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LAMENTATION (MOURNING), FUNERAL (BURIAL) CEREMONY AND ELEGY RECITATION TRADITION IN “THE EPIC OF MANAS”

MANAS DESTANINDA YAS TUTMA, CENAZE MERASİMİ VE AĞIT SÖYLEME GELENEĞİ

ТРАДИЦИЯ ТРАУРА, ПОХОРОННОГО ОБРЯДА И ПРИЧИТАНИЯ В ЭПОСЕ “МАНАС”

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ABSTRACT

Death is a physiological phenomenon that will eventually confront every living thing. Curiosity for the unknown has led to more reflection and research. For this reason, death has been the focus of attention of researchers in many fields such as religion, philosophy, sociology, psychology, and medicine, as well as in the field of literature. Likewise, death appears as the main theme in both Turkish and Kyrgyz epics.

In this study, based on the Manas Epic, the mourning, funeral, and lament traditions of the Kyrgyz people will be examined and the information on these issues will be revealed in terms of their similarities with the mourning, funeral, and lament beliefs and practices of the Avshar tribes living in Turkey.

Epics are cultural assets that carry people's cultural memory from their historical depths to the present. Based on these features, in this study, firstly, the concept of death in the Manas Epic is discussed. The "Manas" epic, which has a very important place not only in the Turkish epic tradition but also among the world epics, is the longest and only living epic in the world. So it has a good reputation. The traditions, customs, and celebrations of "Marriage-Birth and Death", called "Mourning and Burial", are directly related to the world of myths and beliefs. There are two kinds of death. The first is physical death, the second is spiritual death. As a result of spiritual death, the hero is cleansed of sins, reborn, and continues to fulfill his obligations. There is death, but there is also resurrection due to duty and death again after the mission is completed. Thus, national heroes have immortal

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characters. When the society is in trouble, while this problem is being tackled, the spirit of the heroes emerges and stands on the side of those who struggle, often fighting in the eyes of the enemy.

In the analysis, the funeral ceremony after the death phenomenon was mentioned. It is customary to give food and clothing to the poor after the burial. Today, in both Kyrgyz and Anatolian funeral homes, food is cooked and served to those who come. Although the cost of this meal is supposed to be met by the funeral home, it is usually shared among relatives. The main reason for delaying the burial of the dead, in Anatolia, in the epic of Manas, and among today's Kyrgyz people, is to ensure that distant relatives can attend the funeral on time.

Finally, the lament ceremony is discussed. As in the epic of Manas, today's Kyrgyz also bury their dead before taking them to the cemetery. The Qur'an is recited during the burial. Before and after the burial, women continue to lament in the tent. In both cultures, on the 3rd, 7th and 40th days of the death, the Qur'an is recited for the soul of the deceased. Among the Kyrgyz, if the relatives of the deceased do not know how to recite "koshok", a koshok reciter is found and they get him to recite it. The laments continue for three days after the death event takes place. When the men returning home after the burial are seen, the koshok reciting begins again.

Keywords: "The Epic of Manas", Lamentation (Mourning), Elegy, Death, Kyrgyz Turks

ÖZ

Ölüm, eninde sonunda her canlının karşısına çıkacak olan fizyolojik bir olgudur. Bilinmeyene olan merak, daha fazla düşünmeye ve araştırmaya yol açmıştır. Bu nedenle ölüm, edebiyat dahil; din, felsefe, sosyoloji, psikoloji ve tıp gibi birçok alanda araştırmacıların ilgi odağı olmuştur. Hem Türk hem de Kırgız destanlarında ana tema olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Manas Destanından hareketle Kırgız halkının yas tutma, cenaze töreni ve ağıt yakma geleneği irdelenerek bilgiler Türkiye'de yaşayan Avşar boylarının yas tutma, cenaze merasimi ve ağıt yakmaları ile bunların benzeyen yönleri ortaya konulmuştur.

Çalışmada ilk olarak Manas destanında ölüm kavramında bahsedilmiştir. Destanlar, insanların kültürel belleğini tarihsel derinliklerinden günümüze taşıyan bir kültür varlığıdır. Sadece Türk destanında değil, dünya destanında da çok önemli bir yer tutan "Manas" destanı dünyanın en uzun ve yaşayan tek destanıdır. Bu yüzden iyi bir üne sahiptir. "Yas ve defin" adı verilen "Evlilik- Doğum ve Ölüm" gelenek, görenek ve kutlamaları mitler ve İnançlar dünyasıyla doğrudan ilişkilidir. İki türlü ölüm vardır. Birincisi fiziksel ölümdür. İkincisi ise manevi ölüm. Manevi ölümün bir sonucu olarak, kahraman günahlardan arınır, yeniden doğar ve yükümlülüklerini yerine getirmeye devam eder. Ölüm vardır ancak görev gereği yeniden diriliş ve görev tamamlandıktan sonra tekrar dünyadan göçüş de vardır. Böylece ulusal kahramanlar ölümsüzdür. Toplum sıkıntıya düştüğünde, bu sorunla mücadele edilirken bu kahramanların ruhu ortaya çıkar ve mücadele edenlerin yanında savaşır, çoğu zaman düşmanın gözüne görünerek savaşılır.

Ardından cenaze merasiminde bahsedilmiştir. Cenazeden sonra fakirlere yiyecek ve giyecek vermek âdettendir. Günümüzde hem Kırgızlar hem Anadolu'da cenaze evlerinde yemek pişirilir ve gelenlere ikram edilir. Bu yemeğin maliyeti cenaze evine ait olsa bile genellikle akrabalar arasında paylaşılır. Hem Anadolu'da hem Manas destanı içinde hem günümüz Kırgız halkı içinde ölümlerin defnedilmesinin geciktirilmesinin başlıca nedeni, cenazeye uzak akrabaların zamanında katılabilmelerini sağlamaktır.

Daha sonra ağıt yakma merasiminde bahsedilmiştir. Manas destanında olduğu gibi günümüz Kırgızları da ölümlerini kabristana götürmeden önce naaş yakartırlar. Defin

esnasında Kur'an-ı Kerim okunur. Defin öncesi ve sonrasında çadırda kadınlar ağıt yakmaya devam ederler. Her iki kültürde ölümün 3., 7. ve 40. günlerinde ölenin ruhu için Kur'an-ı Kerim okutulur. Kırgızlar'da eğer ölenin akrabaları koşok söylemeyi bilmiyor ise bir koşokçu bulunarak koşok söylenir. Ağıtlar, ölüm hadisesi gerçekleştikten sonra üç gün devam eder. Cenaze gömüldükten sonra eve dönen erkekler görülünce koşok söyleme tekrar başlar.

Anahtar sözcükler: Manas Destanı, Yas Tutma, Ağıt, Ölüm, Kırgız Türkleri

АННОТАЦИЯ

Со смертью, как с физиологическим явлением сталкивается любое живое существо. Любопытство к неизвестному привело к большему размышлению и исследованиям. В связи с этим, смерть оказалась в центре внимания исследователей из многих областей, таких как религия, философия, социология, психология, медицина и литература. Он выступает в качестве основной темы как в тюркских, так и в киргизских эпосах.

В данном исследовании на основе эпоса "Манас" были рассмотрены традиции траура, похорон и причитаний киргизского народа и выявлены сведения о траурных, похоронных обрядах и причитаниях племен авшар, проживающих в Турции и их сходных аспектах.

В исследовании сначала уделяется внимание о понятии смерти, которое является одной из основных мотивов эпоса "Манас". Эпосы – это культурные ценности, несущие культурную память людей из их исторических глубин в настоящее время. Эпос "Манас", занимающий очень важное место не только в тюркском, но и в мировом эпосе, является самым продолжительным и единственным живым эпосом в мире. Исходя из этого, у него хорошая репутация. Традиции, обычаи и празднования "Брака-Рождения и Смерти", именуемые "оплакиванием и погребением", напрямую связаны с миром мифов и верований. Есть два вида смерти. Первая — физическая смерть. Вторая — духовная смерть. В результате духовной смерти герой очищается от грехов, перерождается и продолжает выполнять свои обязанности. Есть смерть, но есть и воскресение из-за долга и снова смерть после выполнения миссии. Таким образом, национальные герои бессмертны. Когда общество в беде, появляется дух этих героев и сражается вместе с воюками из общества для разрешения возникшей проблемы. большую часть времени они сражаются на глазах у врага.

Затем упоминается о церемонии похорон. После похорон принято раздавать еду и одежду беднякам. Сегодня и в Кыргызстане, и в Анатолии после похорон семья умершего человека готовит еду и подаёт гостям. Стоимость этой еды обычно делится между родственниками. Главной причиной отсрочки погребения умерших, как в Анатолии, в эпосе Манас, так и у современных киргизов, было обеспечение присутствие дальних родственников на похоронах.

Позже об этом упоминалось в церемонии плача. Как и в эпосе "Манас", сегодняшние киргизы также омывают тела умерших перед тем, как отнести их на кладбище. Во время погребения читается Коран. До и после погребения женщины продолжают причитать в шатре. В обеих культурах на 3-й, 7-й и 40-й дни смерти Коран читается за душу умершего. У киргизов, если родственники покойного не умеют выплакивать кошок, тогда приглашают знающего. Плач продолжается в течение трех дней после смерти. После погребения возвратившие с кладбища мужчины снова начинается пение кошок.

Ключевые слова: эпос о Манасе, траур, оплакивание, смерть, тюрки-киргизы.

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Introduction

The epics are cultural treasures that carry a nation's cultural memory from the depths of history to the present age.

The Manas Epic is the world's longest and only living epic, not only among Turkish epics but also among world epics. So it also has a well-deserved reputation. The "mourning and funeral ceremonies" within the ceremonies and celebrations such as the "Wedding-Birth-Death" period, called transitional periods, are directly related to the world of mythology and faith.

The emergence of the epics arises from the amalgamation of laments that unfold at the funeral of national heroes somewhere.

In the Epic of Manas, which İnan (1992) has translated, the story of Manas' death gives an extensive insight into the Kyrgyzs' funerals and beliefs. However, in different text publications, we also confront different explanations, even though the applications are the same. The most vivid examples of the tradition of lamenting in Anatolia are found among Avshar tribes living in Adana, Kayseri, and Maraş.

Reichl gives well-presented information (2002: 85-90) about the Manas Epic reviews and resources. However, this information is now obsolete and new publications are required in relation to the matter. Çobanoğlu gives a history of Turkish world epics in his work (2003: 35-39). We hope that this history will be expanded in the second edition of the study.

In our work, the tradition of mourning, funeral, and lamentations of the Kyrgyz people will be scrutinized, based on the Epic of Manas. The obtained information will reveal the mourning, funeral ceremony, lamentation, and the similar aspects of the Avshar boys living in Turkey.

As a method, the source texts were read and the records of the relevant pages were collected under their own headings and then presented by making comparisons.

Death in the Epic of Manas

There are two kinds of deaths. The first is physical death. The second is spiritual death. As a result of spiritual death, the hero is reborn and resumes his mission.

In the Manas epic, there is a belief for the moment of death called the "fate" and the end of life span. That belief is also called "expiry." A man who is expired dies. Kanikey whines to the severely wounded Manas like a camel that has lost its baby: *"Your death has come and can't I see such a thing?"* (İnan, 1992: 69) The belief in expiry or death, which is expressed as *"If human beings live for two thousand years, they will die again, death is the destiny of human beings. If my time has come, I cannot escape from it"* (İnan, 1992: 69) in the words of Konurbay, son of Alevke Khan in the epic, is the expression of Turkish philosophy's understanding of life.

There is death, but there is also resurrection due to duty and death again after the mission is completed. It means that national heroes are immortal. When society is plagued by adversity, the spirit of those heroes is revealed and they fight

alongside those who struggle, often face-to-face against enemies. In some variants of the Manas epic, Manas Kös is poisoned to death by Kaman's son Kökçe-Kös. Kanikey travels to Mecca, interprets a dream he had there, resurrects Manas, and has a child from him (Ögel, 1989: 530). In the Manas variant in Propen, when Er – Kökçe dies, his horse takes his revenge and resurrects him (Ögel, 1995: 587).

The person on his deathbed can also make a will (İnan, 1992: 124). This will is fulfilled due to traditions. Interestingly, Manas wants to see a rehearsal of how the funeral will be held. This means that there is such a tradition in Kyrgyz (İnan, 1992: 129).

The person who is going to die, or one of that person's relatives, dreams of dying. Urumhan's son Gökbörü dreams of Manas' death (İnan, 1992: 126).

The funeral is taken to the deceased's hometown. "*They took his deceased to his hometown*" (Ögel, 1989: 518).

The spirit is thought of as a flying entity and the other world is known as the true homeland. "*His flying spirit had already left and settled in his true home.*" (Ögel, 1989: 518).

The dead are buried in a coffin. "*They put him in a tomb like a heavenly palace,*" "*They made a coffin out of the Karagay tree, they made the coffin gold, they made its outside silver*" (Ögel, 1989: 518). But that is not the general rule. The grave is made according to the social status of the deceased. Manas' tomb was built as a shrine.

Funeral ceremony

At funeral ceremonies and later, giving funeral meals and handing out clothes to the poor were among the customs (Durbilmez, 2003: 164-165 and Durbilmez, 2017: 30).. "*They waited nine days, they cut ninety mares. They took nine layers of gold fabrics, and distributed them to the public,*" "*They waited for sixty days, they cut sixty mares*" (Ögel, 1989: 518) This process is called the "yoğ" ceremony which we find its oldest example in Göktürk Monuments (Orkun, 1987: 31). Therefore, this action is being carried out by all Turkish people.

The dead man's horse is slaughtered to serve him in the other world. Bakay Almambet's horse "Sarıala" is slaughtered and left on his grave (İnan, 1992: 123). Among modern-day Kyrgyzs, they also cook at the funeral home and serve to those who arrive. Although the cost of this meal belongs to the funeral home, it is usually shared among relatives. Seven days after the death, the deceased's clothes are distributed to his relatives. While Manas is on his deathbed, he wants poor, orphaned, and widowed women invited to his funeral and to be fed (Believe, 1992: 126).

The deceased's spouse can get married, under inheritance law, optionally to one of the brothers. This is done exactly in Anatolia. After Manas' death, they want to marry Kanikey to the half-brother of Manas (İnan, 1992: 131). While on his deathbed, Almambet asks his wife Aruke to marry his friend Macik (İnan, 1992: 114).

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The fundamental logic of delaying the burial of the deceased, both in the Manas epic and in the present Kyrgyz people, is to ensure that the distant relatives are brought up to the funeral. If the deceased is a woman, she is placed on the right side of the tent door and the man on the left side, according to the in-tent hierarchy. In Kyrgyz, as in all Siberian people, the right side of the door of the tent is reserved for women and the left side is reserved for men. The right-to-left, left-to-right transition in the tent is not done over or behind the fireplace in the middle.

In today's Kyrgyz, as in the Manas epic, the washing of the dead is done according to Islamic procedures. It is on the same grounds that women do not go to the grave. After the funeral is buried and the men return from the cemetery, water is left in a container on the head side of the place where the dead was lied down for three days. This water is put up in the evening every day for forty days and sprinkled on a wall in the morning. That time may not be exactly forty days. Every day at the funeral house for forty days, but especially on Thursdays, the *koshok* recitation continues, and the women who come for condolence during this time also participate in these *koshoks*. The Qur'an is also recited when *Koshok* is sung. In the Manas epic, "Koyanali" goes to Endican and asks forty sheikhs to perform religious rituals (Inan, 1992: 127).

In modern-day Kyrgyz, religious officials called "moldo" take the dead from his/her bed and lay it on a cloth on the floor. Before the *Moldos* arrive, the deceased is washed, wiped, and cleaned. The cloth used for this job is not rewashed, it is either burned or stored. This cloth is used to treat diseases in later times. The washing job before *Moldos* arrive is the first wash. The dead will then be washed again according to Islamic procedures. The tools and equipment used during this wash, including residual water, are not poured, left, or discarded, but stored or burned.

Lamentation

Zühal Baltaş examined human behavior during the mourning period by dividing it into three parts. These periods;

1. Denial: The deceased is not considered dead.
2. Acceptance: During this time, there is silence.
3. Adaptation: The goodness and memories of the deceased are mentioned (2000: 158).

Lamentations within these periods are formed in stage 3.

Attitudes in the stages of mourning can be listed as follows:

1. Drowsiness and disbelief in the situation.
2. To yearn for him/her,
3. Crying and resentment
 - 3.1. Resentment at the world's cruelty and danger
 - 3.2. Resentment towards the deceased,
 - 3.3. Resentment towards those who caused death, friends of the deceased, and administrators,
4. Feeling guilt and shame,

5. Excess energy
6. Unbalanced emotional behaviors,
7. Explaining each event and situation with the deceased person
8. Physical and other problems (2000: 160)

In the Manas epic, we find the complete stages of the mourning period.

According to the information given by Ali Berat Alptekin, the mourning period and phases of today's Kyrgyz include putting the dead in a tent where he/she is kept waiting for three days. The men then arrive, while mournfully crying. The deceased is a woman if she is on the right side of the door and a man if he is on the left side. The deceased's wife, children, and relatives walk into the tent and sing a lament called the "koshok ırları". Before taking the deceased to the tomb called "Guristan" their clothes are removed and hung in the tent and the corpse is washed. Clothes removed before washing are distributed to the poor after burial. During the burial, the Quran is recited. After the burial, women in the tent continue to lament. In the tent, a horse is slaughtered and cooked and served to guests who arrive. On the 3rd, 7th, and 40th days of the death, the Holy Qur'an is recited for the soul of the deceased. On the anniversary, a horse is slaughtered and a funeral meal is arranged. If the deceased is a man, the wife mourns for a year and wears black clothes. If the deceased is a woman, the husband could be remarried a year later (Alptekin, 1993: 445 and Alptekin, 13 Ağustos, 1993).

In today's Kyrgyz community, if the funeral is inside a tent or a house, the first duty belongs to the women, especially their daughters, sisters, mother, wife, and mother-in-law, respectively. If the deceased's relatives do not know how to recite koshok, a reciter is found and asked to recite. Some things can also be given to this reciter as a gift. There are special mourners, which are called koshok reciters. The mourning also has the name "koshok." The lament continues for three days after the death event has taken place. When the men return home after the deceased is buried, reciting the koshok begins again. Women can't leave the house during the funeral.

After the death event takes place, the women who have come to the funeral home to offer their condolences accompany the reciter of koshok. Meanwhile, women who come for condolences pour water on the hands of funeral-owning women, making them wash their faces. Manas, who has brought Almambet's corpse, is confronted by three girls, who scratch their faces off and lament them. Almambet's wife, Aruke, also laments (Believe, 1992: 122). At the time of Manas' death, Kanikey "sticks his fingernails in his beautiful, papery white face." This movement that is also known as the mourning sign exists also in "Dede Korkut Stories" (Book of Dede Korkut Khan hey, İ. Genç vd, 2014: 620-621) Apart from the facial scratching, scattering the hair, dressing black, and crying out loud are also signs of mourning.

The koshoks are sung in tetrastich and often with an eight-syllable. However, there are also koshoks sung in canto, fifth-stike or couplets. The rhyme scheme is as chansonette as the Avshar tribes in Anatolia. For example, we take here a tetrastich of the koshok of the girl whose mother has died:

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Kün cakka karap çig tutam,
Kün cılgan sayın köz tutam.
Kün cılgan sayın kelbesen,
Küyörüm menen mundaşım
Güyütün tartıp kan cutam.

In the Epic of Manas, we see the lamentations that Manas makes for his friends, Kanıkey for Manas, brides, and daughters for Kökötey Khan, and Bokmurun for his father as exemplary lamentation texts. We give the lamentation of Bokmurun for his father Kökötöy Khan as an example:

BOKMURUN'DUN JIRI (Kyrgyz)

*Jeke maña biyletken
Dünüyöniün teñizin
Akıbet atam ketdiğbi
Aylanıp meni bir körböy
Armanda boydon öttüybü
Akıbet ketken özü eken
Artındağı kalganga
Akır bir nuska çıkarıp*

*Aş berdirmek dartı eken
Babam aytıp ketipdir
Başkaca sonun tamaşa
Barayın emi Manaska*
(Cumakunova, 1995: 97).

BOKMURUN'S LAMENTATION (English)

*You only prevented me
from this world's blessing
Have you gone to the afterlife, my father?
Without returning and seeing me
Did you go by with sadness
You have gone to the afterlife
To those left behind
Giving one last example*

*It was about giving funeral meal.
My father said and left
to completely different kind of theme
let me now go to Manas*

Bokmur's lamentation for his stepfather, Köketey Khan, carries model factors like reproaching the dead father, going to the afterlife, keeping the father's will, stating the will of the dead, leaving the relatives in the world, and the friends of the deceased. The father is the pillar of the house, the owner of the house, the one who takes his children under his wings, who does not look back on them on their way to the other world, who does not think about what will happen to them, who leaves them behind ownerless. Every thoughtless act in the time of the father's existence has now left its place to the responsibility. The father's whole concern is to make them lament or to meet those who have gone before him. But in spite of all the negativity, the father is still loved and tolerated because of the event. There is no shortage of respect, and care is taken to do the works that belong to his memory. The wills to be made for those left behind are fulfilled.

With the above aspects, the lamentations are formed in the eighth verse. The poetic expression, which is also seen in the verses below, in the epic fragment, in which poetic elements such as rhyme and repeated voice are not respected, has a higher value than other verses:

Barayın emi Manaska	<i>Let me now go to Manas</i>
Akır bir nuska çıkarıp	<i>He finally gave me a job</i>
Aylanıp meni bir körböy	<i>He doesn't turn around and see me</i>
Akıbet atam ketdiği	<i>What happened to my father?</i>

In these verses, in general, there is a consistency between the lamentations in Turkish (Altinkaynak, 2015: 178) and Bokmurun's lamentation in style and form, or rather in the mood of those who are left behind after the death.

When Manas was resurrected after his first death, his mother extinguished the fire that burned in the fireplace inside the house (Ögel, 1989: 514-520). We know the sanctity of the fireplace and fire in the old Turkish religion (İnan, 1972: 119; Ögel, 1989: 514). We also know that there is a belief (İnan, 1972: 119) that during the construction of the house and during the construction of the fireplace, sacrifices are made through the called shaman, and various things are thrown as "sachi (gift)" in the fire burned at the cremation process (Eberhard, 1942: 86-87) and that there is a belief that those who disrespect fire are infected with various diseases (İnan, 1972: 119). This means that during the mourning period, a fire was lit as a sign of mourning (Ögel, 1989: 514). Ögel also reports that there are such behaviors during condolences, based on the epic (1989: 518).

In the epic of Manas, men make a lament (İnan, 1992: 102 - 103; 121 - 123). A lament to Çuvak, who was presumed dead, was recited by those in the army and "a valiant like Manas."

We don't have the lyrics, the tunes, and the examples of the music in the Manas epic. We agree with Kayıpov's statement on Kyrgyzs of Van city (2009: 195-203).

Conclusion

The pains decrease as they are shared, and the joys increase as they are shared. The event of death also creates a pathetic situation spontaneously. A number of practices and rituals are performed to alleviate this pathetic situation, to appease those grieving in the face of the tragic event, and to bring them back to society and daily life.

Epics are important sources that carry a nation's practices, rituals, traditions, and feelings that originate from the past and come to this day. When we look at the traditions of death, mourning, and lamentation belonging to the Kyrgyz Turks in the Manas Epic, it is possible to classify the content of the lamentations as follows, and this corresponds exactly with the content of the lamentations recited in Turkey:

1. Deceased (The deceased's heroism, valiantness, horse, attack on the enemy, duty in war, status in society, physical and spiritual description, will, personal belongings, weapons, and armor).
2. Murderer (the portrayal of the killer's tribe, strength, deceit, and wickedness with terrible depiction).

Lamentation (Mourning), Funeral (Burial) Ceremony and Elegy Recitation...

3. What he has left behind (The feeling of revenge of those left behind, their weakness, the predicament they have fallen into or will fall into, the need to hold oneself responsible for the death of the deceased, reproach the fate – to the world – to the friends of the deceased, and their will to die with the deceased).
4. The comrades-in-arms of the deceased (finding the causes of death in themselves and blaming themselves, being ashamed that they could not find words to say to those left behind by the deceased, the revenge of the deceased that was taken or will definitely be taken).
5. The Horse of the Deceased. (Praise for the horse of the deceased, the color and name of the horse, the horse fighting along with the deceased, not handing over the deceased to the enemy, bringing the deceased to his home, accompanying the deceased in the afterlife).
6. Death and the place of death (What death is, philosophical thoughts of people left behind on death, the appearance of death in a dream. A description of the place where the death event took place).
7. The otherworld and souls (Reuniting the deceased with his friends who died before him, merging with souls).
8. Those who came to the funeral ceremony (The names of the people who attended the funeral ceremony, their tribes, the people who are jealous of the deceased or those who intended to do evil to those who would be left behind, the people who came to the funeral showing signs of mourning, crying, and reciting *koshoks*).

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