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A. T. Hatto

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KUKOTAY AND BOK MURUN: A COMPARISON OF TWO RELATED HEROIC POEMS OF THE KIRGIZ—II¹

By A. T. HATTO

Kukotay (*K*) and *Bok Murun* (*BM*) have epithets and formulae of greater or lesser elaborateness in common. Some of the more interesting of these will be adduced and compared, as will some of the more interesting discrepancies between *K* and *BM* on the way, since they throw light on the nature of their common source and of the Kirgiz epic tradition.

Although the total impressions of Manas's person and presence given by *K* and *BM* are similar, the only epithet they share is the very general *baatır* 'warrior', 'hero'.² They also agree that Manas is the son of Yakub/Ĵakup.³ *K* presents Manas as 'young', 'just beginning to distinguish himself';⁴ indeed there is a formula 'in his twelfth year he loosed [his first] arrow, in his thirteenth he defeated and plundered a people',⁵ which is varied and extended to his fifteenth year in another passage with the shift—so typical of oral poetry—that the feat attributed to the thirteenth year in the former is given to the fourteenth in the latter, while the fifteenth makes him ruler of a mighty people—of which people is not stated, though it cannot be the Nogay.⁶ Without being precise, *BM* seems to present Manas as no longer quite so young. 77 *könüminän erkä öskön* implies that he has grown to manhood in a society in which all men are warriors and more or less heroes: and whereas *BM* confirms *er* [ér] in *erkä* by frequently bestowing the title 'Er' on Manas,⁷ *K* never prefixes 'Ir-' to his name,⁸ despite his heroic exploits, but instead gives him the epithet 'young'.⁹ The formula 'in his twelfth year . . .' has no parallel in *BM*, but appropriately it has one in Radlov's 'Birth of Manas' at 153 *on jaşında ok atkan, / on törtünö çikkanda, / ordo çaikan kan bolgon*.¹⁰ In *BM*, Manas is nevertheless young enough to share the epithet *tentäk* 'Hothead' with Bok Murun.¹¹ A curious epithet in *K* refers to Manas as one who grew fat in Andizhan by gnawing ripe apples of that city.¹² This, as I have suggested elsewhere, must have come to him from his mother, who, according to Sagymbay's version of his conception, ate a sweet apple large as a bowl so that her belly was filled, i.e. swelled (7, 22 *ayaktay bolgon ak alma, / abdan şirin bal*

¹ For part I, see *BSOAS*, xxxii, 2, 1969, 344–78.

² *K*, 294, 1; *BM*, 1958.

³ *K*, 291, 8; *BM*, 79.

⁴ 291, 8.

⁵ 291, 7.

⁶ 298, 11 f.

⁷ e.g. 75 *kandü tügan Er Manas* 'blood-born Er Manas', see below, p. 554.

⁸ cf. 'Ir-Kosay' in Valikhanov's transcription.

⁹ 291, 8; 298, 11.

¹⁰ 'In his tenth year he shot [his first] arrow, on reaching his fourteenth he became a palace-destroying khan'. Manas's genealogy in this short poem, which I have elsewhere named 'R', differs from that of *K*, and it therefore belonged to a different tradition. The formula is thus clearly a migratory motif.

¹¹ See below, p. 547 f.

¹² 291, 5 = 292, 7 (though not in identical words).

alma, / *alma* *ŷer iči toluptur* . . .).¹³ The misattribution of the epithet could easily have arisen from a modal expression in the Kirgiz with or without the genderless possessed affix ('grew fat from someone's having eaten an apple . . .'). Apart from these epithets, which would seem to associate Manas with Andizhan through his mother, *K* in a speech of Bok Murun's names Manas a 'Sart' (townsman) of Samarkand (292, 29). Like all mountain peoples, the Kirgiz normally regard the town-dwelling plainsmen with contempt, and there is reason to think that Bok Murun is expressing contempt for Manas here since he is disclaiming that he will go to Manas for the Great Feast of Kōkötöy as he was instructed to do in that Khan's 'Behest'. Contempt for Manas was no doubt safe at such a distance, presumably in Uch-Turfan:¹⁴ but in all his factual dealings with Manas through intermediaries Bok Murun in *K* shows great respect towards him. The only epithet in *BM* that localizes Manas is at 1834: *Čatkaldagı Manaska / čabūldu koyormun* 'I shall deliver an attack on Manas of the Chatkal region', that is the Chatkal river and valley below the Chatkal Range, 150 km. north of Andizhan. That this is the or at least a 'domestic' locality of Manas is indicated by Joloy's last boast. When he has run Manas to ground he will seize by her white wrist Manas's wife Kanikey: 1836 *aıttırıp kalıñ berdirgān / Kan balası Kanıkāi / ač bilāktān alarmin*.¹⁵ The same general region is implied elsewhere in *BM* when Manas sends a message to his armourer Tökör who is with Jakıp on the Talas.¹⁶ This mountainous milieu is in keeping with the setting in which Manas first receives Bok Murun's invitation: he is playing chess with Alman Bet at the source of the Ulu Kamyr.¹⁷ An epithet in *K* runs 'he who drives cattle over high mountains'.¹⁸ Mountainous features occur in epithets and similes for Manas in *BM*—see the discussion of the *Jölönüş*-epithet below,¹⁹ and also Valikhanov's report of a Manas-simile involving the precipitous Tiek-Tash.²⁰ There can be no doubt but that the Kirgiz conceived of Manas as a man of the mountains like themselves. Indeed, like them he is anti-Sart: v, 1, (3), 382 *Sarttın jurtun sapıramın* 'I shall scatter the Sart people', he says. Bok Murun's abusive allegation that Manas is a Sart can thus rest at most on passing episodes in Manas's career (leaving aside the misapplied epithet of the apples of Andizhan).²¹

K and *BM* convey a similar impression of Manas's formidable aspect whilst

¹³ cf. my article 'The birth of Manas', *Asia Major*, NS, xiv, 2, 1969.

¹⁴ See part 1 of this article, *BSOAS*, xxxii, 2, 1969.

¹⁵ As Radlov translates it, it could be a chance encounter on the Chatkal: 'Am Tschatkal will ich Manas einen guten Kampf bereiten'. Under *ač* 11, Yudakhin, *Slovar*', renders *ač bilek* as 'sil'naya ruka'; under *bilek* he lists the collocation *ak bilek* 'beloruchka'. Reference to *ač* 1 2 'svetly' would give 'gleaming (fore)arms'. The emphasis is on Kanikey's beauty as a prize, not on her strength as a fighting-woman, cf. *BM*, 58 (cited in pt. 1, p. 352), which assures *ač* against *ak*. *K* in a parallel passage has *belye ruki*, *ibid*.

¹⁶ See below, p. 566 f.

¹⁷ *BM*, 277.

¹⁸ 291, 10.

¹⁹ pp. 544 ff.

²⁰ Part 1, 356.

²¹ *BM* also has a passage in which Bok Murun voices ineffective resentment towards Manas: 249 'If the Hothead comes he will create public disorder; if he wants to come, let him, if not, so be it!'

using formulae differing from each other's. In *K*, Manas's brows are knit, his face is cold, his blood black but his body pale, his belly mottled, his backbone blue-black, his stature tall.²² His blue-black backbone (*khrebet siniy*, 291, 12) is probably to be taken together with 'he is like a blue-black maned bristling hyena' (on *podoben sinegrivoy shchetinistoy giene*, 291, 14). The fact that in a quotation in an essay written in 1860 Valikhanov gives the noun in the lost Kirgiz original of *K* as 'wolf' (on *podoben sinegrivomu volku*),²³ not hyena, very strongly suggests that there was no noun in the original and that we have to do here with the prominent heroic epithet *kökjal* 'Blue-mane' i.e. 'wolf', also known from other Turkic traditions.²⁴ Thus Valikhanov has 'wolf' correctly in 1860 and 'hyena' erroneously in *K* in 1861 or later.²⁵ *kökjal* does not occur in *BM*, though *börü* 'wolf' does;²⁶ but one of the bards of the group of poems to which *BM* belongs knows it, cf. *kökjal döböt börüdöi*, standing for Alman Bet, where *döböt* 'male' before *börü-* recalls *ärkäk* 'male' before *böri* in the *Oguz-name*.²⁷ Black blood in *K* is a commonplace in Radlov's texts, above all for Alman Bet (whose lice are blue).²⁸ In *BM*, Manas's formidable aspect is conjured up by means of the following epithets:

66 *Tokoido ayu bettängän,*
belästä jolbors baştangan,
čayan köstü čap jäktü
teskäi jakka kıstagan,
enädän jaŋı tüšköndö,
koi böründai kara kan
oŋ koluna uştagan,
kabaŋı bık, kaşı bas,
kösü kızıl öŋü sas
kandü tūgan Er Manas,
köloködö kōn öskön,
kōnü-minän erkä öskön,
aşıktü jilik jotosu . . .

'His face like that of the bear in the forest, his head like that of the tiger on mountain-spur, scorpion-eyed, strong-jawed, he that winters on the sunless northern slopes, who, as he descended from his mother's womb, clutched in his right hand a clot of black blood as large as a sheep's liver, his eyelids high, his brows low, his eyes red, his visage sallow, bloody-born Er Manas, having grown up in the shadows, grown to manly courage, endowed with mighty thigh-bones . . .'

²² 291, 11 ff.

²³ 'Očerki Dzhungarii', written in 1860, *Sobranie sochineniy*, I, 421, 3.

²⁴ cf. *Oguz-name*, 16, 5 f. *kök-jallug bädük bir ärkäk böri*.

²⁵ On the date of *K* (i.e. the text of the extant translation, not the lost original), see part I, 344. Since 1860, Valikhanov may have met the Manas-epithet 'Hyena'.

²⁶ See pp. 544 ff., below, and n. 42.

²⁷ Radlov, v, I, (3), 358; cf. *Oguz-name*, 16, 5 quoted in n. 24, above.

²⁸ v, I, (2), 1790; (5), 1056.

Radlov's text at 67 *belästai* has to be emended to *belästä*: (i) it is parallel as a locative to *tokoido* at 66; (ii) cf. the parallel passage *BM*, 910 *belästä jolbors baştangan*, with 909 and 911 = 66 and 68. Radlov not only failed to collate, but his translation also has serious errors.²⁹ Manas's birth with a blood-clot in his hand (narrated at length by Sagymbay) implies world-conquest, as with Činggis; ³⁰ it is taken up again in the stereotype l. 75 *kandū tūgan Er Manas* 'born having, i.e. holding blood'. The element 71 *koi bōrındai kara kan*, here attached to the birth, recurs twice in *BM* in the totally different context of Alman Bet's battle-wounds (1577: 2103, cf. (5), 2168). 76 *kölöködö kōn öskōn* may well refer to the same motif as provided the following line of Radlov's 'Birth of Manas' recorded from a different tribe: *Manas kabak jerdän buguldu* 'Manas was concealed in a hollow (secluded place)'.³¹ In other passages the epithet *kabulan tūgan* 'tiger-born' is applied to Manas, though it is not exclusively his (275; 477 etc.; cf. 496—Koşoy): Sagymbay converts this traditional epithet into narrative, too.³²

But the most complex of all these animal epithets concerns the Wolf.

In *BM* there are four occurrences of an epithet for a hero that link a geographical feature with the symbol of the Wolf (530; 590; 676; 1080); and there are several instances of its use in other of Radlov's recordings from the same school of bards (e.g. v, 1, (3), 358; 1709). In *BM* the formula is fundamentally

*Jölönüş tö kerisi,
busurmandın börüsü . . .*

'Lofty green slope of "Mount Jölönüş", Wolf of the Muslims . . . '.

In his translations Radlov did not collate the various occurrences and he got the sense wrong after getting it right.³³ In all four instances in *BM*, the epithet refers to Manas. At 676 *bistin* 'our' is introduced (*bistin Jölönüş tö kerisi*); and at 1080 *sarı* occurs (*Jölönüş sarı keräsi*).³⁴ It would be possible to accommodate *sarı* as 'yellow', indicating a seasonal change on the 'high green slope' (*keri*), but this is challenged by v, 1, (3), 358, which has *sarida*:

*kök jal döböt börüdöi
Jölönüş sarıda keredä
Alman Bet aidap jüröt :*

²⁹ 66 ff., 'Der im Wald mit Bären kämpft, Der da anfällt wilde Tiger . . . '.

³⁰ See 'The birth of Manas', loc. cit.

³¹ Radlov, v, 1, (1), 63.

³² See 'The birth of Manas', 233 ff.

³³ 530: 'Er, der Fuss des Jölönüşch Berg's, Er, der Wolf von allen Moslim, Manas . . . ' (correct, except that *keri* 1 = *kerüü* 1 = 'summit' or 'green slope of high mountain'); similarly 590 'Du [Manas], der Fuss des Jölönüşch [!], Du der Wolf der Muselmane'; and 676 'Unser [Bistin] Fuss des Jölönüşch Berg's, Unser Wolf der Muselmane, Held Manas . . . '; but at 1080 (Kök Koyan speaking) 'Hier am Fusse des Jölönüşch, ich, der Wolf der Muselmane . . . ' 'Hier am Fusse' and 'ich' are of course wrong: Kök Koyan is really apostrophizing Manas, to whom the epithet applies.

³⁴ Radlov thus. He therefore vacillates between *keri* and *kerä*, only the former of which is supported by Yudakhin's *Slovar*.

Radlov renders : ' Wie der grimme Wolf mit blauer Mähne, / Auf des Jölönüsch Berg's Pfade / Trieb die Heerde Alman Bet '. Radlov thus appears to take *sarı* in *sarıda* as absolute for *sarı ʃol* ' caravan- or cattle-track ' ; but Yudakhin does not cite an absolute *sarı* with this meaning. There are grounds for thinking that Radlov ' emended ' the text to suit his rationalization of this strange epithet, which faced him here at 1, (3), 358 for the first time. The whole passage is built up on parallel similes, making a regular use of the particle *-dai* ' like '. The lines which precede 1, (3), 358 ff. are :

353 *Aikırganı jolborstoi*
Ayu Bai jılkını kúp jüröt,
Bos Adır tönun seyrıdäi
üstündö kudai teyrıdäi
Alman Bet jılkını aidap jüröt,

Thus there is a grouping of ll. 353-4, 355-7, 358-60 : (retaining Radlov's punctuation). First comes the simile, then the subject, object, and verb. Clearly the pattern requires *kerädäi* [read *kerıdäi*] for *kerädä*. Not observing that *Jölönüş sarı* [*da*] *keri* was, in epic Kirgiz, an epithet parallel and equivalent to *kök ʃal döböt börüdöi* in the preceding line, Radlov made *sarı kerädäi* the place on which his wolf was prowling, and, ruining the pattern, ' emended ' *kerädäi* to *kerädä*. Further, in view of *sarı keräsi* at *BM* 1080, he is under suspicion of having changed *sarı* to *sarıda*, a suspicion which is strengthened by a couplet with the similes reversed in a later section of this group of poems by the same bardic school at (3), 1709 f. (Manas speaking) :

Jölönüş Sarı kerıdäi ³⁵
kök ʃal töböt börüdäi ³⁶
Alman Bet kalsacı !

Radlov's attempt to put solid ground under the Wolf's feet is all the more surprising in that at 355 *Bos Adır tönun seyrıdäi* he had accepted a geographical feature as the basis for a simile for Alman Bet, translating thus : ' Gleich dem Vorsprung des Bos Adır '. *seyrır*, incidentally, is a near-synonym of *keri* ; it means ' high grass-covered mountain-crest '. Working under pressure, Radlov never looked back.

A new element, however, has entered the discussion of this wolvisch epithet. Lines (3), 358 and 1710 have not the ' Wolf of the Muslims ', a metaphor, but the famous *kök ʃal* ' blue-maned ' with *börü-döi*, marking a simile. The basic symbol of the Wolf occurs in two different aspects : on the one hand with ' Blue-mane ', going back to pagan times ; on the other nicely adapted to suit pious taste as the ' Wolf of the Muslims '. One is therefore tempted to think that the simile *kök ʃal döböt börüdöi* preceded the metaphor *busurmandın börüsü*.

³⁵ Radlov now capitalizes *Sarı*. His text also reads : *Jölönüş. At Köskaman, 2500 f., jölönüş sarı ker ekän/kök ʃal töböt börü ekän*, Radlov renders : ' Ist ein mächtig gelbes Ross, ist ein Wolf mit blauer Mähne '. Here Radlov seems to have ' emended ' to *ker* ' dark bay (of animal's coat) '. He obviously failed to recognize the couplet.

³⁶ Radlov *börüdäi* ; cf. 358 *börüdöi*,

A further exploitation of the underlying symbol by a bard of the same school raises new problems (v, I, (5), 1056 ff.):

kara kandū kök bittü
jölönüş sarı Alman Bet,
kara kandū kök bittü
kök jal töbö Alman Bet

Radlov: 'Schwarz von Blut mit blauen Läusen, Alman Bet, der Bergegleiche, Schwarz von Blut mit blauen Läusen, Alman Bet der Hügelgleiche...'. In view of (3), 358 *kök jal döböt börüdöi* and (3), 1710 *kök jal töböt börüdäi*, (5), 1059 (*kök jal*) *töbö* 'hill' above is under suspicion of having been 'emended' from *töböt* 'male' to make 'Hügelgleiche' in order to balance 'Bergegleiche' from *jölönüş* 'small slope', 'low eminence'—with the complete suppression of *kök jal* at (5), 1059! But if one had seen no other contexts and if *jölönüş* (instead of *Jölönüş*) is correct, *jölönüş sarı Alman Bet* and *kök jal töböt Alman Bet*³⁷ would balance each other as 'the Kite of the Hills, Alman Bet' and 'the Blue-maned He-Wolf, Alman Bet', taking *sarı* as *sar-ı* from *sar ıı* '(black) kite'—which is excellent style. On the other hand it is poor epic style to liken heroes to low eminences (*jölönüş*; *töbö*) and above all in mountainous Kirgizia, in whose poetry such epithets as *tooday* 'huge as a mountain' are of the commonest.

An emended *kök jal töböt* for (5), 1059 accords well with the same phrase at (3), 358 and 1710: but *jölönüş sarı* 'Kite of the Hills' challenges (3), 359 *Jölönüş sarıda kerädäi* (as emended above) and 1709 *Jölönüş sarı keridäi*.

Epithets in heroic poetry begin by being apt. As time passes the language and even the poetic style which they encapsulate tend to become archaic and so obscure. The less understood they become, the more exposed they are to reinterpretation, which in turn accelerates their disintegration. It has long been known, for example, that the Homeric bards and rhapsodes must have been puzzled by some of the formulae they inherited. Applying this knowledge to the present case one obtains the following evolutionary sequence:

I *jölönüş sarı Alman Bet* 'Kite of the Hills', balancing the other predator according to the requirements of the parallelistic technique:³⁸ *kök jal döböt* [*Alman Bet*]. A metaphor.

II *jölönüş sarı keridei* / [*Alman Bet*] 'like the yellowing (high, and, in spring, green) slopes of the (low) hill', reinterpreting *sarı* as 'yellow' and introducing an inconsistency between 'green slope of a high mountain' and 'low eminence', and also between 'green' and 'yellow'. A simile.

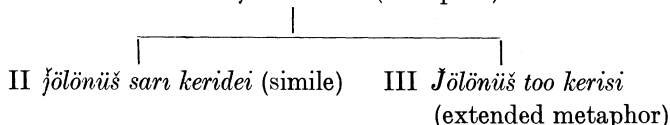
³⁷ There is a shamanistic atmosphere in these images of a predator of the skies and a predator of the plains, linked: cf. the self-projections of Volkh Vseslav'evich as a bright falcon of the sky and grey wolf of the land in the Russian *bylina* that bears his name (*Sbornik Kirshi Danilova*, vi). The series is 'correctly' completed by the pike of the water (cf. the *bylina* of Vol'ga and Mikula: *shchukoy-ryboyu khodit' emu v glubokikh moryakh*, / *ptitsy-sokolom letat' pod oboloka*, / *serym volkom ryskat' vo chistykh polyakh*); but SKD completes it with a discrepant non-predator—a *dun aurochs* with golden horns! In the 'Raid of Igor', Vseslav ranges as a wolf.

³⁸ cf. part I, 346.

III *Ĵölönüş too kerisi* [Manas] 'the high green slope of Mount Ĵölönüş', introducing *too* 'mountain' to gain height for both *keri* and the great Manas (cf. (3), 369 *tōdai Manas*), to whom the epithet is now transferred. To offset this gain there is loss: a mountain with an unconvincing name which means 'hill'. I have failed to trace a toponym '*Ĵölönüş*'; but *a priori* I doubt whether it exists. If there is one, there will be hundreds: ³⁹ and none is likely to be the name of a mountain.

If this evolutionary sequence is acceptable, several further conclusions are possible: (i) the parallelistic epithet 'Kite of the Hills'—'Blue-maned He-Wolf' was applied to Alman Bet before it was appropriated for Manas, whom it suited less well than Alman Bet, a figure who in the nineteenth-century material is conceived of as an eastern heathen converted to Islam by Er Kökčö; ⁴⁰ (ii) in the phrase *Ĵölönüş sarı Alman Bet*, *sarı* could have been taken adjectivally as 'yellow', thus starting or consolidating a tradition that Alman Bet was Chinese, in which case *Ĵölönüş* would have had to become a self-contained metaphor, forerunner of the specific—and imaginary?—metaphor *Ĵölönüş too* of stage III, compare the topographical simile (3), 355 *Bos Adır tönun seyridäi* 'like the lofty green crest of Bozadır'; (iii) that on being applied to Manas, the epithet was appropriately Islamized; (iv) that in view of Alman Bet's control over the weather and other shamanistic features, the bird-animal epithet suited him well yet tended to disintegrate the more he was drawn into the progressively Islamized *Manas*-cycle and subordinated to his ritual 'foster-brother' Manas; ⁴¹ (v) that the sequence

I *Ĵölönüş sarı* (metaphor)



agrees with the notion that in oral heroic poetry metaphor precedes simile; (vi) that *BM*, all of whose occurrences of this Wolf-epithet are in form III and applied to Manas, shows also in this respect an advanced stage of assimilation to the *Manas*-cycle.

Another Wolf-epithet occurs thrice in *BM*, attached to Manas:

börü köstü kû murut,
kablan tūgan Er Manas ⁴²

'Wolf-eyed, white-whiskered, tiger-born Er Manas'. ⁴³

Other epithets of Manas are: *tentäk* 'Hothead', 'Madcap'. This may

³⁹ As with *Sarı-bulak* 'Yellow Stream', cf. part I, 360.

⁴⁰ v, I, (2), 66 ff.

⁴¹ Manas and Alman Bet become 'foster-brothers' in their young manhood: the withered breasts of Manas's mother Čakan marvellously flow again with milk so that she can suckle both (v, I, (2), 1846 ff.).

⁴² 995; 1286; 1293. At 995, Radlov omits the length-mark on *kû*, but has it at 1286 and 1293.

⁴³ At 995, Radlov unaccountably applies the first part of the formula to Koşoy: 'Kan Manas, der Tigergleiche, Zum Wolfäug'gen, zum graubärtigen, [sic comma] Helden Koschoy...'. At 1286 and 1293 he correctly attributes the couplet to Manas.

occur alone, and even in reciprocal extra-metrical apostrophes at the ends of lines, repeated, as in the remarkable exchange discussed below ⁴⁴ between Manas and his armourer Tökör, whose corresponding apostrophic title is *darkan* 'artificer' (honorific).⁴⁵ *tentäk* may also be preceded by the epithets *asul tügan* 'nobly born' (245) and *kabılan tügan* (287) or even by *kabılan* (456). *tentäk* is not exclusively the epithet of Manas, since Bok Murun, another young warrior, also bears it (526; 588), so that it is amusing at 826 to see him addressing Manas with the very words which old Koşoy had addressed to him (526; 588): *Akai tentäk tura tur!* 'Hold hard, Hothead!' *tentäk* is thus clearly an epithet appropriate to high-spirited young warriors. It seems that Sagymbay accounts for Manas the *tentäk* in his usual 'epic' manner by means of the story that Manas's mother had the heart of a mare which had died of a gyrating disease foisted on her, together with a genuine tiger's heart, to make a soup when she was pregnant.⁴⁶ *čikanaktai* 'tiny' (literally 'ell-long') is used not in order to dwarf the mighty Manas but to suggest the gigantic proportions of Joloy and his family, who utter it (once before 'Er Manas' 1798; thrice before *uruk kul* 'thief', i.e. 'cattle-thief', 1810, 1881, 1887; and once before the epithet *kan-kor*, 1916). *kan-kor* is problematic. *kankor* II = 'young warrior' and is frequently confused with *kankor* I 'bloodthirsty, blood-spiller', cf. Mongol *khongor*.⁴⁷ *kan-kor* is of infrequent occurrence in Radlov's texts.⁴⁸ On the other hand it suited the purposes of the twentieth-century bards to play *kankor* up with an emphasis on its bloodthirsty aspects.

The initial presentation of Manas in *BM* at 66–78 (as also elsewhere in the poem) is therefore rich in characterization through epithets. Before we leave these, it will help to focus them if we briefly compare a similar passage in another poem from the same school, v, I, (5), *Kös Kaman*, 802 ff. Manas's wife Kanikey, fearful for the fate of her lord, addresses Alman Bet at length in lines with the repeated extra-metrical apostrophe *ül* 'son'. *kaira tartıp keldiñbi, ül?* 'Have you returned, my son?' she asks. She then delivers a string of epithets (most of which are already known to the reader from *BM*, 65 ff.):

(5), 803 *kabılanım ai jarkın, ül,*
tokoido ayu bettängän, ül,
belästä jolbors baştangan, ül,
teskäi jakka kıştagan, ül,
koi bōrındai kara kan, ül,
oñ kolunan uştagan, ül,
Köt jagınan karasañ, ül,
kırk kişinin çamı bar, ül,
bet jagınan karasañ, ül,
beş aidar tügü bar, ül,
kabılanım ai jarkın, ül,
kan töröm amambı, ül?

⁴⁴ pp. 566 ff.

⁴⁵ See below, p. 568 and n. 147.

⁴⁶ See 'The birth of Manas', 234.

⁴⁷ Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, s.v.

⁴⁸ It occurs once only in *BM*.

‘My Tiger, dazzling radiance, O son, [his] face like that of the bear in the forest, O son, [his] head like that of the tiger on the mountain-spur, O son, [he] that winters on the sunless northern slope, O son, who clutched in his right hand, O son, a clot of black blood large as a sheep’s liver, O son, if you look behind him, O son, there is the dust of forty men, O son, if you look ahead, O son, there are the five [different sorts of cattle-] coats, O son, my Tiger, dazzling radiance, O son, is my lord Khan safe and sound, O son?’

Although his text is impeccable here, Radlov has not understood the situation. Despite the parallels with *BM*, 65 ff., despite 808 *kolunan* ‘in his (3rd pers.) hand’, and despite the absence of the 2nd pers. possess. particle, Radlov attributed at least the first of these epithets not to Kanikey’s adored Manas but to Alman Bet: ‘Du, mein Tiger, glänzend bist du, Sohn, Der im Walde du den Tiger angriffst,⁴⁹ Sohn, Auf dem Hügel auch den Bars zwangst,⁵⁰ Sohn’—and then with a shift to the 3rd pers. ‘Der im Schatten überwintert, Sohn...’—and then back again to the 2nd pers. apostrophe ‘O mein Tiger, Mondesglanz, O Sohn, Ist mein Fürst bei gutem Wohlsein, Sohn?’ The 2nd pers. at 809 *karasay* of course does not justify the attribution to Alman Bet, since the expression is impersonal: ‘... that man because of whom, if one looks behind, one sees the dust of forty men...’. Radlov renders *kirk kišinin* as ‘von vierzig Leuten’: but these ‘forty people’ are the *kirk čoro*, the Forty Companions of Manas, of whom Kanikey’s interlocutor Alman Bet is but one, recognition of which fact would have prevented Radlov’s errors. 812 *beš aidar tügü bar* is rendered by Radlov as ‘Siehst du aber die fünf Schweife, Sohn’: but the number ‘five’ is as little arbitrary as ‘forty’ at 810. *aydar* 1 = ‘hair’, ‘coat’ (of animals) and *tük* 1 2 = ‘coat’ (of animals) and in a transferred sense 3 ‘cattle’. There can be little doubt but that in *beš aidar tügü* we have a variant of the stock phrase *beš tülük* standing for the five different sorts of domesticated cattle: horses, large horned beasts, camels, sheep, and goats.⁵¹ Thus in the quatrain 809 ff. Manas is conceived of as the leader of his ‘Forty’ on a successful cattle-raid. Alman Bet shares some epithets with his foster-brother Manas, but this grand cluster is proper to Manas alone and especially, so one would think, when his admiring wife Kanikey is the speaker.

Turning to Er Košoy, we note a more specific verbal correspondence among the epithets in *K* and *BM*. After the death of Kōkötöy, who reached the age of 199 in *K* (289, 31), Košoy is ‘the father of the people’ (299, 20; cf. 289, 5 of Kōkötöy) and ‘the oldest among the people’ (299, 25 etc.): cf. *BM*, *jurt karısı* (814 etc.). An epithet concerned with the collar on a robe may also have occurred in the ‘source’, since echoes of it occur in both

⁴⁹ Apart from the lexical error with *bettängän* (see p. 544, n. 29, above), Radlov has made a slip over *ayu* ‘bear’.

⁵⁰ For *baštangan* see p. 543, above.

⁵¹ cf. Yudakhin, op. cit., sub *tülük*.

K and *BM*. At *K*, 299, 28, as one of a series of epithets, there is (Yash Aydar speaking):

podobnyy vorotniku khalata,
*podkove podobnyy Koshay . . .*⁵²

'like the collar of a robe, like a horse-shoe Košoy'. Cf. *BM*, 534 ff. (Manas speaking):

Andai debä Kan Košoi aba,
tondun jakasın türüp
etäginän kiyäbi?
agası ailda turup
inäsi işin biläbi?

'Do not say so, venerable Khan Košoy. Turning up the collar of one's cloak, does one put it on by the skirt? When the elder brother is in the house, shall the younger brother say what is to be done?'

In *BM*, Manas is saying that Košoy as the senior must arrange the funeral horse-race: the idea of the collar and cloak is used dynamically and in a rather far-fetched way; whereas in *K*, Yash Aydar uses the epithet statically, as epithets are for the most part used in *K*.⁵³ The general idea seems to hang over both passages that old Košoy is associated with what is right and proper. In *K* he 'fits' like the collar on a cloak, or the shoe on a horse's hoof; in *BM* he is the 'right person' to direct the games. (Yet, typically for *BM*, it is Manas who does so in the event.) This does not suffice for a reconstruction of the epithet; nor does what must be a reminiscence of the same epithet in the disordered Kazakh tale of *Er Kökšü*, part prose, part verse. Here, Kosai is the son of Kökšü, Khan of the Ten Nogay. To a maiden whom he is wooing, he gives a silken coat. The maiden asks 'When will you come back?' The young man answers: 'When the collar of the coat has become like (i.e. as small as) a thimble'.⁵⁴ The motif is not taken up in the sequel.

It is also possible that the lost 'collar' epithet may have had some connexion with the notion that Košoy lived at the 'edge' or 'fringe' of the people (*BM*, 1099; 1649 *el četinä Košoi bar*, see p. 558 f., below) since *žaka* 3 and *čet* overlap in meaning. A proverbial expression must also be allowed for.

Three bards, two of them Kirgiz, one a Kazakh, representing diverse branches of tradition during the 1860's, knew that Košoy, young or old, had something to do with the collar of a robe. The memory of it was loosely held by a disintegrating epithet. Each felt obliged by tradition to allude to it, and each did the best he could for it.

Košoy has a grand epithet, too, a purple patch that was evidently learned by heart. An attempt to reconstruct it in its 'ideal' form from extant material in *K*, *BM*, and other poems recorded by Radlov, seemed to demand two quatrains, each subdivided and varied by the parallelistic technique and with

⁵² The arrangement as verse is the writer's: Valikhanov set it as prose.

⁵³ See p. 565, below.

⁵⁴ *žapanın žagazınan oimaktai kalğanda kelärmin*, Radlov, *Obraztsy*, III, 1870, 95.

a predominance of alliteration within the line. Where a line of the postulated purple patch is supported by the tradition I give it with some argument below. In this way the reader can make up his mind as to its validity at sight without being taken through the laborious process of 'reconstruction'. English has been misused in order to suggest the content of lines of Kirgiz individually.

1. Of fortified Beiĭn
2. Er Koşoy opened the Gates ;
3. Of the [i.e. its] Palace
4. Er Koşoy :
5. Of Turfan
6. Er Koşoy opened up the way ;
7. Of the [i.e. its] restricted market
8. Er Koşoy . . . gave new life.

The structure of the epithet in its ideal form would seem to have been : first the fortified city of Beiĭn (Pekin) and its Palace ; then the caravanserai town of Turfan and its market.

Line 1: *BM*, 27; 473; 1003; Radlov, v, II (*Joloi-kan*), 4837 *bekip kalgan beiştin*; cf. v, I, (2), 394 *bekip bir kalgan beiştin*.

Line 2: *BM*, 28; 474; 1004; I, (2), 395; II, 4838 *eşigin açkan Er Koşoi*.

Lines 1 and 2: *K*, 296, 12 *k Ir-Kosayu kotory otkryl zapretnye dveri v raye*. Accepting *beiştin* (i.e. *beyiş-tin*) at its face value 'of Paradise', one notes that Radlov ('geschlossen', 'verschlossen') has missed the correct shade of meaning of *bekip* on the two occasions when he actually translates it. *beki-* means primarily 'strengthen', 'fortify'; the meaning 'bar', 'shut off', 'shut' is only secondary. *beiş* 'Paradise' is not congruent with 'Turfan', or with *sarai* 'court', 'palace', or with *bazar* 'market': nor is it consonant with Koşoy, who although he came to be associated in poetry with a holy war against the Manchu,⁵⁵ has no other specifically religious associations. Under *beiştin* (genit.) a parallel to 'Turfan' must be sought. Geographically, Bei-tin, north-west of Turfan, would suit well: but it is inconceivable that Kirgiz tradition should have preserved over so many centuries the old Chinese name of Beshbalk, the ruins of which lie east of the present Urumchi.⁵⁶ This leaves Beiĭn 'Pekin', which is nearer phonetically to *beiştin* and agrees particularly well with *sarai* 'palace'. It is more likely to have been in the explicitly genitival form *Beiĭndin* than the implicit genitival form *Beiĭn*. In *K*, Valikhanov relates the participial *zapretnye* 'forbidden' not to *ray* 'Paradise', (*contra* all the extant Kirgiz passages) but to *dveri* 'doors' (N.B. not 'gates'). *zapretnye* (ed. of 1961) is even further from *bekip* (which owing to the alliteration with *beiş* we can assume Valikhanov to have had before him) than is Radlov's 'geschlossen': but the edition of 1958 prints *zapertye* 'locked', which is nearer.⁵⁷ *eşigin*, acc.

⁵⁵ See pp. 554 ff., below.

⁵⁶ See 'Bishballık' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second ed.

⁵⁷ Once again, one cannot feel quite certain that the edition of 1961, for all its painstaking attentions to Valikhanov's writings, gives what Valikhanov actually wrote. N. I. Veselovskiy, 'Sochineniya Chokana chingisovicha Valikhanova', *Zapiski Imperat. Russk. Geograf. Obshchestva, Otdel Étnograf.*, xxix, 1904, 217, reads *zapertyya*.

possessed of *ešik* (modern *éšik*) with the primary meaning 'door-flap of a yurt', looks incongruent with 'Pekin'. The normal epic word for the gate of a city is *kapka*, cf. the formulaic *altı kapka key Kokan* 'Six-gated Kokand the broad' (*BM*, 881: cf. the Homeric formula $\Theta\eta\beta\eta\varsigma \epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron$, *Iliad*, IV, 406—'Seven-gated Thebes'). Nevertheless, the meaning of *éšik* has become generalized to 'door' and 'gate'. It suffices that the modern harmonized version of *Manas* reads at II, 155b *bir éšigi Bééjindin / kün batıš karay açılğan* 'a western gate of Pekin was opened'.

Lines 3–4: *BM*, 457 *bailanıp kalğan saraidın / jolun jasagan Er Koşoi*. *sarai*, correctly remembered, has been erroneously inserted into the couplet that dealt with *bazar*, alliterating not on *s* (*sarai*) but on *b*: cf. *BM*, 29 f.; (2), 396 f. *bailanıp kalğan bazardıñ / jolun jasagan (ačkan)* ⁵⁸ *Er Koşoi*. One can be quite sure that the *sarai* was not *bailanıp* (lit. 'tied up', i.e. 'restricted': Radlov 'verschlossen', 'umschlossen'): but it would be idle to speculate here about the verbal modal in *s* that may have been linked with *sarai* in this line, or the action taken in respect of it by *Er Koşoy* (though it is likely to have been military).

Lines 5–6: *K*, 296, 12 *i otkryl ostanovivshiysya put' v Turfan*. *ostanovivshiysya* is a doublet from the next section in *K*: *k tomu Ir-Kosayu, kotory ostanovivshemusya bazaru dal novuyu zhizn'* where *ostanovivshemusya* 'stagnant' is congruent with *bazaru*. If we delete *ostanovivshiysya* before *put'*, *otkryl put'* 'opened a/the way' clearly corresponds to *BM*, 30; 476 *jolun jasagan* (cf. (2), 397 *jolun bir ačkan*). Roads are opened to towns (including market towns), not to markets: and what is done to stagnant or restricted markets is to give them new life—*ostanovivshemusya bazaru dal novuyu zhizn'*. The bard or bards of V, I, (2) and *BM*, having lost 'Pekin' to 'Paradise' and then, consequentially, the second town of 'Turfan', were uncertain where the road had to be opened up to; as the text stands, it is to the market (twice) or to the palace (once). But, thanks to *K*, which remembers Turfan (albeit probably adapted to mean 'Uch Turfan' ⁵⁹) and also that its market is 'stagnant' (Valikhanov's equivalent for *bailanıp*), it is possible to assign *jolun jasagan Er Koşoy* as l. 6 to a l. 5 naming Turfan. Which verbal modal, presumably with initial *t*, stood before *Turfan* it would again be idle to try to guess now. ⁶⁰

Line 7, then, is automatically the alliterating *bailanıp kalğan bazardıñ* of *BM*, 29 f. and (2), 396, already quoted; and l. 8 stands (symbolically) as *dal novuyu zhizn' Er Koşoy*.

The grand epithet of *Er Koşoy* in modern Kirgiz orthography would stand roughly as follows, as far as it can be safely reconstructed:

1. *bekip kalğan Beiñin[din]*
2. *éšigin ačkan Er Koşoy*,
3. *s kalğan saraydın*

⁵⁸ *jaskan* at *BM*, 30 must be emended to *jasagan* (cf. *BM*, 476, below). *ačkan* at (2), 397 is taken from *ešigin ačkan* at 395.

⁵⁹ See part I, 356.

⁶⁰ Working together with bards, scholars of Kirgizia ought to be able to recapture it.

4. *Er Koşoy ;*
5. *t. kalgan Turfan[din]*
6. *şolun şasagan Er Koşoy,*
7. *baylanıp kalgan bazardın*
8. [*dal novuyu zhizn'*] *Er Koşoy.*

The lost original of *K* sometimes used alliteration to link the lines of couplets.⁶¹ But if the above reconstruction is to any degree valid, the source of *K* and *BM* will have had memorable passages with a preponderance of alliteration within the line. Such passages actually occur in the poems recorded by Radlov. One such passage combines it with parallelistic structure, but in terms of couplets, not of quatrains as in the above reconstruction. Parallelistic quatrains were of course a feature of the original of *K*.⁶² Whether they used line-alliteration or not would be possible though difficult to determine from Valikhanov's Russian translation. Examples from Radlov are :

v, I, (2), 413 *alasın ala kaçpadım,*
kulasın kūa kaçpadım,
jasagan ! sā ne jastım ?
küdröt ! saga ne kıldım ?

BM, 569 Joloidun şolun bastı deit,
Ağıştır attap kaştır deit,
Töştüktün tüböşün basıp öttü deit,
Koşoidun koinuna kirä kaştır deit.

cf. further *BM*, 640 ff. and 648 ff. ; both are set pieces praising race-horses.

On what can Koşoy's wide reputation of 'having opened the Gates of Paradise that was barred ?' have rested ? And in what circumstances can *Beişin[din]* have given way to *beiştin* ?

In the passage quoted above from Radlov, v, I, (2), in which four lines of the epithet occur, soon after Alman Bet's ludicrously superficial conversion to Islam, Alman Bet addresses (the absent) Koşoy as a *koşo* 'hoja' and implores the assistance in battle of (Koşoy's ? ⁶³) angels. At first one might think that Alman Bet is addressing Allah : but the mention of 'On thy head the turban huge as a cauldron' ⁶⁴ precludes it :

402 *çakırgan ünüñ azandai, kojom !*
başında seldä kazandai, kojom !
berıştälär kötörsün !
arbaktarıñ jölösün !

'Thy voice summoning is as loud as the Call to Prayer, my Hoja ! On thy head

⁶¹ See part I, 345.

⁶² See part I, 346 and 357.

⁶³ 401 *berıştärin* ought presumably to read *berıştälärin*, cf. *berışteler*, pl. of *berışte* 'angel'. Thus the only one of these two instances that has the 2nd pers. possess. (of Koşoy) seems to be corrupt.

⁶⁴ A commonplace for heads, helmets, etc.

thy turban is huge as a cauldron, my Hoja! May angels bear [thee? me?] up; may the spirits of thy ancestors aid [thee? me?]'! ⁶⁵

It was therefore reasonable of Mrs. Nora Chadwick at the time when she was writing to infer that Koşoy 'had taken the lead in adopting Mohammedanism'.⁶⁶ On the basis of an unpublished study in Frunze, however, which deals with the intrusion into epic poetry of the historic Rising of Ĵajır-kojo (Dzhekhangyr, Jahāngīr, etc.) over the period 1822–8, Professor V. M. Zhirmunskiy has characterized Koşoy's opening the Gates of Paradise as an Islamized version of the widespread Turkic motif of a hero's penetrating into the Other World; and he came to the further conclusion that Koşoy had his own tradition of a great raid to the east before it was assimilated to the *Manas* cycle.⁶⁷ This last agrees well with the inferences from verbal examination of the grand epithet presented here.

It is possible to go farther. In his brief account of Ĵajır's insurrection, Valikhanov makes several statements of interest to us. Ĵajır was the hereditary Hoja of Kashgar; and his agents, who were often exiled Kashgaris like himself, were very active disseminating propaganda for the *gazat* or 'holy war', as, for example, by public recitals of the deeds of Abū Muslim,⁶⁸ whereby they so fostered the cult of *ghāzīs* and *shahīds*—dedicated Champions of the Faith who would assure themselves of a short cut to Paradise—that the Muslim youth of Central Asia were in a frenzy to imitate them.⁶⁹ As a favourite hero of legend with an established reputation of raiding towards Turfan and perhaps Pekin, Koşoy was well suited to be set parallel to Ĵajır, who raided and temporarily occupied the Chinese-ruled cities of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. As already hinted above,⁷⁰ it is probable that 'Turfan' in Koşoy's tradition was reinterpreted as 'Uch-Turfan' to suit the direction of Ĵajır's attacks. Yet it is only as a *ghāzī* or *shahīd* skilfully adopted by pro-Ĵajır propagandists that Koşoy enters the religious sphere in epic and 'opens the Gates of Paradise that was barred'. For otherwise Koşoy was a burly hero who, even in his old age, could, for example, outwrestle the gigantic glutton Ĵoloy.⁷¹ Another suggestive statement by Valikhanov is that after the restoration of Chinese power in the area (though with diminished prestige), the Chinese had placed customs gates across the routes into Kashgar and Yarkand many miles out, chiefly in order to punish Kokand for its part in the Rising. Those merchants who were allowed

⁶⁵ In his *Slovar'* Yudakhin quotes and translates sub *ĵōlō*—our lines 403–4: but wholly admirable as his dictionary otherwise is, he sometimes forgets the poetic contexts from which he has excerpted his instances. In 403–4 he supplies the unexpressed object in brackets as *tebya* 'thee'. Radlov has 'deine Engel'.

⁶⁶ H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The growth of literature*, III, 1940, 37.

⁶⁷ In the symposium *Kirgizskiy geroicheskiy épos Manas*, Moscow, 1961, 133 ff. and 154. The unpublished study is entitled '*Dzhakhangir-khodzha v épose i istorii*' and is by A. A. Valitova.

⁶⁸ Valikhanov, *op. cit.*, II, 316 f.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ p. 552.

⁷¹ *BM*, 1246 ff.

in were escorted in convoy to the emporium and back under strict guard.⁷² This gives substance to the expression *bailanıp kalğan bazar* 'the restricted market', discussed above,⁷³ and Valikhanov's further statement that in 1829 the restricted trade in Chinese tea became so intolerable to the men of Kokand that they decided to open the way to trade rifle in hand,⁷⁴ lends further colour to this part of Koşoy's epithet. Trade, Islam, propaganda, and heroic ethos stimulated in the cities by readings of Abū Muslim and among the tribes by doctored epic songs, all went hand in hand: but the dominant outlook behind it all was that of the merchants and hojas of Kashgar (in exile), and of Kokand.

Since garbled reflections of Jaŋır's raids occur in both *K* and *BM*, it is probable that their common source, too, had a passage which presented the legendary Koşoy as close to those historical events. The relevant allusions must be examined in detail.

(i) *K*, 296, 14 *Kogda nevernyy khan Mez-Kara* ⁷⁵ *v temnitsu zatochil Dzhangyrova syna Belereka, chto byl rodом iz khodzhey, kogda nikto iz musul'man ne otvazhilsya vosstat', on, khrabryy Koshay, khrabrost'yu ustrashil i osvobodil togo khodzhu.* 'When the infidel Khan Mez-kara incarcerated Jaŋır's son Belerek because by birth he was of the Hojas, when none of the Muslims dared to rise up, he, brave Koşoy, terrified them with his valour and set free that Hoja.'

Nes-kara is one of the regular Sino-Kalmak antagonists of the 'Nogay' in heroic song.

(ii) (a) *BM*, 438 *kapır karča keldi dep*,⁷⁶
Abıla Jaŋır (?) Kan Koyom ⁷⁷
multık-minän tars koidu,
kaldırarın salınıp
Kaldai čiga uruštu,
beldämčisin salınıp
Mejin čiga uruštu,
Kara baštū tün kötörüp
kapırdın kanı Nes-Kara
karsıladaşıp uruštu . . .

(Context: Manas has cruelly murdered Jaima Kökül, the messenger sent by Bok Murun to invite him to the Feast, has summoned his Forty to range with him through the Naryn valley and, looking out from Mount Kebäs[ti], spies a battle between Muslims and Infidels before 'the six-gated stronghold'—i.e. Kashgar? cf. 392—and intervenes victoriously, thus having an aristeia in Bok Murun's poem before it has really started.) 'He came up against the Infidel,

⁷² Valikhanov, op. cit., II, 322.

⁷³ p. 552.

⁷⁴ II, 323.

⁷⁵ For initial 'M' see also Radlov, V, II (*Joloi-kan*), 4740 *Mis Kara*.

⁷⁶ *karča* for *karşı*?

⁷⁷ The query after *Jaŋır* is Radlov's. He omits 'Abıla Jaŋır' in his translation: 'Kan Kojo [i.e. Koyo!], der mächt'ge Held'! The text requires emendation to *Кан Којом* in Radlov's adapted Cyrillic = modern *kan Kojom*. Radlov's *Kojom* = modern *Koyom*. See n. 78.

it is said, Abıla[i] ⁷⁸ Ĵañır the Khan, my Hoja, fired off his rifle, the Kalday [high-ranking Sino-Kalmak officer] having donned his corslet joined combat, the Meĵin ⁷⁹ [another high Sino-Kalmak rank] having put on his breast-plate joined combat, the Khan of the Infidel Nes-kara raising his Black-Head Standard thunderously joined combat’

(b) 1021 *Kapırdın kanı Nes-Kara,*
anı kamap jatkanda
jaŋıs ūlu Bilärik
kapır karmap ketkändä
altı kapka çarbakta
katū uruş salgamn
jaŋıs ūlu Bilärik
anda küčüm bir taidı.

(Text: *jaŋıs* ‘one and only’ clearly in error for *Jaŋır* at 1023 and 1027, cf. *K*, 296, 15 *Dzhangyrova syna Belereka*. Did Radlov ‘emend’ or was the tradition already at fault? *jaŋıs* [modern *jaŋgız*] is a variant of *jalgız* ‘unique’. Radlov translates ‘sein [Nes-kara’s!] einz’ger’. Context: Koşoy has been asked to take on Ĵoloy in the Wrestling Match at the Games. He declines, pleading old age, and gives a catalogue of encounters in which, he alleges, his strength had suddenly left him—*anda küčüm bir taidı*, cf. l. 1028 above. One instance was his struggle with Nes-kara.) ‘When the Khan of the Infidels, Nes-kara, was keeping him (namely—emended) Ĵañır’s son Bilärik in prison, and I came to grips with that infidel at the six-gated walled city (Kashgar?), I put up a great fight (for?) Ĵañır’s son Bilärik, (but) then my strength suddenly failed me.’

We know from *K* (loc. cit.) that Koşoy was victorious on this occasion and liberated Belerek/Bilärik from Mes-kara/Nes-kara. Thus Koşoy’s catalogue of his own ‘defeats’ (a rare phenomenon in heroic poetry) is a sly form of boasting, suggesting that his strength left him only after victory. When Koşoy at last consents to face Ĵoloy, of course Koşoy wins.

(c) 1652 *Andan arı sen barsaŋ,*
Abılai Jaŋır Kan Kojon,
andan bata alıp kait !

(Context: Manas sends Aju Bai to the smith Tökör ⁸⁰ with instructions to deliver threats or ask for blessings at various places en route according to the hero who lives there.) ‘If you ride on from there [you will find] your Hoja, Abılai Ĵañır-kan. After receiving his blessing go on again.’

⁷⁸ ‘Abıla’ *sic*. Cf. 1653 ‘Abılai’ [sic] *Jaŋgır Kan Kojon*, where Radlov has *ı* = *f* correctly in *Копюф*. See n. 77.

⁷⁹ Radlov of course knew this rank well: yet he renders *meĵin* as ‘Pekin’! ‘Zog zum Kampfe selbst nach Pekin’, which is absurd. Subsequently in this action (Ĵañır) Kan Kojo [Radlov: Koyo] is mentioned thrice (455; 457; 461, in the last instance in connexion with his blessing). It would take up too much space here to try to disentangle Radlov’s misconceptions.

⁸⁰ See p. 566 f., below.

Compare further :

(d) 1111 *Kan abası Er Koşoi,*
balbanga tüşmök boldu deit.
Basıp bara jatkada,
Kan Kojomdon bat'alıp

(Context: Koşoy finally consents to face Joloy.) 'Er Koşoy, senior among Khans, stepped forward to take part in the wrestling-match. And on his stepping proudly forward, he received the blessing from my Khan Hoja . . . ' (The 'Khan Hoja' is presumably Jañır, cf. passage (c) above.)

From (a) and (c) it appears that Ablay (1717-81), the Khan of the Middle Horde of the Kazakhs and celebrated victor over the Kalmak, has been amalgamated with Jañır. Once accurate knowledge had faded this could easily happen, since Kirgiz has no direct equivalent for 'and'.⁸¹ If Radlov's bard, recorded in 1862, could no longer keep Ablay and Jañır (captured 1828, and later executed) apart, it is possible that he was responsible for the error 1023 *jañıs* for *Jañır*. Nevertheless, *BM*, like *K*, preserves the datum that Koşoy fought Nes-kara in order to free Jañır's son Bilärik: *K* appends it, rather lamely, to Koşoy's string of epithets; *BM* works it into Koşoy's cunning catalogue of 'defeats', but only after we have been shown how Manas dealt with that same Nes-kara in the presence of Jañır near the beginning of the poem!

It is well to take stock of what occurred on this naming together of Koşoy and Jañır in heroic song. Jañır, an historical figure of the previous generation (active 1822-8), is placed on the same footing as Koşoy, who, whatever his historical or near-historical antecedents many centuries ago,⁸² had become a purely legendary figure, governed by the 'laws' not of history but of poetry. In other words, the mythic or legendary past and the recent historical past known from living memory have been merged into a continuum, with poetry, not history, setting its stamp upon it. Not only have Koşoy and Jañır met in this continuum but also Nes-kara, a legendary Sino-Kalmak antagonist of the 'Nogay', has been drawn in on the opposite side. The nature of this process of the assimilation of history to poetry is further brought out by examination of Koşoy's fictive exploit in Jañır's Rising, namely his liberation of Jañır's son Bilärik (*BM*)/Belerek (*K*). Historically, it seems, Jañır had no such son. In his valuable translation of Wei Yüan's treatise on Jañır's insurrection compiled from reports by the Chinese officials concerned with its suppression, C. Imbault-Huart gives the genealogy of the Hojas of Kashgar in an appendix, the latter end of which furnishes these data: Boronidu had two sons, Abdul and Samuq; Abdul's son was Jañır; ⁸³ Jañır's son was Burzuk.⁸⁴ The treatise states further that after the defeat of the insurgents, the Chinese requested the Khan of Kokand to surrender Jañır's descendants and supporters. This

⁸¹ *menen* after a noun means primarily 'with'.

⁸² Zhirmunskiy, art. cit. p. 167.

⁸³ *Recueil de documents sur l'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1881, 62.

⁸⁴ *ibid.* and p. 50.

the Khan declined to do, on the ground that the laws of Islam forbade the surrender of sons or grandsons of hojas. The treatise then records that since the children of Ĵanjır were not to be feared, the Emperor decreed that the matter was not to be pursued. A high Chinese official in the area, however, dispatched envoys to try to seize Ĵanjır's son Burzuk, then six years of age; but the Emperor, having learned of this, commanded him not to stir up new strife.⁸⁵ This implies that Ĵanjır had at least two children, but there is no evidence here that he had a son with any other name than 'Burzuk'.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Ĵanjır had a nephew, whose name, transliterated from Chinese with a French convention, Imbault-Huart gives as *Sa mou'hann*. Since the treatise goes on to say that this person had assumed the title of 'Khan', his name was presumably 'Samuq-khan'.⁸⁷ On the recapture of Kashgar by the Chinese in 1827, this Samuq was taken prisoner. Thus although Burzuk, son of Ĵanjır, was still alive, and as the last of the Hojas was a marked man and in 1862 was even made nominal head of the Dungan Rising,⁸⁸ our two heroic poems *K* (pre-1857) and *BM* (1862), (i) give him a name 'Bilärık', (ii) attribute to him an incarceration by the Chinese that may have been his cousin Samuq's, and (iii) have this composite renamed figure rescued by a legendary hero Koşoy from the equally legendary Nes-kara. If the passion of the Kirgiz for heroic song encouraged them thus to indulge in make-believe when the elders were possessed of the historical facts, these tribesmen must have been easy prey for the propagandists of the mercantile cities and their militant 'ulamā'—and all the more so if we include the Kirgiz lust for booty, so well nourished by the poetic tradition.

To conclude the subject of Koşoy's epithets. The line formula *el četinā Koşoi bar* 'Koşoy lives at the margin of the people' occurs twice in *BM* (1099; 1649);⁸⁹ and *K*, 296, 8 locates Koşoy on the Ulatau Mountains, some 1,000 km. north-west of Lake Issyk Kul' but still well within the frontiers of present-day

⁸⁵ p. 50.

⁸⁶ In a footnote on Burzuk, Imbault-Huart records that when in 1862 the Dungans in turn rose against the Manchus, Burzuk was invited, as the last representative of the family of Hojas, to lead it, and that Muḥammad Ya'qūb was thus one of his followers (p. 50). Burzuk can have been little more than a nominal religious leader, since in his account of the Rising in *Lose Blätter aus Sibirien*, second ed., II, 1893, 393 ff., Radlov does not mention him. Wen-djang Chu, *The Moslem rebellion in north-west China, 1862-1878*, The Hague, 1966, 163, refers to him as 'Buzurg Khan': 'Buzurg Khan, a descendant of the former khoja ruling house of Kashgar, came into Sinkiang from . . . Khokand in January 1865. He made himself the king of Kashgar. Before long he was replaced by Yakoob Beg, his chief of staff'. (After this was written, *The life of Yakoob Beg . . . Ameer of Kashgar*, London, 1878, by D. C. Boulger, came into my hands. Boulger based himself chiefly on the official report of Sir Douglas Forsyth on his embassy to Kashgar in 1873-4. Boulger uses the form 'Buzurg': he gives Ĵanjır a father 'Sarimsak', a grandfather 'Barhanuddin', and three sons, two of whom are 'Buzurg' and 'Wali Khan', leader of an earlier expedition against Kashgar. It is much to be hoped that an expert historian will be able to disentangle these complexities. Boulger presents Buzurg as a classic example how an utterly profligate prince can be replaced by an energetic adviser—Ya'qūb.)

⁸⁷ Ĵanjır's paternal uncle Samuq is given no descendants in the genealogy: was his name preserved in that of Ĵanjır's (maternal?) nephew?

⁸⁸ It was found necessary to refer to the Dungan Rising in part I of this study, 364 f.

⁸⁹ The 'people' were presumably 'Nogay', i.e. idealized Kirgiz.

Kazakhstan, and inhabited by Kazakh.⁹⁰ Thus *BM*, perhaps in adopting an epithet which would already have been apt enough in Kazakh, by implication situates Er Koşoy just inside the Kirgiz lands—‘at the margin of the people’.

The epithets of some of the more important remaining heroes are less complex than those of Manas and Koşoy, and can be dealt with more briefly.

In *K*, Dzhulay,⁹¹ i.e. Joloy, is characterized at 293, 2 ff. as he ‘who nomadizes on the salinae of Butanyn-Saz,⁹² that plays hazard every day, brave infidel khan, whose cap is huge as a black cauldron, who has power over all that have life and blood’. What follows makes it clear that Dzhulay is a Kalmak (293, 9 ff.). Little of this agrees with the characteristics of Joloy in *BM*. *BM* oddly vacillates in its presentation between Joloy as a Russian and Joloy as a Kalmak.⁹² On the one hand there are two passages which make him a Russian :

141 *kapırdın jurtu bar ekän,
bulcuñ eti bukadai,
eginä sakal koibogon,
erdinän murut albagan,
orustun kanı cöñ Joloi . . .*

‘ . . . there is the land of the infidel ; he whose muscle is as tough as a bull’s, leaving no beard on his chin, not removing his moustaches from his lips, a khan of the Russians is Giant Joloy ’.

1536 *Orusta bolso kan edi . . .
Cöñ Joloi kan aittı deit . . .*

‘ Even though he is a khan among the Russians . . . Giant Joloy spoke . . . ’. On the other hand there are many passages that make him a Kalmak, and indeed a Sino-Kalmak. Two will suffice.

1565 *kapırdın kanı cöñ Joloi,
Kañkaidan kabar jetkän soñ,
agar altın ak kımüš
Joloi talap alğan soñ,
altailagan köp kapır
namıs kılıp ketkän soñ . . .*

(Context : the skirmish between Manas’s followers and Joloy’s sons over their horses at the end of the race.) ‘ When news reached the infidel Khan Giant Joloy from [through the cries of] “ Kangay ! ” and he had plundered pale gold and gleaming silver, and the mob of unbelievers shouting “ Altai ! ” had committed outrage . . . ’

In the Kirgiz epic, ‘ Kangay ! ’ is the war-cry of the Kalmak, and ‘ Altai ! ’ is Kalmak jabber, cf. *BM*, 1515 *altailagan kalmaktan* ‘ . . . of the Kalmak that jabber “ Altai ! ” ’. And at Alman Bet’s suggestion Manas’s men don Mongol

⁹⁰ The question arises whether Koşoy was originally a Kazakh and not a Kirgiz hero.

⁹¹ See part 1, p. 376 and n. 183.

⁹² In the long heroic song *Joloi-kan* (Radlov, v, 11), Joloy is a ‘ Nogay ’ and in this case appropriately a favourite hero of the Kirgiz tribe of the Solto, among whom the song was collected.

gear in order to spy on Joloy, a pointless stratagem if Joloy is not a 'Mongol', i.e. Kalmak:

1725 *körinböi kürmön kiyäli !*
topu tonop alalı !

'Disguising ourselves, let us don sleeveless [Mongol] jackets, let us lay hands on some [Mongol] embroidered skull-caps . . .'.⁹³

Otherwise, Joloy in *BM* has the epithet *čöŋ* 'great' (twice above), and *töđai* = *today* 'mountainous' (1067, etc.).

With *orustun* (144) supported by *orusta* (1536) it is difficult to impugn Radlov's text: yet the text would become tolerable if we could read *oirot-* (of a Mongol confederacy) for *orus-* (Russian). According to this school of bards, Alman Bet by origin was an Oirot, and his first utterance in this cycle is the pseudo-Kalmak jabber 'Altai! Altai!' (v, 1, (2), 68).⁹⁴ *Orus* and *Oirot* were linked in this bard's mind by alliteration, cf. 1451 *Orustap kelät bir atın / Oirottop kelät bir atın*. But there may well be some other reason for the intrusion of 'Russian' into Joloy's attributes.⁹⁵

Another traditional antagonist of the Nogay is Koŋur-bay (*K*, Kunurbay). In *K* Koŋur-bay, surprisingly, is the 'large-nosed' Chinese warrior named 'the Proud' (290, 39 f.), otherwise 'the (gos)hawk-nosed Chinese warrior' (292, 7), a lord to whom the Nogay are to pay tribute. In *BM*, Koŋur-bay is a shade less magnificent. Here, too, his nose claims attention. He is '*kır murundū*' (152; 776; 1270), literally 'with nose sheer as a mountain-spine (*kır*)': but *kır murunduu* is used in a transferred sense to designate a variety of golden eagle, and it is no doubt from this that the epithet for a nose is taken.⁹⁶ Thus in *BM*, too, Koŋur-bay's nose recalls the beak of a bird of prey. But whereas we may be sure that in *K* his nose is what we call 'aquiline', we are informed by Yudakhin in his admirable *Slovar'* that *kır murunduu* implies possession of a straight, non-aquiline nose (*bez gorbinki*). Just which variety of golden eagle (*bürküt*) struck the Kirgiz bards as having a straight beak, and why, is unlikely to be discovered by a Western scholar, since Kirgiz falconers of the old school distinguish as many as 65 species, sub-species, and varieties.⁹⁷ If we look for the Kirgiz original of Valikhanov's *yastrebinonosomu* (292, 7), it therefore cannot be *kır murunduu*: but it could be *kuš murunduu*, with *kuš*, generically 'bird of prey'.⁹⁸ At *BM*, 152 etc. *kır murundū* fills a half-line, the other half is taken up by *kızıl kös* (152 'red-eyed') or by *kıza kös* (776; 1270

⁹³ cf. the utterance of Joloy's wife Saykal at 1802: (*Manas*) *kürmō tonop kiptir, / topo tonop salıptır*. *topu* indicates a Mongol cap in these heroic songs, despite the Persian origin of the word (Radlov: 'Mongolenkapsel').

⁹⁴ In this poem, Alman Bet, slaughtering his Oirot compatriots, piles up their *topu* and *kürmō* mountain-high (432 f.), see also previous note.

⁹⁵ Did the Kirgiz perceive a resemblance between him and some hearty Russian frontier types?

⁹⁶ Yudakhin, sub *kır*.

⁹⁷ Yudakhin, sub *bürküt*. The Kirgiz *bürküt* (Russian *berkut*) is famous in the annals of falconry.

⁹⁸ Yudakhin does not cite *murun*-compounds for *tuygun* 'white goshawk' or *tunjur* 'goshawk'.

'winking').⁹⁹ *kızı* is surely correct.¹⁰⁰ The second line of the epithet is regularly *kutailardın Koğur Bai* (153; 777; 1271) 'Koğur-bay lord of the Chinese', which also occurs in isolation (1583). (In another poem of this group a half line and a full line are amalgamated to make the line *Kutaidın kır murundū Koğur Bai*—1, (3), 53. *Joloi-kan* 4878 has in one line: *kır murundū Koğur Bai* followed by 4879 *Kutailardın Koğur Bai*.) More specifically, Koğur-bay is conceived of as the ruler of Kashgar and Yarkand, two of the three cities occupied by Jağır¹⁰¹ (150; 1269). In *K*, in removing the Nogay from Koğur-bay's overlordship, Bok Murun seems to be leaving the Chinese-held region of Uch-Turfan.¹⁰²

Like Joloy, the hero Er Töštük appears in a self-contained heroic song that bears his name (Radlov, v, III). The theme of his penetration into the Underworld on his winged steed Čal-kuyruk to recover his purloined 'soul', and his escape on the back of his friend the World Eagle, is widely known.¹⁰³ It is clearly a heroized tale of shamanistic origin. The epithets in *K*, however, have direct allusion only to the circumstances of his marvellous birth:¹⁰⁴ 297, 38 '... a warrior born thanks to the long prayers of many well-wishers and coming to this world as the result of the pleas of those well-wishers . . . the youngest of nine sons of an aged father, valiant Töštük, beloved of God'. The allusion is to his father Eleman's long prayers for a worthy son to make up for eight good-for-nothings at a time when his wife had either long been barren or was past child-bearing.¹⁰⁵ Töštük was 'beloved of God' else he would not have escaped from the Khan of the Underworld, an indirect allusion to his great adventure. *K* names Töštük's famous *tulpar* (which Bok Murun invites him to race) in translation as *plamyakhvost* 'Flame-tail' (297, 41) = *Čal-kuyruk*. Bok Murun requests Töštük through his emissary to be Lord of the Feast, and as such to come and choose the best cut off the roast—the Brisket of Honour—according to the well-attested ancient Turkic custom,¹⁰⁶ cf. the Champion's Portion in Old Irish heroic narrative.¹⁰⁷ Manas, too, is invited to be Lord and Master of Ceremonies, but he is to choose merely 'a dainty piece'—by implication not the best. Thus Töštük is to be imagined as the passive President and Manas as the active Master of Ceremonies. Given Manas's turbulent character, the stage is set for a clash between him and Töštük: but *K* breaks off long

⁹⁹ cf. Radlov 'roth von Augen' (152), 'schießaug'ge' (776; 1270). Having accepted the correct reading later, Radlov failed to collate.

¹⁰⁰ *Slovar'*: *köz kis*—'wink' sub *kis*—'press'. Thus the impression intended is rather one of half-closed lids than a squint, or even slanting eyes.

¹⁰¹ *bura*—literally 'screw', 'twist' (Radlov: 'herrscht in').

¹⁰² See part I, 356.

¹⁰³ See *Er-Töštük, le géant des steppes. Trad. du kirghiz par P. Boratav, introduction et notes de P. Boratav et L. Bazin*, Paris, 1965.

¹⁰⁴ See my article 'The birth of Manas', 226.

¹⁰⁵ For analogies of this traditional motif see 'The birth of Manas', 226.

¹⁰⁶ cf. D. G. Maitland Muller, *A study and translation of the first book of the first volume of the 'Compendium of histories' by Rašid al-Dīn . . .*, Ph.D. thesis (London, 1957), ch. vii, p. 27, 'Cuts of meat'.

¹⁰⁷ See K. Jackson, *The oldest Irish tradition: a window on the Iron Age*, Cambridge, 1964, 21 f., the *curadmír* or 'Champion's Portion', carved by the champion for himself.

before we could come to it. Yet it is possible that there was no clash, since one tradition makes Er Töštük the father of the foundling Bok Murun,¹⁰⁸ and Manas could then have accepted Er Töštük's precedence. There is no trace of this in *BM*. Here Manas defers to Koşoy's seniority but is at length prevailed upon to arrange the horse-race (though Bok Murun arranges the other games): and there is no mention of heroes' portions. Like all the other heroes in *BM*, Töštük is overshadowed by Manas. His epithets allude mainly to his exploit in entering and leaving the Underworld. Yet the first composite epithet agrees fairly well with one at *K*, 297, 40, *Mladshemu iz devyati synovey starogo otsa, bogom lyubimomu khrabromu T.* (translated above), and

BM, 89 *togus ül kenjäsi* ¹⁰⁹

kudaidın süngön mindäsi . . .

'The youngest of nine sons, he is a man beloved of God' = 1034 f. continuing

91 *Eläman baidın balası*

Er Töštük . . .

'son of Eleman-bay, Er Töštük . . .' = 702 f.; 941 f.; 1036-7 *jerge tüškön Er Töštük* 'Er Töštük who descended into the earth'.

Lines 702 f. are preceded by

698 *Jer astınan çikkarı*

jetı kündör bold'elä,

arık çäp salıp tur,

uyatınan koşıp tur,

Eläman baidın balası,

Er Töštüktün çal-kıruk . . .

Line 698: 'Of him who emerged from under the ground . . . (cf. Radlov 'Der tief in die Erd hinabstieg'). 699: where he had been for seven *days* . . . (cf. Sayakbay's version, 332, 8 Kenjeke speaking: *Sırttan Töštük ketti éle, / Ketkenine tak bıyl / Jetı jılga jetti éle* 'This year makes it seven *years* since brave T. went away'). 700 is perhaps contentious. Radlov renders 'Der sich mager hat gelaufen'—thus *arık* I 'lean', *çap*-IX 'gallop', 'race' (typically of horses): the construction, however, precludes l. 700 from referring to Töštük's steed Čal-kuyruk (703); so Radlov appears to have applied *çap* to Töštük. But the collocation *arık* I with *çap*-IX (according to Radlov 'to gallop oneself lean') is not cited by Yudakhin, whereas *arık* II with *çap*-X is well-attested under both words in the sense 'to dig an irrigation-ditch'. Thus, tentatively, 700 'He dug a water-channel'. 701 'For shame he sang a lament (like a woman)', i.e. he broke down (cf. Radlov 'Der vor Scham zu singen anfang').¹¹⁰ This must refer to a traditional episode in the *Töštük* legend in

¹⁰⁸ The version of Sayakbay Karalaev, ed. Zh. Tashtemirov, Frunze, 1956, 31 ff.; Boratav, op. cit., 49 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *kenjäsi*: Radlov again uses *j* (modern *y*) inconsistently in *Kenjäci*, cf. 1034 *Kenjäci*, his normal practice.

¹¹⁰ *koş*: 'join', 'pair', has the transferred meaning of composing (improvising) laments for the dead by women only. Yudakhin's *Slovar* notes: *muzhchine ne polozheno*.

which the hero's steed dives into a lake to fetch the Cauldron with Forty Lugs. This is Čal-kuyruk's supreme test. His blood appears on the surface of the lake, and Töstük gives him up for dead and laments him.¹¹¹ The prose of the leading Kazakh version breaks into verse at this point. M. Boratav and M. Bazin comment here: 'Ces lamentations sur le sort de *Tchal-Kouyrouk* apparaissent dans plusieurs versions; elles faisaient peut-être partie de l'épopée originelle'.¹¹² The evidence of this epithet in *BM*, not cited by the commentators, suggests that 'peut-être' is too cautious, and it adds the information that, in his despair, Töstük keened like a woman. Recognition of the allusion in l. 701 may help to trace the allusion in l. 700, if we can take them as linked; for in that case the water-channel could have been dug to drain the lake and save Čal-kuyruk. In some versions one of Töstük's Prodigious Helpers swallows the water of the lake, and in Sayakbay's version Töstük causes the water to be dispersed by lashing it with his whip. It is just as likely that he should have drained it away with an *arık*. It would accord with an earlier stage of his legend that he could drain a lake without help.¹¹³

Two contexts in which Töstük is named are problematic:

(a) 925 *Töstük jer astınan täptır*
jerin sekirtpäs degän bar ekän . . .

(b) 942 *Er Töstük töngö ıgır tır*
tügörötö karap tır,
Jer astınan täp tır,
Kazatar mergän karap tır :

In (a), *jerin sekirtpäs* should be in quotation marks and have initial capitals to indicate a name-epithet governed by *degän* 'thus named'. The expression recurs at 965 *Jerin sekirtpäs karasam*; but Radlov's translations vary: 925 f. 'Da war Töstük, den im Sprunge Niemand überholte unterhalb der Erde', and 965 'Seh ich meinen tapfern Springer'. It seems that Radlov has not collated these two passages only 40 lines apart. *jerin sekirtpäs*, as it stands, means 'He-who-does-not-make-the-ground-beneath-him-leap', i.e. one who runs so fast that he scarcely touches the ground. But caution is advised in accepting Radlov's text at this point, since in Sayakbay's version one of Töstük's Prodigious Helpers, he who aids him in winning the foot-race, bears the name-epithet appropriate to the fleetest of men: *ĵeyren sekirtpes* 'He-who-does-not-let-the-gazelle-leap' (pp. 132 ff.) (*ĵeyren* = Kaz. *ĵayran*, Asiatic Russ. *dzheyran*, 'Gazella subgutturosa').¹¹⁴ This in turn raises a nice problem. It has hitherto been assumed that the bard from whom Radlov recorded *Töstük* in 1869 had,

¹¹¹ Sayakbay, 243 ff.; Boratav, 202 ff.

¹¹² Boratav, op. cit., n. 375.

¹¹³ In another episode in several versions Töstük or one of his women digs a hole in the ground under the cradle of Čoyunkulak's brat so that Töstük can hide and prick him with an awl. But the hole is not an *arık*. Cf. Radlov's *Töstük*, 149 *ordu kastı Er Töstük*, from *or kaz* 'dig a hole'.

¹¹⁴ cf. Boratav, op. cit., 122, 'Qui-ne-laisse-échapper-le-Chamois',

in the fatigue of which Radlov wrote,¹¹⁵ hurried past many of Töštük's Underworld experiences, including the Marriage-tests set by the Lord of the Underworld and surmounted by the hero thanks only to the Prodigious Helpers he had befriended; ¹¹⁶ although the heroes who penetrate into the Underworld in more primitive hero-tales recorded, for example, by Schiefner,¹¹⁷ perform their exploits without Prodigious Helpers, and at most with the assistance of a comrade-in-arms. So far as they are no longer genuinely shamanistic, 'Prodigious Helpers' come from that rather boring source of narrative the international folk-tale. Whatever the bard of *BM* understood by *jerin*,¹¹⁸ he seems to be alluding to a version of *Töštük* other than the source presupposed by M. Boratav and M. Bazin.¹¹⁹ Understood or misunderstood—*Jerin/Jeyren Sekirtpes* was found by Töštük in the Underworld, like *Kazatar mergän*, whom Töštük summons more as a protective spirit to help him win the race.¹²⁰ Hero-names in *mergen* 'marksman' are typical of the more primitive hero-tales; ¹²¹ and protective spirits go better with Turkic hero-tales than do Prodigious Helpers. It is again disturbing that Radlov renders *Kazatar* as 'Gemsens-schütze, -jäger' ('chamois-hunter'), since *kaz-atar* would mean not 'chamois-' but 'goose-hunter' (*kaz* 'goose'; *atar* from *at-* 'shoot').¹²² However, the role of *Kazatar mergän* invites inspection. 'Er Töštük climbed a hill,¹²³ gazed all around ¹²⁴ and saw Kazatar the Marksman, whom he had found in the Underworld' (942-5). On being invoked by Töštük as his radiant lord, Kazatar appears and puts Joloy's old wife, who is winning, out of the race, first by fettering her ¹²⁵ and then by squirting poison at her.¹²⁶ Bare-faced fowls, recalling the practices of the English aristocracy at Newmarket in the 1820's ¹²⁷ are a stock motif in both foot- and horse-races in Kirgiz epic poetry. In the foot-race in Sayakbay's *Töštük*, for example, the Hag-with-Seven-Heads waylays Töštük's Helper *Jeyren-sekirtpes* and sends him to sleep with magic dust as we may infer Joloy's wife had sent Jerin Sekirtpäs to sleep here, since Kazatar says (965) *Jerin sekirtpäs karasam / uktaṭ tura kalgambi* 'When I see J. is he still asleep?'

¹¹⁵ v, p. xvii f.

¹¹⁶ Sayakbay, 220 f. = Boratav, op. cit., 182 ff.

¹¹⁷ S. Schiefner, *Heldensagen der minussinsschen Tataren*, St. Petersburg, 1859.

¹¹⁸ In his *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte*, Radlov cites no forms of *jeyren* with *-in*: all have *-an* or *-en*. The presumption is that Radlov, and possibly his bard, took *jerin* in *jerin sekirtpäs* as *jer-i-n* (accus. possessed of *jer* 'ground').

¹¹⁹ op. cit., 22 ff.

¹²⁰ *BM*, 946 ff.

¹²¹ Schiefner, op. cit., see index of tales: 'Ai Mirgän und Aidôlei' etc. etc.

¹²² A possible solution of this difficulty is to suppose that in Radlov's manuscript 'Gemsens-schütze, -jäger' stood loosely in the margin against *jerin sekirtpäs* understood as *jeyren s.* and that 'Gänseschütze, -jäger' ('goose-hunter') stood against *Kazatar*; and then that either Radlov or an amanuensis substituted the former German word for the latter. But a further disturbing element is Radlov's rendering 945 'den guten Gemsenschützen', suggesting Kirg. *kas* 'good', cf. *kas baatrlar* 'doughty warriors' (Yudakhin, *Slovar*, sub *kas*).

¹²³ *töṇ*, modern *dōṇ*.

¹²⁴ Radlov *tügörötö*, i.e. *tögöröktö*.

¹²⁵ Radlov renders *bogonu* as 'Knopf': it is surely from *boogo* 'fetters'.

¹²⁶ Radlov reverses the roles in the poison-squirting, making Kazatar the victim, despite the clear outcome that it is Joloy's wife who is laid out with poison (950 f. and 958 ff.).

¹²⁷ Pückler-Muskau, *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, letter of 19 October 1826.

Scrutiny of Töštük's and his friends' epithets in *BM* thus shows not only that they celebrate his exploit of penetrating into the Underworld with the help of his *tulpar* Čal-kuyruk and returning from it by divine favour, but also that he had a famous runner and a Marksman before his hero-tale was inflated into an 'epic' by means of devices from the international folk-tale scarcely worthy of that epic form.¹²⁸

It is not possible to compare the epithets of Alman Bet in *K* and *BM*, since if *K* was ever going to name him it broke off before doing so. In *K* and *BM* there are further epithets peculiar to the one or the other that would reward close study, but they fall outside the scope of this comparison. Yet a word is required on the different styles in the use of epithets exhibited by *K* and *BM*.

In *K* there is a marked tendency to keep to one epithet, and for this epithet to give the key to the bearer's role or station. It was seen that Bok Murun, besides being 'young' was 'born to power': he in fact assumed power. Baymurza was 'son of a wealthy father' and that was all: he was thrust aside. Yash-Aydar,¹²⁹ first as Kökötöy's and then Bok Murun's herald privileged to ride the steed Maniker, is frequently the impersonal *gustochuprinnyy* 'thick-tufted', as perhaps befits one in a subservient position;¹³⁰ yet when he is in action reference is occasionally made to his subtlety and eloquence. This style of epithet may also persist when a people, or a social type, or cattle, or topographical features are referred to: the Nogay are 'teeming black as night'; the *biy* are 'possessed of sagging paunches' (hence rich); *murza* show the signs of 'having drunk much mead';¹³¹ cattle are 'well-covered on the ribs'; and gardens are 'branchy'.¹³² It has been seen, nevertheless, that important characters like Koşoy, Manas, and Jöloy have composite epithets. To these may be added Urbé (Ürbü) (296, 36), Kokche (Kökčö) (291, 36: 'a warrior that never showed his back since birth', with his pedigree), Bagysh (297, 22), Alpay Mamet (297, 49 'son of a stinking little old man who all his life milked the sap of putrid birch, the warrior Alpay Mamet nicknamed "Grey Hare"', implying, according to the commentators, extreme hunger).

By comparison, the use of epithets in *BM* is less disciplined, giving the impression of a greater degree of the 'automatism' that has been attributed or denied to the use of the epithet in the Homeric poems, the *Nibelungenlied*, and other well-known epics. It should be of some interest for these debates that the two oral heroic poems *K* and *BM*, recorded presumably from the same tribe within six years of one another, vary appreciably in their stylistic

¹²⁸ Outstanding bards though they were, Sagymbay and Sayakbay tended to lack restraint when 'lengthening' their performances for scholars, so that it is not improper to speak of technical 'decadence' in connexion with some of their work.

¹²⁹ In *BM*, the herald's name is *Jaima kökül* (284; 315). But in another poem of this school, v, 1, (2), 1144 *Jaima Kökül* is one of Manas's Forty, referred to by the identical line: *Jaima Kökül jaş ül*. It looks as though in the heat of improvisation the bard of *BM* could recall only *jaş* (i.e. *jaş* 'young') in Yash-Aydar's name.

¹³⁰ 294, 15 refers to him as a slave, cf. 294, 25.

¹³¹ 289, 14, varied presumably in a parallelistic quatrain.

¹³² 296, 26; 47.

use of epithets. The greater discipline of *K* may well accord with its bard's loftier conception of a great Khan's court and manner of life, not to mention possible reflections of contact with learned men,¹³³ suggesting that of the two poets he stood nearer to the tribal centre, where a higher tone prevailed.

A last item of comparison before an attempt is made to draw general conclusions is that of set altercations between followers and lords, passages imbued with the 'heroic' ethos, of which *K* and *BM* provide several examples. Owing partly to the incomplete state of *K*, no specific comparison is possible. The comparison is therefore typological.

In *K*, the herald Yash-Aydar Chora¹³⁴ is bidden by K         to take Maniker and ride from one end of the Nogay to the other to announce his approaching death (289, 8). Having succeeded K         and taken the Nogay to the Upper Irtysh, Bok Murun in turn claims the services of Yash-Aydar and commands him to summon the heroes to the Feast with their racers (294, 15). 'Bok Murun born for power, my lord!' answers Yash-Aydar, 'I shall not go to your warriors, nor shall I go for their racers. I have no wish to die at the hands of your mighty ones!' ¹³⁵ He then reminds Bok Murun how they tended their flocks and herds together as boys and complains that as a reward for the pranks they shared he is now to be treated as a slave.¹³⁶ His father and mother could die while he was summoning the heroes from far and wide. Bok Murun's reply is that he will go himself but on his return he will put Yash-Aydar and his parents up as prizes. Yash-Aydar goes home in fear and trembling. He returns and tells Bok Murun that he does not understand a joke and asks for the best horse. Bok Murun of course knows what Yash-Aydar is after, offers him the pick of the herd and gives a set eulogy of one particular horse (295, 12 ff.). But Yash-Aydar declines. 'Rather would I die at your hands Beneath you, noble lord, is the steed Maniker: give me Maniker and I will go! Upon you, noble lord, is dazzling chain-mail: give it me and I will don it!' Yash-Aydar gains his—the appointed—end.

In *BM*, there is a similar test of will and ethos between Manas and his armourer T      , who comes similarly into 'danger' of his lord. Hard-pressed and wounded at the height of the battle with J     , Alman Bet accuses Manas of coming late to the fray. Manas's reply is to send a messenger to distant Talas to demand his broken sword from T     , who was welding it and reforging his corslet. If T      has not finished his work after the five months he has had it in hand he is to be put to death forthwith (1609 ff.).¹³⁷ The bard avoids the folly of keeping the battle going until T      could appear (some

¹³³ See part I, 375 ff.

¹³⁴ i.e. *     * 'member of a lord's comitatus'.

¹³⁵ Yash-Aydar perhaps has a presentiment of death at the hands of Manas, cf. Jaima K     's fate in *BM* at 315 ff.

¹³⁶ cf. p. 565, n. 130.

¹³⁷ Radlov—or an amanuensis—has obscured the if-clauses in his translation, since ll. 1626–7 end in question marks, when commas would give the correct sense in German. 1625 should end in a period as in the original.

weeks' journey there and back). He simply drops it with the change of scene and we accompany the messenger to Talas. Tökör tells the messenger that his work is done and that he will deliver it to 'the Hothead' himself, and after telling him the nature of the sword—1671 *kılıştın jaiyn aitkan soy*¹³⁸—he will return and inform Manas's wife Kanikey. Tökör mounts and rides to Manas, whereupon the following exchange takes place between lord and man :

1680 ' *kıldıñb' elä kılıştı, darkan ?*
soktuñb' elä sötti, darkan ? '
Tökör usta jöp aitti :
 ' *Kıldım elä kılıştı, tentäk,*
soktum elä sötti, tentäk,
kılıştın jaiyn aitain, tentäk,
kılüm çıdabai, tentäk,
jaman janım kınaldı, tentäk,
ögösünö çıdabai, tentäk,
elü ögöm joyuldu, tentäk,
soguna çıdabai, tentäk,
som balkalar joyuldu, tentäk,
basuna çıdabai, tentäk,
baldarım barı jadañı, tentäk,
mizi sarı bolsun dep,
mizin üga sugardım, tentäk,
özündü karap şiltäbä, tentäk,
katü uruşka salıñar, tentäk. '

' " Have you made my sword, Master ? Have you forged my corslet, Master ? " Tökör the artificer gave answer : " I have made your sword, Hothead. I have forged your corslet, Hothead. I will tell you the nature of the sword, Hothead. Not enduring the forging, Hothead, my spirit was much tormented, Hothead. Not enduring the filing, Hothead, fifty files were shattered, Hothead. Not enduring the blows, Hothead, my sledge-hammers were shattered, Hothead. Not enduring the pressure, my ' Children ' (bellows ? ¹³⁹) could not stand up to it, Hothead. So that the blade should be yellow,¹⁴⁰ I thought, I tempered the edge with venom,¹⁴¹ Hothead. Do not swing it at yourself,¹⁴² Hothead ! Thrust ¹⁴³ it where strife is hard, Hothead ! " '

This exchange is imbued with a heroic ethos worthy of any epic tradition. Later on in *BM* there is even a classic formulation of the ethical bonds that

¹³⁸ In European heroic narratives important swords can have a 'nature' which has to be 'told' to the hero by or from the smith—sometimes a secret or magical 'nature' as with Perceval/Parzival's sword, made by the smith Trebuchet.

¹³⁹ Radlov : 'ist mein Blasebalg zerrissen'. Unsupported by Yudakhin : but it could be esoteric smiths' language.

¹⁴⁰ One suspects a transferred meaning here.

¹⁴¹ See p. 568, n. 146.

¹⁴² *kılıç şilte* - 'brandish a sword'; *karap* implies direction. Cf. Radlov : 'Zwinkere nicht mit deinen Augen'.

¹⁴³ Radlov : 'du gehst'.

unite a lord and his men, such as one finds in the Old English Finnsburg Fragment or in the spirited Old Welsh *Gododdin*.¹⁴⁴ The basic formula will suffice (Manas speaking) :

2143 *sōtta jīdim sen ücün, čorom,*
*sayşıp ölgün men ücün, čorom !*¹⁴⁵
kılıştır jīdim sen ücün, čorom,
kırılışkın men ücün, čorom !

'I heaped up corslets for your sakes, comrades, die amid the lance-thrusts for my sake, comrades! I heaped up swords for your sakes, comrades, perish together for my sake, comrades!'

Of this passage and the exchange between Manas and his armourer, it would be no stylistic contradiction to say that they are passages in which epic poetry—a protean form—assumes the quality of lyrical drama. The titles *darkan* and *tentäk* following the cadences of each line, mark it as a lyrical passage within the Kirgiz epic tradition, and such passages can be very high-flown. Tökör has come to Manas to account for his work in person. Just as Yash-Aydar as a loyal herald was never really in danger of being put up as a prize by Bok Murun, so Tökör as a loyal armourer was never really in danger of being put to death by Manas. An older man, he makes his point with easy familiarity, addressing his young lord as 'Hothead' and warning him against wounding himself with such a deadly weapon, since, like some famous swords of Germanic heroic poetry, its edge has been baited with snake-venom during the forging.¹⁴⁶ Moreover Tökör receives the title of *darkan*¹⁴⁷ that is due to him and is later rewarded

¹⁴⁴ In both poems there is talk of heroes fighting in requital of their lords' mead.

¹⁴⁵ Radlov: *sagışıp*.

¹⁴⁶ See C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry*, second ed., London, 1952, 149 f.; A. T. Hatto, 'Snake-swords and Boar-helms in *Beowulf*', *English Studies*, xxxviii, 1957, 145 ff. *uu* means not only 'poison' but also 'reptile venom', cf. *Slovar*' sub *uu*: *aşdaardın uusuna altmış kündöp öslagan* (of a sword) 'he steeped it for sixty days in dragon's venom'.

¹⁴⁷ *darkan* occurs only as a title in *BM*. When Tökör is otherwise referred to it is always by means of *usta* (from the Persian) 'artificer' (e.g. 1621; 1628; 1646; 1664 f.). At first sight, it might be taken for 'sir', a generalized and democratized descendant of *tarḡan*, the high title known from the Turkic runic inscriptions. Radlov, however, translates as 'Künstler' and in his *Versuch eines Wörterbuches* renders it as 'Schmied'. In his *Slovar*', Yudakhin gives the primary meaning as 'smith', and the secondary transferred meaning as 'respected', 'famed', 'honourable'. Armourers were highly favoured and privileged in armies, hence, it is alleged, the transferred meaning. It seems perilous to take up a point of Kirgiz lexicography with its most distinguished master: but there is at least one link missing here. If we turn to Kazakh, we find *darqan* (1) 'expert, master'; (2) 'honest; friendly, considerate man' (B. Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English dictionary*, The Hague, 1966). But sense (1) is confined to south-east Kazakhstan, i.e. the part bordering on Kirgizia. Karakalp. *darqan* 'free, untrammelled' (N. A. Baskakov, *Karakalpaksko-russkiy slovar*', Moscow, 1958). Uzb. *darkhon* means 'exempt (from obligations), privileged' (Akabirov, Magrufov, and Khodzhaqhanov, *Uzbeksko-russkiy slovar*', Moscow, 1959). Tatar *tarkhan* 'free, subordinated to none' is derived by the lexicographers from the historic 'high rank known in the Tatar Khanates' (Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Kazanskiy Institut Yazyka, Literaturny i Istorii, *Tatarsko-russkiy slovar*', Moscow, 1966). From this it appears that there has been a semantic evolution from *tarḡan*, with its implication of high rank, in a generalized and even democratized sense parallel in some respects to that of Med. Latin *senior* and Middle High German *hërre* 'lord'. The meanings 'free, privileged as a lord; gentlemanly; honourable sir'

for his work by Manas with the gift of 40 horses and the two daughters of Joloy-kan: a high reward.¹⁴⁸ A further very suggestive trait of this master-armourer occurs at 2168 *šolok usta darkandı / Batır Manas čakırat*. Yudakhin does not cite *šolok* in his *Slovar*'. But it has been seen that *š* frequently occurs for *č* in *BM*. Reading *čolok* 'multilated in leg or hand' for *šolok*, the sense would be: 'Warrior Manas summoned his lame(d) smith, the noble artificer'. In this case, Tökör would join the lamed Germanic smith Weland and, somewhat more remotely, Hephaistos.

Good servitors—one might almost call them good vassals—like Yash-Aydar and Tökör can depend on good lords like Bok Murun and Manas to accord them generous treatment. The point is underlined by the treatment meted out to the loyal soothsayer Targıl Tas by the bad lord Joloy. Joloy consults Targıl Tas before the second clash with Manas, and, disliking the repeated warnings given him after Targıl has burned and 'read' sheep's shoulder-blades,¹⁴⁹ cleaves him to the jaw with the words 'Die a thousand deaths'.¹⁵⁰

The conclusions to be drawn from the two parts of this comparison of *K* and *BM* are as follows.

K and *BM* derive from an oral, hence fluid common source in verse, which nevertheless had some set narrative data, e.g. the death of Kökötöy, the accession of Bok Murun, the announcement by the latter of a great funeral feast, the promulgation of a Plan for the nomadizing of his people to the venue where the Feast and Games were to be held, his invitation, with threats, to the surrounding heroes in a Catalogue... (thus far *K*). The common source further had some memorable and memorizable passages, e.g. intricately constructed epithets; it was in process of assimilation to the *Manas* cycle with a corresponding scanting of Bok Murun's role, and hence in a state of incipient decadence; it was imbued with an ethos easily recognized as 'heroic'; and it brought in the recent uprising of Jaŋır-kojo (1822–8) by placing him and the traditional hero Er Koşoy on the same historico-legendary plane, possibly as a result of propagandist manipulation of Kirgiz heroic poetry by insurrectionist Kashgaris. Since *K* (very probably) and *BM* (certainly) were recorded from the Bugu tribe of the Kirgiz it is likely that the immediate common source

emerge. Only the south-east Kazakh and Kirgiz meanings 'expert, artificer, smith' are discrepant. Rather than accept the semantic development implied by Yudakhin it seems preferable to bring the Mongol *darkhan* into the picture, as Sir Harold Bailey first suggested to me in correspondence. Dr. C. R. Bawden notes: 'In modern Mongol, *darkhan* either has two meanings (1) "craftsman"; (2) "holy, inviolable"—or these are two words of identical phonetic form'. There would seem to be, then, an overlay of Mongol *darkhan* 'craftsman' on the Turkic substratum *taryan* 'honoured' etc., giving an honorific meaning of, say, 'noble smith, honourable Master'. What repercussions the accentuation of the first syllable in the Mongol form and of the second in the Turkic may have had, must be left to the philologists.

¹⁴⁸ *BM*, 1757 ff.; 2189 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *dalı jak*-. The soothsayer interprets the fire-cracks, a very ancient type of divination in the Far East.

¹⁵⁰ Though it is not in the text, Radlov's muse inspired him to add, completing the verse-measure: 'Du Hund!'.

came from the same eastern region; and if the inference of pro-*Ĵanjır* propaganda is correct, this common source would be situated in the later 1820's or even early 1830's, i.e. a good generation earlier than *K* and *BM*. Such a date would harmonize with their divergent evolution. Lastly, there is no reason for not assuming on the basis of this mid-nineteenth-century material that earlier oral poems on the theme of *Kökötöy's* Funeral Feast with a more developed role for Bok Murun may have antedated the 1820's considerably.

Typical of *K's* version of the common source is the presentation of *Kökötöy* as a great Khan of the Nogay with his White Pavilion (*ak ordo* ?) as his central headquarters, with a magnificent old-fashioned, possibly archaizing funeral, a mausoleum, and funeral games; with a suspect hill 'Navel of the Earth' misplaced on the Chinese *limes*; with a mythic or pseudo-mythic journey to the 'Inner Khan' in the Altay Mountains—all suggesting (until disproved) learned influence on a bard of some refinement who stood near to the tribal centre. The lost Kirgiz original of *K* was an oral composition in verse which employed head-rhyme to link couplets and also used the parallelistic technique, whether in couplets or in quatrains (one of which latter was misplaced from the beginning of Bok Murun's Plan to its middle). Its use of epithets tended to be static.

BM's version is appreciably lower in tone, indeed it can descend very low, so that if *K* suggests the adjective 'courtly', *BM* requires 'plebeian'. *BM* evinces a higher degree of assimilation to the *Manas* cycle, for *Manas* has assumed *Kökötöy's* and Bok Murun's role as lord of the Nogay, and *BM* insists on a very early aristia for *Manas*. Despite its often vulgar tone it preserves set lyrical passages that formulate the heroic ethos in a manner which is classic. A fine heroic song which had known better days is in process of slow disintegration, a process reflected in its sometimes quite remarkable epithets, which, for their part, may turn out to possess more genuine 'ancientry' than the archaizing features of *K*. Radlov's text of *BM* is open to improvement by normal philological methods. His translation is so hasty that comparativists use it at their peril.

In order to assure integrity of method it was held that until the mid-nineteenth-century material has been sifted in the original and the twentieth-century material has been edited, published, and analysed, it will be dangerous to attempt to co-ordinate the *Manas* material of these two centuries.

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