厥或者伊朗苏菲派教士创作的。

对于大部分内容属于世俗化创作的《福乐智慧》来说，其中一个修道士奥德吾尔米西是诗中最重要的人物形象之一。如果对贯穿全诗的一些神秘主义经典概念和术语进行考查，可以毫无疑问地认为，问题中的隐士是一个苏菲派教士。奥德吾尔米西压抑了自己身上所有的人的激情，只为神服务。他将毕生都奉献给了神，放弃自我，完全地追随神的意旨。他拒绝婚姻和家庭，同时鼓励自己和所有的人去互相行善。他特别指出有些人

(王室和高官) 要努力做到宽容仁慈。

奥德吾尔米西布道的内容、意义、比喻, 以及那些与他的争论, 都启发和预示了后来的经典突厥语穆斯林文学创作中的苏菲主义题材。

## On the most ancient elements of Muslim mysticism in the Turkic literature of Kashgar (in the XIth century)

**Aleksei. PYLEV**

Turkic literary works created in the XIth century in the Eastern Kara-Khanid Khanate are rather special for the study of the beginnings of Sufism (Islamic mysticism) amongst the Turkic peoples in Central Asia. Ever since they have been discovered at the turn of the XXth century, these works have attracted a great deal of scholarly interest in the scientific society of turkologists. The didactic poem *Kutadgu Bilig* (*Wisdom Which Brings Good Fortune*) written by Yusuf of Balasagun in Kashgar circ. 1069 – 1070 and more than two hundred poetic extracts from *Divanu Lugati-t Türk* (*Compendium of the languages of the Turks*) written by philologist Mahmud al-Kashgari in Baghdad circ. 1072 – 1078 represent fine examples of such works. The authors of these two poetic works were the natives of Balasagun and Barskhan—the important centers of Kara-Khanid's culture. After presenting his work to the royal court, the author of *Kutadgu Bilig* has become *khā-hājib*, that is the minister of the court or the chancellor. As for Mahmud al-Kashgari, it is possible that he himself belonged to the Eastern Karakhanids' royal dynasty and has visited the regions populated by Turkic people during ten years of travelling.

It is known that classical Turkic poetry of the XIV – XVIII centuries has experienced a great influence of Sufi images and themes. Moreover, one of the most acknowledged researchers of Turkic literature Alessio Bombaci stated that Islamic mysticism has been spread among the Karakhanids *more in its ascetic and poetical forms than in its conceptual, gnostic forms*<sup>①</sup>. The mystical and didactic poems written by Xoja Ahmad Yassaviy, Sulayman Baqyrgani (XIIth century) and Yunus Emre from Minor Asia (XIII – XIV centuries) were traditionally considered as the very first examples of the Turkic Sufi poetry. And yet these

① [法] Bombaci, Alessio. *Histoire de la littérature turque*. Paris, 1968.



works were inspired by Arabic and Persian literary traditions, as they are rather remarkable for their almost flawless poetic form. Some of these poems were written with a use of *arū* metre, with a great number of Arabic and Persian words, Sufi terms and poetic pseudonyms (*tahallus*). Besides, the authenticity of many poems included in *Divans* written by these authors remains rather questionable. At the same time, the study of the early literary works of Eastern Karakhanids allows us to presume that the poetry with spiritual and ascetic meaning written in Turkic (Uyghur-Kara-Khanid) language appeared in Central Asia as early as in the XIth century. Thus, the very first attempts of Sufi poetry ought to be discovered among such poems.

The researchers (such as M. S. Fomkin and I. V. Stebleva) have already indicated Sufi motives in *Kutadgu Bilig* as well as in some poetic extracts from *Divanu Lugati-t Türk*<sup>①</sup>. These extracts are from more than 200 of quatrains and distiches presented by the author of *Divanu Lugati-t Türk* as the illustrations of the meanings of some Turkic words.

The poems from *Divanu* by Mahmud al-Kashgari differ by themes—these are mourning for death, heroic songs, love verses, descriptions of nature, didactic poems. We chose 2 quatrains and 11 distiches with the didactic meaning. The main motives of these extracts shall become classical for the Turkic Muslim poetry, full of Sufi images.

The themes of the poems in question are <sup>②</sup>:

- transiency and finiteness of time;
- denunciation of mundane wealth, appeal for asceticism and poverty based on free – will;
- jeremiads about human viciousness and spiritual decadence;
- appeal for self-perfection and denunciation of pride for already existing virtues—here the influence of Sufi ideas of the Iranian school of *al-Malāmātiyya* could be noticed.

① [俄] For example see Fomkin M. S. On the Sufi motives in the *Wisdom Which Brings Good Fortune* by Yusuf of Balasagun // The Soviet Turkology. 1990. No. 5, pp. 68 – 74; Stebleva I. V. The development of the Turkic poetic forms in the eleventh century. Edited by A. N. Kononov. Moscow: Nauka, 1971. pp. 101 – 102.

② [俄] These poetic extracts are cited according to the following edition: Text, transcription and translation of *Divanu Lugati – t Türk* poems // Stebleva I. V. Op. cit. pp. 110 – 279. The translation of these extracts is made by the author of this article and doesn't strictly follow I. V. Stebleva's translation.