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**KOZ-KAMAN PART - 2**

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## KÖZ-KAMAN

by

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London

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО ИСТОРИКО-ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОГО ФАКУЛЬТЕТА  
УНИВЕРСИТЕТА ИМЕНИ Л. Н. ГУМИЛЕВА  
МОСКВА

### PART II

The dealings of Kōz-kaman and his five sons with Manas in *Kōz-kaman* (KK) are strange and baffling. And if we include the one roughly contemporary episode that refers to this action, Manas's wedding with Kanikey and its sequel,<sup>1</sup> puzzlement grows.

The first question to be asked must be: precisely who murdered or at least knocked out<sup>2</sup> Manas?

At KK 2403ff Altin-ai interprets a part of Kanikey's foreboding dream (KK 2463ff) which the bard had skipped when narrating it:<sup>3</sup>

'obodan bos<sup>4</sup> turum tai  
bos torgoidu karmasa,  
Kōs Kamandin beš ūlu  
batir törönü öltüröt . . .'

('when the grey<sup>4</sup> merlin[s] from the pass seized the grey lark, [this meant:] the five sons of Kōz-kaman would kill [your] heroic lord...')

In harmony with this, at 2516ff Manas, returning from Mekka after the resuscitation of his poisoned Companions, kills Kōz-kaman's 'heathen Kalmak sons':

<sup>1</sup> Radlov, V, I, 3) 558ff. See p. 243, below.

<sup>2</sup> I adopt this expression from Arthur Waley's *Kutune Shirka*. The Ainu Epic. In: *Botteghe Oscure* VII (1952), p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> In his German translation Radlov draws attention to this omission (V, I, 5) 2484, note.

<sup>4</sup> One suspects *beš* ('five'), taken up in line 2495, rather than *bos* ('light-grey'), which could have come in by attraction from l. 2494. In epic-dreams of foreboding the number of the malefactors symbolized by some bird or beast in the dream provides the key to their identity, cf KK 886f 'beš börü bir börünü/talasa'ol koyobu!' (Kanikey's variant of the foreboding of Manas's mother at 746).

2517 Kös Kamandin baldarin  
Kapir Kalmak öltürdü.

This suggests the collective guilt of the five sons.<sup>5</sup>

Closer reading of the text, however, reveals Kökçögöz as the villain of the piece and his father Kös-kaman as quite innocent in thought word and deed. When Kös-kaman invites Manas to a feast, Kanikey foretells that Kökçögöz will attack Manas with his dagger;<sup>6</sup> and although the name of the attacker is not given when the narrative reaches this event, we must assume by epic convention that it was indeed Kökçögöz.<sup>7</sup> Despite the deadly nature of the weapon, despite its point having reached Manas's temple, and despite the bard's reproach to God for abandoning Manas, the latter comes to no harm.<sup>8</sup> The incident is brushed aside as a drunken brawl, Kös-kaman separates the brawlers, Manas neither bears malice nor seems even to remember the happening. When next morning Manas calls to arms against the Kalmak, Kös-kaman warns him against them. A second episode in which Kökçögöz's nastiness is shown without effect is at 2308ff. Here Kökçögöz invites Kargaldai, brother of the Kalmak messenger 'Sly-boy',<sup>9</sup> to join him in robbing Manas. Kökçögöz rides to Manas, but this motif seems to peter out. The third and culminating incident is at 2388ff when, after the war has ended, Manas, his Companions and the 'Kalmak', i. e. the 'Kös-kamans', rest and feast after hunting, and Kökçögöz takes advantage of the general drunken brawling to serve Manas and his men poisoned arak. Manas flees on his steed

<sup>5</sup> The correspondence is exact. But since Manas in his anti-Kalmak rage would have killed Altin-ai (2510ff), it might be thought that this weakens the argument. On the other hand Manas makes no attempt to kill Kös-kaman.

<sup>6</sup> 1276ff. The description of the weapon presents difficulties: 1278 *kekirtäk saptü çot bolot*, cf 1425 *kekirtäk saptü çok bolot*; 1431 *çok bolot. çok I* ('tassel') would imply a weapon with tassels on its *sap* ('hilt'): *çot II* ('hatchet with cross-blades') looks more likely. *kekirtäk* ('windpipe') *saptü* ('hilted') suggests either a rippled shape of the hilt for grip, or a covering for the hilt made from the windpipe of some animal, also for grip. Radlov's renderings at 1278 and 1425 virtually nullify each other.

<sup>7</sup> 1423ff.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly in answer to Kanikey's prayer 1282f *'törömö aip bolbosun! berişü tayip ketpäsın!* ('Let no defect be found in my lord! May [his guardian] angel not glide away [from him]!') Cf Radlov. 'Das wird Unglück für ihn geben. Wird der Engel fort sich wenden.'

<sup>9</sup> Known only by his soubriquet *'ku[u] bala'*, 376 etc.

but Kökčögöz fires an *ak-kelle* (ancient fire-arm) and hits him in the hand or arm, whereupon Manas falls into a ravine, giving a death-rattle. Köz-kaman is not mentioned again except as the father of his five heathen Kalmak sons, whom Manas killed on his return from Mekka.

If we now turn to V, I, 3), which seems to come from the same general bardic school as *KK*,<sup>10</sup> we find that the plot of the Köz-kaman story is utilized in a manner as brief as it is interesting, at a point after Manas's nuptials with Kanikey. Meñdi Bay, the grey-beard adviser of Kanikey's father, Temir, has opposed the match all along,<sup>11</sup> and now that it has been consummated he seeks to disrupt it by murder.

I 3) 1080 Bu Kalmaktin beri Jagi,  
busurmandin ari Jagi  
Kökčökös-minän Kamañ Köš  
Uru üyü bar ekän,  
ala kök sakal Meñdi Bai  
kabar bergän ekän deit  
'arakiga bal kuyup  
ü košup čaikañar!  
bu Manaska beräli!  
kabar salgan ekän deit.

(On this side of those [damned] Kalmak, on the farther side of the Muslims was the house of the thieves Kaman-kös and Kökčökös. The greybeard Meñdi Bay made it known,<sup>12</sup> they say: 'Pouring honey into his arak, add poison and shake it! Let us give it to that [cursed] Manas!' He had made it known, they say.)

Manas carouses, not knowing that he is drinking poison. After a set invocation of his Forty Companions,<sup>13</sup> he 'dies' and is buried.

<sup>10</sup> The problem of how many bards sang which episodes of those recorded by Radlov awaits definitive solution and will only be solved on the basis of a strictly philological analysis and comparison of the texts; accompanied by the examination of any relevant papers left by Radlov. Cf the following passing observations on this problem by myself: 'The Birth of Manas', *Asia Major*, New Series XIV (1969), p. 238; 'Kukotay and Bok Murun', *BSOAS* XXXII (1969), p. 344; p. 365 and note 122; p. 541, note 10; 'Almambot, Er Kökčö and Ak Erkeč', *CAJ* XIII (1969), p. 161 and note 2.

<sup>11</sup> V, I, 3) 644ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Kabar ber-* is literally to tell news. What Meñdi Bay made known was his wishes. Radlov: 'Befehl'.

<sup>13</sup> See Hatto, A. T., 'Shamanism and Epic Poetry in Northern Asia',

This passage gives us the plot of the *Köz-kaman* episode in brief:

Two thieves (brigands?) who live neither with the Kalmak nor with the Muslims but somewhere between them, kill Manas with poisoned arak. The name of the senior or more important is Kaman Kös,<sup>14</sup> that of his accomplice is Kökčökös. The line 1682 *Kökčökös-minän Kaman Kös* may well be the most archaic survival of the *Köz-kaman* plot, since apart from its alliteration it shows complete parallelism in the structure of the names: *Kaman-köz* = 'Swine-eye',<sup>15</sup> *Kökčöös-köz* = 'Blue-jackal-eye'.<sup>16</sup> The two malefactors are appropriately named, and their names have a very close affinity: yet it is not explicit that their affinity is that of kinship.

The available evidence of the early 1800's, then, is partly concordant, partly discordant. Under 'concordant' we may cite: Kökčögöz, who belongs neither to the Kalmak nor to the Muslim, kills Manas by adding poison to his arak.<sup>17</sup> This Kökčögöz is closely associated with a (senior) *Kaman-köz* or *Köz-kaman*. Under 'discordant' the chief items are: i) the question of the other's complicity, ii) the order of the two elements of his name - *Kaman* ('swine'), *Köz* ('eye').

If one works back from the 20th century versions of Sagymbay and Sayakbay, one achieves a similar result.

In Sagymbay's version, Manas's paternal uncle Üsön has been sent to the Chinese in Manchuria and is there renamed *Köz-kaman*.<sup>18</sup> Learning of Manas's greatness he decides to rejoin his kinsmen with his sons. They are received with munificence and induced to cut their hair and shave as Muslims,<sup>19</sup> a rite which does

Foundation Day Lecture of the School of Oriental and African Studies 1970 (London, 1970), pp. 17f.

<sup>14</sup> The *n* in *Kaman* shows velarization of *n* before *k* in *kös*.

<sup>15</sup> Rakhmatullin, K. A., 'Tvorchestvo manaschi' in *Manas, geroicheskiy spos kirgizskogo naroda* (Frunze, 1968) p. 133 recognises the animal origin of '*Köz-kaman*', see pp. 246f below.

<sup>16</sup> This second animal-image, and hence the full parallelism, has not been noted before, to the best of my knowledge.

<sup>17</sup> In I 3), Kökčögöz poisons Manas under orders of a man of an alien tribe. In *KK*, under duress of the Kalmak, Kökčögöz offered to fight openly against Manas: his poisoning of Manas was not instigated by the Kalmak, but was conceived and executed after their defeat. Collusion with alien tribesmen remains as a vague common motif.

<sup>18</sup> Rakhmatullin, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>19</sup> Cf the external circumstances of conversion to Islam in *KK*, p. 260 below.

not please them and causes them to murmur against Manas. Kanikey warns Manas. Kökçögöz proposes that they should add poison to Manas's kumys and arak, but old Köz-kaman does not consent to the betrayal. Kökçögöz nevertheless acts on his own. Manas and his Forty are invited and given the poisoned drink. The Forty fall, but Manas is smuggled away on his steed Akkula by his Comrade Bozuul. Kökçögöz gives chase and shoots Manas with Akkelte.<sup>20</sup> Manas falls wounded from a cliff and is accounted dead by the 'Köz-kamans', who, with the exception of the scandalized Köz-kaman, begin to plunder. Köz-kaman secretly helps Kanikey, who with the assistance of the Companions Serek and Sirgak cures Manas with her medicaments. Learning of Manas's return, Köz-kaman's sons fight among themselves and are all killed.

In keeping with Sayakbay's ambitious architectonics, his Köz-kaman episode is inserted into his *Semeley*, the epic of Manas's only son, in the form of a retrospective narrative by Kanikey.<sup>21</sup> Here, when the 'Kitai' scatter the Kirgiz, five of the latter turn up in 'Beydzhin' (Pekin) and take on 'infidel' ways.<sup>22</sup> The Kitai later induce the Five with promises of power to go to Manas, urging their relationship with him, and treacherously to bring back his head. They succeed in poisoning Manas,<sup>23</sup> but Kanikey heals him. The malefactors make off with Manas's treasure, are pursued by Manas's braves and destroyed. (In the text of the article from which this is quoted both the mutual blood-relationships of the Five and their degree of relationship with Manas are unclassified. The Harmonized *Manas* speaks first of 'kinship' (*tuugandik*, I, 268, 65) and then

<sup>20</sup> The capitalization of Akkelte shows that this must be Manas's legendary weapon. But at *KK* 2412, as it stands, there is no reason to believe that it is anything other than an 'ak-kelte' (some sort of terrible ancient firearm). Altogether, the magical accoutrements and animals, so prominent in the more popular 20th century versions and so rare in the more aristocratic 10th century versions require investigation. See p. 257, below.

<sup>21</sup> As far as I am aware, Sayakbay's version of *Köz-kaman* is as yet unpublished. I trust I am giving its narrative contents when I follow Rakhmatullin, op. cit. pp. 134f, eked out by reference in my footnotes to the Harmonized Version of *Manas* I (Frunzo, 1958) pp. 267-295, which is based in the main on Sayakbay.

<sup>22</sup> The Harmonized *Manas* at I, 270, 6ff has the amusing trait the Five crum their head-gear down on their heads lest their pigtailed come to view.

<sup>23</sup> According to the Harmonized *Manas* at I, 268, 74ff they had sworn to do this on the 'Biçik' or Kalmak Holy Book, and embracing the *Burkhan* or Kalmak Bronze Idol.

traces collateral descent through Manas's paternal grandfather Orozdu (I, 269, 35 ff). This last may well be the work of the harmonizers. K. Rakhmatullin's article (which offers an abbreviated version of an unpublished thesis) states explicitly that among the Five there was no 'Üsön'.<sup>24</sup>

The thematic area within which the plot moved may be given thus. Some kinsmen of Manas, the senior of whom was named 'Köz-kaman'<sup>25</sup> lived away from the Nogoy,<sup>26</sup> over towards the Kalmak,<sup>27</sup> whose way of life they adopted. They were moved to visit Manas, who received them well. During their stay one of them knocked Manas out by poisoning his arak. Where no individual poisoner was named the name of Köz-kaman, the senior, was used as a type-name: but when the poisoner was specified he was the junior Kökčögöz. Manas was then revived by his wife Kanikey, and the malefactor(s) was (were) destroyed.

If, as I assumed at the beginning of Part I of this study, *Köz-kaman* shows that the alien Kalmak way of life can corrupt the best Nogoy-Kirgiz stock, then specific attribution of the betrayal to the junior Kökčögöz follows logically. In such a version old Köz-kaman would remember his former Nogoy-Kirgiz morality: whereas the younger Kökčögöz would have no such memories. In versions in which Köz-kaman was exculpated, there would be the bonus of the respect, even reverence owed by custom to a very old man,<sup>28</sup> compared with whom Kökčögöz was merely the eldest of five brothers.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, the meanings of the two names point to an older and harsher version. There can be little doubt that parallel to *Kökčögöz-köz* ('blue-jackal-eye'), the original form of *Kamañ-köz* (Radlov V, I, 3) 1682) and *Köz-kaman* (all other versions) was *Kaman-köz*<sup>30</sup> ('swine-eye'). K. Rakhmatullin or his abbreviator renders *Köz-*

<sup>24</sup> Op. cit. Rakhmatullin's abbreviator comments: 'Thus in Sayakbay's version both the 'Köz-kamans' and the motives of their betrayal are completely different from those in Sagymbay'. This is an over-statement: but we can agree that there are serious discrepancies.

<sup>25</sup> Or: 'Kaman-köz' see below.

<sup>26</sup> 'Epic' and idealized Kirgiz.

<sup>27</sup> The Chinese in the 20th century versions come by extension from Kalmak - Sino-Kalmak.

<sup>28</sup> Köz-kaman was a 'kak baš' (1586, turning sixty (2375)).

<sup>29</sup> Kökčögöz was the 'aksakal' among his brothers (711 ff).

<sup>30</sup> The velar nasal is here implied by its position in modern Kirgiz orthography.





to cite warriors' names with either *qaban*<sup>35</sup> or *toñuz* to set beside those with *toyril* ('bird of prey'), *arslan* ('Lion') and other elements naming formidable birds and beasts. The early 14th century (Cairene) MS of the didactic *Qutaydu bilig* (11th century) includes the boar with the wolf, fox, lion and bear as quarry pursued by a great hunter:

böri tilkü arslan adıy ja toñuz  
seniñdin qutulmaz ölüv avda tüz.<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand, the only passage of early Turkic poetry in the heroic vein which mentions the boar, pairs him with the fox:

Çayrı birib quşlatu + taiyan idib tişlatu  
tilki toñuz taşlatu + ärdäm bilä öklälim.<sup>37</sup>

C. Brockelmann translated 'Wir wollen den Falken senden und ihn Vögel jagen lassen, wir wollen den Windhund hetzen und ihn beißen lassen, Fuchs und Schwein wollen wir steinigen lassen . . .'.<sup>38</sup> But, 'stoning' (using a sling?) is not a practical method of hunting either boar or fox, nor is it authenticated for the Middle East or Europe in the mediaeval period.<sup>39</sup> It seems preferable to derive *taşlatu* not from *taşlat* - II = 'to have stoned' but from *taşlat* - I = 'to drive out'.<sup>40</sup> This would imply that at this time (Kāshgari's date is 1072-4) both pig and fox were regarded by hunters as vermin. Since the warriors of these poetic fragments are militant Muslims, it is appropriate that the destructive and abominable (though luscious) pig should be classed with the fox. That Turks once hunted the boar in a more positive sense, however, appears not only from the passage quoted above<sup>41</sup> but also from an Uigur Buddhist confession of sins, where the sinner repents among other things of having been

<sup>35</sup> *qaban* is not listed in Nadelyaev, V. M., Nasilov, D. M., Tenishev, D. R., Shcherbak, A. M., *Drevneturkskiy slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969), which gives Old Turkic lexica up to and including the 13th century.

<sup>36</sup> *Drevnet. slov., sub arslan I.*

<sup>37</sup> 'Alturkestanische Volkspoesie' I, *Asia Major*, Introductory Volume (1923) = Hirth Anniversary Volume, p. 20 (B. 3).

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Dr. Kurt Lindner, in a letter to the writer.

<sup>40</sup> Sir Gerard Clauson, in a letter to the writer. Cf *Drevnet. slov. sub. vb.*

<sup>41</sup> p. Sventh Cine on this page.

a *toʻuzçi* ('boar-hunter', 'pig-sticker').<sup>42</sup> Within the Muslim world farther to the West and at a later date there is a reference in the early Uzbek *Muhakamat al-lugatayn* (15th century) to the *toʻuz* ('wild pig') as one of the most important beasts hunted in Central Asia, the boar being named *kaban*, the sow *mägäjin*.<sup>43</sup>

Clearly on the positive side of *kaban*-imagery so far as Kirgiz is concerned are the following facts of poetic and ethnic nomenclature. One of Manas's own Forty Companions bears the name of 'Kaman'.<sup>44</sup> 'Kaman' also occurs at least four times as a name of larger or smaller sub-divisions among the Kirgiz tribes: i) in the descending sequence Soltu (tribe) – Talkan – Koşoy – Kaman;<sup>45</sup> ii) in the sequence Basiz (tribe) – Kaman;<sup>46</sup> iii) in the sequence Bugu (tribe) – Arik – Bal taty – Beş Kaman (i.e. 'Five Boars or Swine');<sup>47</sup> (iv) in the sequence Saruu (tribe) – Kirk uul – Beş Kaman.<sup>48</sup> That the 'Beş-Kaman' have their name from the bardic *Köz-kaman* episode seems assured by the occurrence of the sub-division 'Kökçö Köz' in the descending sequence Munduz (tribe) – Bay Munduz (Ak-üyli) – Kökçö köz.<sup>49</sup> Some of these 'Kökçö Köz' had a settlement at Dyurbeldzhin (Russified 'Dürböljün'<sup>50</sup> in the Ak-Talinskiy rayon.<sup>51</sup> The pattern is repeated among the southern Munduz in

see also  
note foot p. 27  
(positive  
kaman in  
BM)

<sup>42</sup> *Drevnet. slov., sub vb.*

<sup>43</sup> Shcherbak, A. M., 'Nazvaniya domashnikh i dikikh zhivotnykh', pp. 124f.

<sup>44</sup> Kaman occurs regularly linked with Joipur (*Joybur* = 'pusher', 'sly-boots') in Manas's set invocations: Radlov, V, I, 3) 301; I, 3) 1717; I, 3) 2530; BM 362. It may be significant that of only two set Invocations of the Forty which omit Kaman (and Joipur), one is KK (lines 1460ff), the other being V, I, 2) at lines 1136ff. The presence of 'Kaman' among the Forty argues for some antiquity, since I have made a case elsewhere for the Shamanistic origin of Manas's Invocations ('Shamanism and epic poetry in Northern Asia', Foundation Day Lecture 1970 of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (London, 1970) pp. 17f.

<sup>45</sup> Abramzon, S. M. 'Ėtnicheskiy sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya severnoy Kirgizii', *Trudy kirgizskoy arkhologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii IV* (Moscow, 1960), Ris. 40 (Solto), opp. p. 24. The fact cannot escape notice here that 'Koshoy' is the name of a famous hero of the *Manas*-cycle: the interpretation must be left to specialists.

<sup>46</sup> Vinnikov, Ya. R., 'Rodo-plemennyy sostav i rasselenie Kirgizov na territorii yuzhnoy Kirgizii', *Trudy kirgizskoy arkhologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii I* (Moscow, 1956), Ris. 10 p. 155.

<sup>47</sup> Abramzon, *op. cit.*, Ris 2, (Bugu) opp. p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Abramzon, *op. cit.*, Ris 16 (Saruu), opp. p. 66. Cf Vinnikov, *op. cit.*, Ris. 8 (Saruu), opp. p. 154: Saruu – Kyrk-ugul – Beshkaman.

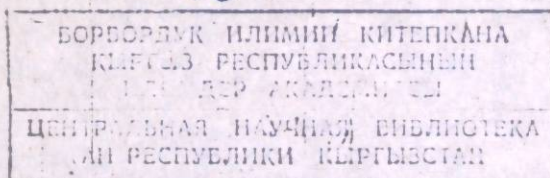
<sup>49</sup> Abramzon, *op. cit.*, Ris. 21 (Munduz), p. 81.

<sup>50</sup> 'Dürböljün' is one of Kökçögöz's brothers, see p. 257 below.

<sup>51</sup> Abramzon, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

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the descending sequence Munduz (tribe) - Jarike - Ak-üyli - Kokčagoz.<sup>52</sup>

The *Kaban*-image in Central Asia and among the Kirgiz thus appears to have been subject to a certain ambivalence, in which the weightiest factor was of course the Muslim abomination of pork, made more acute among the Kirgiz by the proximity of the pork-loving Chinese civilization and most colourfully expressed in another episode of heroic poetry in which it is implied that the Kalmak ride out with pork hanging from their saddles.<sup>53</sup>

In the light of the foregoing, the tentative conclusion seems justified that the primitive story of *Kaman-Köz* ('Swine-eye'), who treacherously poisoned his kinsman or fellow-tribesman, and of his accomplice *Kökčöö-köz* ('Blue-jackal-eye'), took shape at a time when at least the outward observance of Islam had been accepted by the Kirgiz, a time which cannot be taken very far back beyond the eighteenth century. If the ethnologists could date the tribal subdivisions 'Beš Kaman' and 'Kökčö-köz', some greater precision might be obtained.

In *KK*, the 'Köz-kamans' as middle-men involve the Nogay-Kirgiz with the Kalmak. The structure of the episode very much reflects that of an 'Auseinandersetzung'. There is much coming and going anywhere between Manas's base on the Talas to the SW and that of the Kalmak Ai Kan in the mythical Altai in the NE. The first impulse in either direction is that of Manas when his men and horses have grown fat and lazed too long, and he summons them to ride and camp between the peaceful Kalmak of the 'Altai' and the 'Künkai'<sup>54</sup> (154ff). The unheeded warnings of Manas's wives and of his steed Ak-kula provide a riantando, and then Manas's

<sup>52</sup> Vinnikov, *op. cit.*, Ris. 9 (Munduz) opp. p. 155. 'Kokčagoz' = Russified 'Kökčögöz.'

<sup>53</sup> V, I, 3) 708 'Jalpak tö äigip jailagan/čöčkonu\* kesip alip/kanfigamga bailangan/šögörök kalpak čoktū börük/Kalmaktin jurtun kidirim . . .' (Jakip speaks) 'Coming out on-to a flat mountain to summer, slaughtering a pig for myself and tying it to my [saddle] strap, I wandered through the land of the Kalmaks [who wear] round pointed felt hats [and] tufted caps . . .' i.e. in order to try and find Manas a wife, his father Jakip so far demeaned himself as to adopt the [alleged] Kalmak custom of suspending a slaughtered pig from his saddle. (\*Radlov čöčkonun.) In other episodes recorded by Radlov the Kalmak or the Kitai suspend a leg of pork, e.g. V, I, 3) 1750 čöčkonun sanin kanfigaga bailangan, cf V, II (*Joloi-kan*) 4876 čöčkonun sanin algaysip, / kesip belinā bailangan.

<sup>54</sup> See Pt. I, pp. 90ff.

incipient penetration of the other region is countered by the penetration into his region by the sly Kalmak boy, with whose wiles and alien speech and ways only the ex-Kalmak Almambet can deal (390 ff). This first contact with the Kalmak is rendered with touches of the poetic and sinister that recall German Romantic balladry and which Radlov naturally reflected in his translation:

300 In der Fern' stieg blauer Dampf auf,  
Scht, da kommt ein Mensch geritten . . .  
'Als ich um mich schauend spähte, Herr,  
Dessen Antlitz bleich von Farbe,  
Dessen Augen Feuer glühend,  
Ohne Bart, mit glattom Kinno,  
Seinem Ansehn nach ein Heide,  
Solch ein Mensch kommt hergeritten...'<sup>55</sup>

The boy is shackled, but the impulse continues towards the SW, for Almambet has to obtain confirmation from Manas's father Jakip that the kinsmen of which the boy speaks existed (684 ff). Further slowing down of the action is occasioned by the forebodings of Manas's mother Bagdi Döölöt and Kanikey (736 ff and 868 ff). Almambet now returns with confirmation and Sly-boy now continues back on the NE impulse initiated by Almambet, towards the Kōz-kamans, while Manas returns SW towards the Talas (942 ff). The Kōz-kamans must have been far advanced on their SW impulse whose initiation was not specifically narrated, since the ominous barking of Manas's dogs announces their arrival (1010 ff). At this point, when Manas's longing to have proper kinsmen is about to be fulfilled by their conversion to Islam, his patriotic but unrestrained Companion Serek questions his intention and upbraids Almambet as one who had fled after killing a man or men of the Kalmak-that-swarm-in-the-Altai, that is, a kinsman or kinsmen of his (1041 ff). Yet the action rests in this region for a feast, conversion ritual<sup>56</sup> and a period of right-

<sup>55</sup> *Körünbösö kök tüündöi sosulat, / bir adamsat kelä jatat . . . aṅdip karap tursam, bem, / öṅü \*Eöttü körünöt, / közü ottü körünöt, sakali jok takirdai, / deni bolso kapirdai . . .* \*Radlov reads *küttü* here (line 309) but *Eöttü* in the parallel passages at 407 and 530. Neither *küt* nor *Eöt*, neither *küttüü* nor *Eöttüü*, is recorded by Yūdakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiy slovar'* (Moscow, 1965): *Eööt-tüü* not cited could mean 'having puddles': but this would scarcely cohere with the boy's burning eyes.

<sup>56</sup> Drastically conceived, see pp. 260 below.

living by the Kōz-kamans followed by a return-feast given by them (1075ff). It is at this feast that Kōkčögöz shows his hand by stabbing Manas so ineffectually.<sup>57</sup> Strange to relate this is followed by a new impulse towards the NE: Manas intends to raid the Kalmak. That this is a crucial resolve is underlined by the set invocation of his Forty (1454ff). It only emerges incidentally, later, that the Kōz-kamans are with his army and that their knowledge of the Kalmak country will be of use (1572ff). When Manas's men have arrived within striking distance, he sends Kōkčögöz on to reconnoitre: but 'the Kalmak' Kōkčögöz<sup>58</sup> is recognised and captured by Ai Kan's men. He then buys himself off with an offer to betray Manas. Almambet seems to misbelieve Kōkčögöz's lying report of the Kalmak, for he himself goes in to the very centre of Ai Kan's camp to reconnoitre, even into the yurt of Ai Kan's daughter Altin-ai on whom he leaves his mark with a kiss-bite and whom he claims later as his bride. Manas then routs and plunders the Kalmak (2265ff). On the way SW to the Talas Manas is poisoned and wounded (2384ff). Kanikey revives Manas with the help of Kan Kojo, Prince of Mekka, who comes to him from there, but in order to revive his Forty, Manas himself has to go there and return, tracing and re-tracing a vast further extension of his axis to the SW. The *raison-d'être* of this remarkably consistent NE-SW axis now becomes apparent. When a good Muslim of the Talas region has his back to Mekka he has his face towards the heathen of the Altai, and when he turns towards Mekka he turns his back on them and all their ways. It is no accident that Manas is saved by Kan Kojo from Mekka and has to renew his powers by going there; or that immediately on his return thence he slays all the sons of Kōz-kaman, the last Kalmak in the field, and the most perfidious, since they were his own kinsmen (2421ff).

In *KK* there are two accounts of Kōz-kaman, the one biographical (434ff), the other descriptive (1031ff). From the former we learn that he was Jakip's younger brother and was captured by raiding Kalmak at the age of six. He grew up among the Kalmak and 'Kitai' (who may be taken as Chinese).<sup>59</sup> He became one of these

<sup>57</sup> See p. 242 above.

<sup>58</sup> 'The Kalmak, amusingly enough, curses the 'Kalmak' Kōkčögöz: 1054 *atanın körü Kōkčögös, | Kalmak kelä jatat doit . . .*'

<sup>59</sup> Radlov 345 'Bei den Kyrym [Crimeans] wohnte er' comes from a misapprehension of *kirim* I = 'distant land'. In any case, *Kiringa aarip* must read *Kiringa barip*.

(856f *el/şurt bolup*). He grew up and had five sons, one of whom, Kökçögöz, is now a white-beard,<sup>60</sup> which is rather difficult to reconcile with the later statement that Köz-kaman is just on sixty (2375). It is poetically correct that in this first account, Sly-boy passes over Köz-kaman's personal appearance to dwell on the sinister aspect (450 *kara niyät*) of Kökçögöz, the real villain.<sup>61</sup> Köz-kaman is fittingly described later on arriving in Manas's camp. Mounted on a light grey, he wears a hardened sheep-skin<sup>62</sup> and carries a sword in a felt sheath and a slow-match<sup>63</sup> rifle. 'If you knock up against him, do not molest<sup>64</sup> him! Do not ask his name and business!' Köz-kaman comes on like a billy-goat with a grey-flecked beard. It seems that Köz-kaman is too formidable and venerable to be mishandled. The place he is said to come from agrees well with that of the thief 'Kaman Kös' in V, I 3):

KK 585 kapir-minän busurman  
ortosunan köštü . . .

('... he migrated from the region between the Muslims and the Infidel . . .')

I 3) 1680 Bu Kalmaktin beri Jagi,  
busurmandin ari Jagi . . .

('... this side of the Kalmak, out beyond the Muslims . . .')

Köz-kaman's status requires a few words. He is perhaps a 'lord' (*törö*), since his sons are 'lordly' (*törödöi*, 447), but see the citation of lines 709ff below. Is he a Khan? When announcing Köz-kaman's advent to Almambet, Sly-boy claims to come from a people that

<sup>60</sup> See below p. 255.

<sup>61</sup> Radlov, translation 450 'Kökschägär' is an error for 'Kökçögöz', which stands in the original.

<sup>62</sup> 1034 *koşogoiu ton*: cf Radlov 'Reich geschmückt ist sein Kleid'.

<sup>63</sup> *çotolo-doi*: Radlov 'gewaltig'.

<sup>64</sup> 1037 *buřama*, from *bura*- II 'twist', of *BM 150 Kaşkar Jarkan buragan, / miñ Kitaidi suragan* 'oppressing Kashgar and Yarkent, commanding thousands of Chinese . . .' The stock rhymes *bura*-.: *sura*- at *KK 1037f* and *BM 150f* make it certain that *bura*- I, 2 'kiss' is not intended in the first place, though there may be a pun. Radlov (apparently confusing *bur*- and *bura*-) 'Kehr nicht um . . .' The extended meaning 'oppress, molest, tyrannize' from *bura*- II 'twist' is not recorded by Yudakhin, *Slovar*'.

has a lord,<sup>65</sup> and, later, from a people that has a Khan.<sup>66</sup> Kōz-kaman returns from exile with his sons, only once do we learn that Kōkčögöz has three hundred men (1572ff). Had he acquired them from Manas? It is not possible to prove that Sly-boy and the latter's brother Kargaldai were Kōz-kaman's men. Thus it seems safer to suppose that the lord and Khan of a people referred to by Sly-boy is the Kalmak Ai Kan (438). On the other hand, if pressed in logic, Sly-boy's insistence that coming from a Khan he must deliver his message to a Khan, would imply either that Ai Kan had sent the Kōz-kamans (which entirely lacks support in *KK*),<sup>67</sup> or that Kōz-kaman as Jakip's brother was by courtesy a Khan. The latter interpretation would accord with Almambet's report to Jakip:

*KK* 709 'törölösö törö emäs  
kan törömdön kem omäs . . .'

('Though one calls [him] 'lord', he is no lord;<sup>68</sup> [yet] he is not inferior to my lord the Khan [Manas] . . .')

The Kōz-kaman of *KK* has been cleared of the charge of poisoning Manas that attaches to him elsewhere.<sup>69</sup> The following passages underline his innocence. At 456ff, 1029ff and 1200ff he comes not raiding but migrating with his goods and chattels clattering behind him. He is probably to be thought of as poor, until Manas sets him up (1182ff).<sup>70</sup> On the last occasion it is he himself who says so to his sons, and he goes on to say that it was the news of Manas' wealth and munificence that caused him to set out for his relations. This sufficiently motivates his return-feast to Manas and his prompt intervention when Kōkčögöz attacks his benefactor and guest (1446ff). At 1727ff he warns Manas through Almambet against the Kalmak, ending with the exact phrase which Kanikej had used of them (875):

<sup>65</sup> 419 *törölü furttan kelämin.*

<sup>66</sup> *Kandū furttan kelämin.*

<sup>67</sup> This motivation is found in the 20th version of Sayakbay, see above, p. 245.

<sup>68</sup> Cf Radlov 709 'Ob er herrscht gleich, ist's ein Fürst . . .'

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 242.

<sup>70</sup> Radlov's errors of translation (see notes 62 and 63, above) gave a wrong impression. Kōz-Kaman's hardened sheep-skin (instead of lark-eyed chain-mail) his old matchlock (instead of a percussion lock) and his felt-sheathed sword (instead of one in a gold-ornamented scabbard) are meant to indicate his penury as an exile.



1745. 'men korkomun kalmaktan ...'  
( 'I dread the Kalmak ... ' )

After this he fades out. Manas restrains Almambet from driving home his attack on Kökčögöz with the warning that they could earn old Köz-kaman's curse (2374ff). It is fair to assume that he was not slain with his sons.

Kökčögöz's sinister aspect deflected attention from his father when his family were first presented (448ff).<sup>71</sup> His brows are steep, his eyes are caverns, his thoughts evil,<sup>72</sup> his beard white.<sup>73</sup> Kanikey foresees that he will attack Manas with a textually unusual (perhaps 'Kalmak') weapon of steel<sup>74</sup> (1275ff), and this he eventually does though he is not named on this occasion (1422ff). When Manas sets out to raid the Kalmak, Kökčögöz learns of it and follows 'at the head of three hundred men'<sup>75</sup> (1572ff); and when Manas seeks to enlist his knowledge of the Kalmak country, he sends Almambet to Kökčögöz with gifts (1587ff), to which Almambet adds his personal plea that the two of them should be as two 'handles', i.e. supports, to Manas.<sup>76</sup> He rides out to reconnoitre the Kalmak at Manas's bidding, according to Radlov in Kalmak clothes,<sup>77</sup> and as he does so his belly gurgles - possibly a sinister omen.<sup>78</sup> Coming among the

<sup>71</sup> In a passage (2346ff) whose main drift does not survive in Radlov's translation, the plural 'Rosse' and 'Knaben' at 2355f are Kökčögöz and his mount. If Almambet were to kill Kökčögöz he and Manas would earn the venerable father's curse. The poisoning and shooting have yet to come (2400ff).

<sup>72</sup> See p. 252 above.

<sup>73</sup> Also: 864f.

<sup>74</sup> Also: 714.

<sup>75</sup> See above, p. 254. Cf 1669, where Kökčögöz has 100 men. Radlov, transl. 1572 'Kök Tschöbö's' followed by 1579 'Köktschögös war auch gekommen' is a typical confusion. (Did Radlov employ a stupid amanuensis?)

<sup>76</sup> 1608: *eki sap bolup*.

<sup>77</sup> Yudakhin does not record *kojogoymo* (1635) in his *Slovar*'.

<sup>78</sup> 1541 *iči kirdi šilk etip*. Radlov, incomprehensibly, 'Ritt er durch die boiden Steppen'. This must be collated with 1719 *milkinī milk etai/iči kardi šilk etai*, which Yudakhin cites in his *Slovar*' sub *milk* as: *milkinī milk etai, iči-kardi šilk etai*, with the rather free rendering 'v bokakh ego bul'kaet, vnutronnosti khlypayut' (Cf Radlov: 'Heftig schüttelt er die Hüften, Schüttelt seine Eingeweide'). Yudakhin thus takes *kardi* as the well-attested anomalous accus. of *karin* I 'belly'. Thus the question whether this belly-gurgle from a villain is an epic omen depends on the answer to the second question, whether it was Kökčögöz's belly in both instances, that gave the sound, which unfortunately is not quite clear. The issue depends on what

Kalmak, Kökčögöz is recognized by one of Ai Kan's *Jaisan*, and held. He is released on offering to kill Manas on the battlefield, with Manas's people and wives<sup>70</sup> as his reward (1642ff). He rides back, fails to give Manas a report and is then questioned by Almambet on Manas's orders. His report is that the Kalmak are all drunk and helpless, inviting attack. The omen of the belly-gurgle may here be repeated.<sup>80</sup> When Almambet later reconnoitres the Kalmak in disguise and enters Altin-ai's yurt he tells a tale full of riddles to which Altin-ai subsequently provides the key. In this way she, the clairvoyant future wife of Almambet, confirms his suspicions that Kökčögöz will try to mislead Manas, for she interprets 'the grey he-dog whose head is like a small camel-leather bucket and who barks without seeing anything'<sup>81</sup> as Kökčögöz reporting 'rumours',<sup>82</sup> i.e. lies, to Manas (2030ff). After a treacherous parley with Sly-boy's brother Kargalday,<sup>83</sup> he approaches Manas, is brought down by Almambet and spared by Manas, who fears to draw Köz-kaman's curse<sup>84</sup> (2308ff). When the campaign is over, 'that damned

meaning is given to 1718 *Jö börüsü kurugur* and how the following lines are punctuated. The issue is a very fine one. We know Almambet elsewhere as a 'Wolf', see BSOAS XXXII (1960) pp. 544ff: but I have noticed no passage in which he is '*Jö börüsü* ('fierce wolf'), and in any case *Jö börüsü* is given by Yudakhin, *Slovar* sub *börü* as a generic epithet with the meaning of 'brave' (noun), whereas Almambet's 'Grey-man he-wolf, kite of the hills' epithet is highly specific. If *kurugur* ('wretch') implies commiseration, then it will be a reference to Almambet as an exile; yet Almambet acts in a masterful and assured way in the whole of this episode, it is only in his dealings with Serek that he is made to feel an exile (see below, p. 272). Add to this *kurugur*, *kurugur* according to Yudakhin may have an implication of gentle reproach, while in Kazakh, with which the Bugu dialect has affinities *kürgir* means 'damned' of Karakalp. *kurigir!* 'be damned!' Finally, cf KK 1876 *ubali kerim kurugur* 'that wretch, arrogant in her wrong doing' applied to the Kalmak princess Altin-ai. On balance I think line 1718 means 'That cursed ravening wolf' [Kökčögöz], and all the more so in that Kökčögöz and his brothers have been twice likened to wolves: - Bagdi Döölöt 746 *beş börü bir börünü talasa*; Kanikei (echoing Bagdi Döölöt telepathetically) 886 *beş börü bir börünü talasa* . . . If I am right, a period must be set at the end of line 1720, and a belly-gurgle betokens an epic villain planning treachery.

<sup>70</sup> 1672 *ört katinin* 'four wives'. But see pp. 272ff. below.

<sup>80</sup> See note 78 above.

<sup>81</sup> The dog who barks without seeing anything in Kirgiz proverb is a yes-man or one who acts on unconfirmed gossip - see Yudakhin, *Slovar* sub *ür-*. Neither alternative suits the case in hand particularly well.

<sup>82</sup> Yudakhin, op. cit. sub *kelece*. Radlov 2034 'Verrath' goes too far. Radlov, *Opyt*, '*keläzä* [Kirg.] izmena - der Verrath'.

<sup>83</sup> Reminiscent of two of Kökčögöz's brothers, see below, p. 257.

<sup>84</sup> See above, p. 255.

Kalmak called "Kökčögöz" puts poison in Manas's arak and when the latter flees, shoots his arm, with his *ak-kelle*<sup>85</sup> (2397ff). On Manas's revival, he is killed by Manas unnamed as one of Köz-kaman's sons (2515ff).

Kökčögöz's four brothers are merely his corps-de-ballet. Although Börböljün is always mentioned first of the pair Börböljün: Dörböljün (452f; 712f; 754f; 871f), it looks as though 'Dörböljün' was taken from the place (russified as 'Durbulzhin') to the NE of the Jungarian (i.e. Kalmak) Gates, and that Börböljün was coined to rhyme with it. But Börböljün, as first of the pair, has the individual act in Kanikey's prophecy of rising to his feet with a shout and scuffling with Kökčögöz just before the latter attacks Manas with his steel (1276ff), an act which is not specifically narrated, however, when the prophecy comes true (1423ff). Like Kün Kan, always second to Ai Kan,<sup>86</sup> Dörböljün is given no individual act to perform. The names of the second pair of brothers begin in Radlov's text and translation as Čagaldai (454) and Agaldai (455), but are thereafter Čagaldai and Agaldai (715f; 756f; 873; also transl.), though at 756f their order is reversed. Once again as first of a pair Čagaldai has the individual act of riding to invite Manas to his father's feast though finally he cannot pluck up courage to deliver the invitation (1225ff), whereas Agaldai remains an echo.

The Sly-boy (*kū bala*), whose proper name is not given in *KK*, and his younger brother Kargaldai are difficult to place.<sup>87</sup> If the Köz-kamans indeed came to Manas with a following,<sup>88</sup> Sly-boy and Kargaldai could be their henchmen. The rôle of the former, which he discharges with such subtlety coupled with boldness that only Almambet, reared to Kalmak ways, can deal with him, is, at great personal risk of Manas's 'danger', to pave the way for the Köz-kaman's coming – one of the finest exchanges in mid-nineteenth century Kirgiz epic (295ff); while that of Kargaldai is to intrigue with Köz-kaman against Manas on the battlefield (2278ff).

It is reasonable to suppose that the names 'Čagaldai', 'Agaldai' and 'Kargaldai' were chosen because their element *-galdai* recalled the Sino-Kalmak administrative rank of *galdai* (Kirg. *kalday*). Further factors in the choice of two of them may have been a) the

<sup>85</sup> An ancient type of firearm, not further specified by Yudakhin, *Slovar'*. Radlov 2412 das weiße Messer.

<sup>86</sup> See Part I, p. 91.

<sup>87</sup> See p. 254 above.

<sup>88</sup> See p. 254, above.

epic Kalmak cry of fear '*Čaga, čaga, payma!*'<sup>89</sup> for Čagaldai who was too faint-hearted to deliver his father's invitation to Manas; and b) *kar* 'scorned' and/or *karga* 'curse',<sup>90</sup> for Kargaldai.

Ai Kan, lord of the Altai and his purely formal balancer, Kün Kan of the Künkai have already been discussed in connexion with legendary geography.<sup>91</sup> Ai Kan is endowed with epic youth since it was he who captured the now sixty-year-old Kōz-kaman when the latter was five (846ff), and here he is campaigning again, though defensively, provoked by Manas. He takes the field in grand style:

1670 Karagai naiza čaikatip,<sup>92</sup>  
miltiktari šödirip,  
naizalari ködirip,  
šamalani čon jagip,  
šilmirdan da beri kagip,<sup>93</sup>  
aičigi altin tū-minän,  
alti san kara kol minän . . .

(. . . brandishing their fir-lances, with a noisy flourish of rifles, with a clatter of lances, kindling many torches, striking [their steeds] on the near-side with their reins, taking the golden Crescent Moon Standard, at the head of an army of six serried thousands . . .)

After this, the individuality of Ai Kan is absorbed into his defeated army.

It will be opportune at this point to sketch the Kirgiz image of the 'Kalmak' as reflected in *KK*.

The Kalmak are featured as a numerous (no doubt too numerous) people, teeming in the Altai and 'Kün-kai': *Altai tolgon köp Kalmak* etc.<sup>94</sup> They are not only *köp Kalmak* but also *uitügündöi*<sup>95</sup> *köp*

<sup>89</sup> Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, sub *čaga*.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.* sub *vb*.

<sup>91</sup> See p. 250 above.

<sup>92</sup> Radlov, in error: *čailatip*. Cf 1619 *Karagai naiza ırgadı*.

<sup>93</sup> Radlov apparently unaware that *šilmir* is a variant of standard Kirgiz *šilbir*, Kaz. *šilbir* 'reins': *šilmirdanda beri* 'Diessseits von dem Schylmyrdan', including the particle *-dan* as part of a pseudo-toponym, and omitting *kagip*.

<sup>94</sup> See Part I, pp. 90ff.

<sup>95</sup> *KK* 1711 and 2157: at 1741 simply *uitügündöi Kalmak*. In all three instances Radlov prints *uitugundai*, possibly adjusting the vowel-harmony to *ui*. See Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, sub *tük I*, 2 (short) coat of cattle, *tük I*, 3 by transference = 'cattle': but the basis of *uitügündöy* = 'beyond count' is presumably the number of hairs in a cow's coat.

*Kalmak*. They ply the arts of war and peace, since they raid the Kirgiz when Jakip is only six, Köz-kaman only five (434ff), but are peacefully engaged in trade when Manas is planning to raid them (164 *sōda kilip jatat*). They live not only in yurts but also in cities: 1550 '*kiiratali kalusin!*' ('Let us destroy their cities!'). On campaign they use *čarbak*, which in *KK* must imply some sort of fenced or walled encampment,<sup>96</sup> since Manas, advancing into their territory, has a *čarbak* with six gates (*kapka*; 2068). On campaign, too, the Kalmak can be recognised at sight, i) because they ride with three chestnut mounts (*üč kürön*),<sup>97</sup> ii) because they camp at hearths made of three stones for trivets (*üč taš tulga bir očok*) – both customs provide epithets for the Kalmak expressive of Kirgiz contempt, the latter even without explicit naming of the Kalmak:

1428 . . . kagip idi Manasti,  
 üč taš tulga bir očok,  
 keštiräläk kök čočok,  
 čot bolot minän kakti deit . . .<sup>98</sup>

([Kökčögöz] struck Manas vehemently, [that primitive? Kalmak who uses] a three-stone trivet [to make] one hearth, [that heathen Kalmak whose] unripe[?]<sup>99</sup> little penis has not yet been circumcised, struck [him], they say, with his hatchet-knife<sup>100</sup> . . .)<sup>101</sup>

The conversion of the 'Kalmak' cousins to Islam is taken as inevitable. It is also made the subject of rough humour, since attention is

<sup>96</sup> 1711; 1778. *čarbak* normally means 1. 'fortress; settlement ringed with a defensive wall'. 2. 'garden-fence'. 3. 'orchard'. 4. 'chess'. (Iranian \**sarvāg*.) Radlov, transl. 1712 'Festo' is vague; 1778 'Dörfern' misleading.

<sup>97</sup> Radlov failed to recognise the term and its use as an epithet: 707 *čökör-čütül (?) kalmaktan* [the question-mark in brackets is Radlov's], left untranslated; 1200 *üč kürüntül kalmaktan* 'von den drei Kalmückenschaaren'. Read: *üčkürüntülü Kalmak* 'Kalmak furnished-with-three-chestnuts' (riding one, having two in reserve).

<sup>98</sup> Text: *čok*. See p. 242, note 6, above.

<sup>99</sup> In view of *čočok* = 'boy's penis', *kök* may mean 'green' = 'unripe'.

<sup>100</sup> See p. 242 above.

<sup>101</sup> Radlov: '... Stieß mit ihm nach Hold Manas. (Aus drei Steinen ist der Dreifuß), Den nicht abgeschnitt'nen Büschel, Diesen traf er mit dem Dolcho . . .' Radlov took *čočok* as *čok* ('tuft', 'bobble') since he continues 1432 'Unterhalb des schönen Kapsels . . .' cf 1053 *minin keštiräläk kök čočok* 'Sieh, sein Zopf ist nicht beschnitten . . .' Cf 1951-3. However, at 1148 '*čočogun kešip alali . . .*' 'Wollen jetzo die Beschneidung halten!' Radlov recognises *čočok*.

focussed on the externals.<sup>102</sup> The 'Kalmak' were clean-shaven except for a moustache, so Manas and his men had to 'put beards on their chins and remove their moustaches from their lips'.<sup>103</sup> The Kōz-kamans are taught the Bismilla and thus are they made Muslims.<sup>104</sup> They are circumcized only after a ritual horse-race and feast with horse and sheep-sacrifice<sup>105</sup>, a notable fusion of pre- and post-Islamic elements. The venerable Bakai, son of Bai<sup>106</sup> and 'one who talks with God as a friend'<sup>107</sup> is summoned to perform the sacrifice, after which he mounts his racer Ak Baŋkil and, cackling like a young goose,<sup>108</sup> rides ahead of the people and 'wins' the race – a ritual complex deserving of further study by specialists.<sup>109</sup> Gold coin is then scattered among the people, the Kōz-kamans are stretched in biers<sup>110</sup> of fir-wood, are held down by strong men and circumcized by pressing with the axe and cutting with the adze.<sup>111</sup>

If 'Kalmak' could be recognized from the disposition of hair on their faces, they could also be recognized immediately they opened their mouths to speak, for the religious frontier was also a linguistic one. The (West) Mongol speech of the historic Kalmak is reflected in Kirgiz by a sort of reiterative jabber.<sup>112</sup> The 'Kalmak' words and phrases used are: *mōndü – altai – ʃabi – körkü – sayın – kalakai kaška – bičik solan – adam körkü – alda ʃabi*. Most of these are used purely symbolically to indicate the 'Kalmak' tongue, since in successive contexts they have mutually irreconcilable 'transla-

<sup>102</sup> Cf AK 154 ff.

<sup>103</sup> 1124 *'eginä\* sakal koyolu, ʃorom/ʃerdinan murut alali, ʃorom!* – accomplished at 1130 *eginä sakal koidu, deit,ʃerdinan murut aldi deit . . . \*R: egina.*

<sup>104</sup> 1132 *bismillami bilgizip,ʃidin busurman killi, deit . . .*

<sup>105</sup> 1116 *'ak sargildan be soyup, ʃorom,ʃak sarbaʃil koi soyup, ʃorom, ʃulu tülö kilali . . .* 'Let us slaughter light bay mares, my Companions, let us slaughter white sheep with yellow heads [i.e., sacrificial sheep], my Companions, let us perform a Great Sacrifice . . .'

<sup>106</sup> In Radlov's first episode V, I, 1) 'The Birth of Manas', Bakai is made tutor to the young Manas. In 20th century versions of *Manas* he is made Manas's paternal uncle.

<sup>107</sup> 1154 *kudai deʃken dos.*

<sup>108</sup> Whether this has ritual implications I cannot say.

<sup>109</sup> 1139–1167.

<sup>110</sup> Or even 'coffins': *tabit*. Is there some funereal symbolism here implying the death of the heathen prior to the birth of the Muslim?

<sup>111</sup> Again, is the use of axe and adze – 1175 *balta-minän bastirip . . . kerki-minän kestirip* – ritual, or merely humorous? More probably the latter.

<sup>112</sup> There are three leading scenes in Radlov's material in which Kirgiz bards mock Kalmak speech: – V, I, 2) 67 ff (Almambet meets Kōkčö); KK 345 ff (Sly-boy meets Kirgin-čal); KK 1783 ff (Almambet penetrates Ai Kan's camp).

tions' attached to them. *möndü*, which is correctly observed externally, is not always used sensibly, since it is twice left 'untranslated'. But it is clearly to be taken elsewhere with Kalmak *mendö* (Ordos *möndö*) 'health', as in the Mongol greeting '*mendü amur!*' 'Peace and health!' The *ö* in (Kirgiz pseudo-) Kalmak *möndü* could be influenced by Mongol *mön* = 'yes'<sup>113</sup>. Ch. Valikhanov notes *mendu* in his journal of a visit to Kulja as typifying the Kalmak: "'Mendu!' krichat kalmyki - (The Kalmak shout "*Mendu!*")'.<sup>114</sup> This type-word was incorporated into the Kirgiz verb *möndülö-* 'to say *möndü*'.<sup>115</sup> It is used in *KK* of the old Kalmak met and later killed by Almambet in Ai Kan's camp: 1784 *kelä jatat möndülöp*. In 20th century epic *möndülö-* is even used of the Kalmak war-cry, e.g. *möndülöp uraan äkirdi*,<sup>116</sup> a wry twist in view of its Mongol meaning of 'health', but one which brings it into line with the other Kalmak verbs for war-cries *altayla-* (recalling '*altai!*' in the jabber above) and *kangayla-*.<sup>117</sup>

The 'Kalmak', it seems, also know a silent greeting, and this is the one used between Almambet and Sly-boy<sup>118</sup> when the latter has fallen out with Kirgin-čal:

398 ni kulagin Jasat deit,  
čolpondoi közün açat deit,  
kilčayip karap salat deit,  
salamdi ürönüp kalgan kü bala  
Alman Betkä salam berät deit . . .

(He pricks his ears like a horse, they say; he opens his eyes bright as Venus, they say; he darts them with a sidelong glance: 'Sly-boy' who had learned this greeting long since, gives a greeting to Almambet . . .)

<sup>113</sup> I am in Professor C. R. Bawden's debt for this information.

<sup>114</sup> *Sobranie sochineniy v pyati tomakh*. Editor-in-chief A. Margulan (Alma Ata, 1962), p. 54, 41.

<sup>115</sup> Yudakhin, *Slovar'* sub *möndülö-* does not give the explicit meaning 'to jabber Kalmak', yet one must assume it.

<sup>116</sup> Cited by Yudakhin, *Slovar'* sub *vb*. The absence of editions made it impossible for Professor Yudakhin to cite sources. His great work is therefore not a lexicon but a (very full) dictionary.

<sup>117</sup> See Part I, p. 92.

<sup>118</sup> Because of a change from the 2nd person in *kettip* (1. 397: epic apostrophe as sometimes in Homer) to the 3rd person in *jasat* etc. it is not certain who gives this strange greeting, but it is reasonable to suppose that it is Almambet, the ex-Oirot, who does so in order to establish contact where the Nogay-Kirgiz Kirgin-čal has failed (= Radlov).

Glancing sidelong (*kičay-*) where others look straight is of course another 'Mongol' trait,<sup>119</sup> and it seems that Almambet uses it not only with fellow Mongols.<sup>120</sup> If it is indeed Almambet who 'opens his eyes bright as Venus' (*čolpondoi*), then this will accord with his well-attested 'propitiousness'. It may also mark him as princely, since Sly-boy greets him as an illustrious lord.<sup>121</sup>

It would be opportune to make the transition from the Kalmak to the Nogay-Kirgiz, who must soon claim our attention, by way of Almambet, who made that transition in person.

It may be remembered that Almambet had left his Oirot people during his father Kara-kan's lifetime to find another lord and that his first hope, Er Kōkčō, having disappointed him, he then set out to find Manas.<sup>122</sup> A subsequent episode recorded by Radlov narrates how this was achieved. He and Manas become milk-brothers by sucking at the breast of Manas's old mother Čakan miraculously flowing with milk again for this purpose.<sup>123</sup> After this, Almambet becomes Manas's right hand and remains utterly loyal to him, acting as foil in *KK* to Manas's blood cousins who have been brought up as Kalmak. Since *KK* and the Er Kōkčō-episode (*AK*) may have been recorded from different bards, it would be well to check in passing whether the statements about Almambet in the two episodes cohere.

Nogay-Kirgiz resentment at the privilege enjoyed by the outsider Almambet is expressed through Manas's companion Serek. When it comes to an open quarrel between the two<sup>124</sup> and Almambet opens Serek's cheek with his horse-lash, Serek calls him a 'Kalmak fellow'<sup>125</sup> and later 'Almambet the Kalmak'.<sup>126</sup> Thus in the anti-Kalmak *KK*, 'Kalmak' is preferred to the 'Oirot' of *AK*.<sup>127</sup> Serek complains to Manas that Almambet has fled from 'his own people,

<sup>119</sup> Cf Sly-boy's first contact 344 *bala kičayip karai saldi*.

<sup>120</sup> At the height of battle: 2233 *Kan balasi Alman Bet/kičayip karap sald'elä* (Radlov: *kičayip*).

<sup>121</sup> Cf Yudakhin, *Slovar'* sub *čolpon*: *čolpondoy bolgon tört balasi bar* 'he has four splendid/outstanding sons'. Further 417: '*ati jakši ai jarkin, töröm*'.

<sup>122</sup> 'Almambet, Er Kōkčō and Ak Erkeč', *CAJ* XIII (1960), *passim*.

<sup>123</sup> V, I, 2) 1846ff.

<sup>124</sup> 1304ff.

<sup>125</sup> *kalmak kul*. Since the bard also refers to Almambet as *kul* (1887 *kalmak tilin bilgän kul*), the primary meaning of *kul* ('slave' - in a patriarchal society) is best avoided.

<sup>126</sup> 1306.

<sup>127</sup> E.g. V, I, 2) 189.



the Kalmak that shout 'Altai' and 'Kün-kai!'<sup>128</sup> after killing men.<sup>129</sup> In *AK*, Almambet had returned to the Ojrot after his conversion by Kökčö and slaughtered many.<sup>130</sup> Serek describes Almambet as one who had scattered his 'gleaming silver coin' (*KK* 1385 '*ak tengä bulun äčkan kul*').<sup>131</sup> This corresponds to Almambet's repeated threat in *AK* that he will do precisely this (*AK* 337 '*Ak tengä buldu äčain*') and will also slay the Ojrot princes, preferring to be a 'kul'<sup>132</sup> among the Muslim rather than a 'Khan' among the Infidel. Serek further asserts that Almambet came from Kökčö as an unheroic farmhand<sup>133</sup> and as a filthy whoremonger,<sup>134</sup> a clear reference to Almambet's relationship with Ak Erkeč, in the innocence of which Serek affects not to believe.<sup>135</sup> The one discrepancy between the accounts of *AK* and *KK* is that in *AK*, Almambet is an Ojrot, the Khan of which people is his father Kara-kan, whereas in *KK* the Khans of the Kalmak to whom Almambet is loosely attributed are Ai Kan and Kün Kan. Whether this is enough of itself to justify their attribution to two different bards is doubtful, given the spacious manner of oral epic tradition.

In *KK*, Almambet is a Khan's son,<sup>136</sup> and indeed of the 'White Bone',<sup>137</sup> as Manas (who is of the Black Bone)<sup>138</sup> ruefully explains to Serek, so that when Almambet is angry he strikes Serek and Manas alike, with impunity, or so Manas says.<sup>139</sup> His destined wife, Altin-ai is also appropriately of the (Mongol) 'White Bone'.<sup>140</sup> Almambet may be presumed to have lost his rank as an exile,

<sup>128</sup> 1386f *altailagan/kün-kailagan kalmaktan*: Radlov 'im Altai/Kün-kai'.

<sup>129</sup> 1386ff.

<sup>130</sup> *AK* 366ff.

<sup>131</sup> Also: *KK* 1064.

<sup>132</sup> See note 125, above. Degrading implications seem to be largely absent in nomadic Turkic society.

<sup>133</sup> 1070 *kirändi* An insult to a mounted warrior and pastoralist, of the sickle-bearing '*sart*' ('plainsmen') at V, I, 3) 2035 (the ruined Jakip speaking): '*sart orogun oromun . . .*' ('I shall reap with a Plainsman's sickle . . .')

<sup>134</sup> 1071 *aram kiyal/siktir kul*. The whole passage has been misinterpreted by Radlov. Almambet is said to 'like a horse (stallion?) who cannot leap, like slag under the smith's hammer, a farm-hand, i.e. altogether a man without spirit.

<sup>135</sup> See my article on *AK* in *CAJ* XIII (1969), pp. 163ff.

<sup>136</sup> 2233 *kan balasi*.

<sup>137</sup> 1409.

<sup>138</sup> Assured for the 20th century. I have yet to notice it explicitly for the 19th century.

<sup>139</sup> 1411ff.

<sup>140</sup> 2477.

since Manas claims to have made him a lord.<sup>141</sup> This was some time after Almambet's fifteenth birthday,<sup>142</sup> since we must imagine episode AK between his leaving his father's land and his joining Manas. But Almambet is not only of high birth, but he was also born intelligent<sup>143</sup> and of course with outstanding martial qualities symbolized by the great feline indeterminately named *kabilan*.<sup>144</sup> On making him a lord, Manas also appointed him Chief of his Forty,<sup>145</sup> with Sirgak as next in command.<sup>146</sup> When Manas flees the field it is Almambet who rallies him, a great service against the Kalmak, of this former 'Kalmak',<sup>147</sup> a point driven home by his supreme service of felling Kökčögös when the latter is about to launch a treacherous attack on Manas during the battle.<sup>148</sup> Devoted to Manas though he is, Almambet is proud. For, not divining that Manas is teasing him, he threatens to quit his service if he is to be denied Altin-ai as his prize:

- 2121 "buda kaisi tardigın, töröm,  
Jer debäimin Talasti, töröm,  
er debäimin Manasti, töröm,  
su iöpäimin Talastan, töröm,  
2125 könüm kaldı Manastan, töröm,  
men Talasti kečpäsäm, töröm,  
men Manastan ketpäsäm, töröm . . ."

('Why are you so mean, my lord? I shall not call the Talas a place for me, I shall not call Manas a man for me! I shall not drink water from the Talas, I no longer love Manas. I swear I shall cross over the Talas, I swear I shall leave Manas . . .!')<sup>149</sup>

The play on *Talas: Manas* and other symmetries suggests that this is a traditional set-piece. Furthermore, one may guess that of all

<sup>141</sup> 610.

<sup>142</sup> 1786. Radlov's 'im zwölfsten Jahre' is a slip.

<sup>143</sup> 1286. *akılman tūgan*.

<sup>144</sup> E. g. 2357.

<sup>145</sup> 607 *kirk čorogo baš kilip*. But traditionally Kirgin-čal is 'Chief of the Forty', cf *KK* 323; 1106; V, I, 2) 1137; 7) 109. At *AK* 514 *Kirgin-čal* is the Head of Er Kökčögös's Forty.

<sup>146</sup> When Almambet has left to rally Manas: 2183 *kirk čorogo baš bolup/ Kiran Sirgak kalıptır*.

<sup>147</sup> 2244 ff.

<sup>148</sup> 2349 ff.

<sup>149</sup> Manas's armourer Tökör stood up to him in the same spirited way at *BM* 1674 ff, cf 'Kukotay and Bok Murun', II, pp. 567 ff.

the regions competing for the privilege of being Manas's homeland, the Talas came to be preferred by the bards because of its assonance with 'Manas'.<sup>150</sup>

In 20th century bardic tradition, Almambet has marked shamanistic features appropriate to his coming of alien heathen stock, despised as much as it was feared.<sup>151</sup> Such features are less prominent but are present in Radlov's texts. It is in *KK* at 1057ff that Almambet's shamanistic 'Kite of the Hills, Grey-mane He-wolf' formula occurs in its oldest and least corrupt form.<sup>152</sup> A further shamanistic feature may be his smoking out of the Kalmak in Altin-ai's yurt, a passage vitiated by a fundamental error in Radlov's translation (1909ff). Here, in order to confound the Kalmak, Almambet takes a piece of the felt that covers the *tündük* (top hoop of yurt-frame), stuffs it into his brass pipe (1909 *jes kanja*),<sup>153</sup> lights it with kindling tinder<sup>154</sup> at the fire, and puffs at it so that the smoke rises.<sup>155</sup> He then kicks the three-legged Chinese cauldron<sup>156</sup> over, scattering the ashes. I suggest that this scene may be derived from a shamanistic 'fumigation' in the yurt.<sup>157</sup> The theme of the exiled warrior, the pathos of which was to be made much of by the 20 cybards, has a modest presence in *KK*. We have already seen how the native Serek objected to the alien Almambet's privileged position, repeating the offence the latter had endured at Kökčö's court in *AK*,<sup>158</sup> and how Almambet had struck him with his lash. The theme seems to be taken up again when he remarks to Manas: 'If I die, whom will it diminish, if I live, whom aggrandize? I am such that if I die, there is a dog's skin, if I live there is my wool'.<sup>159</sup> As to Almambet's steed, it is Sar'ala ('Dapple-chestnut') as elsewhere.

At the time imagined by the bard of *KK*, Manas is in his twenty-

<sup>150</sup> Prosodies and poetics in general act as a filter of tradition in oral poetry.

<sup>151</sup> See 'Shamanism and Epic Poetry in Northern Asia', p. 18.

<sup>152</sup> 'Kukotay and Bok Murun' II, p. 546f, of course emending *KK* 1050 *töbö* ('hill') to *töböi* ('male').

<sup>153</sup> Radlov 'Kupferhaken'.

<sup>154</sup> *KK* 1973 [Radlov] *barpiratma* (?) *kölarđi*: is correct, but it means 'for kindling', from *barpirat-* 'to make (a flame) shake' = 'kindle'. Radlov's *kö* is *kuu* 'tinder'. Yudakhin cites the collocation *barpiratma kuu*.

<sup>155</sup> *kanja tart-* 'to smoke a pipe'. Radlov 'Zog dann fort den festen Haken.'

<sup>156</sup> *daŋkan*. Radlov 'Feuerstock'.

<sup>157</sup> Cf Eliade, M., *Schamanismus und archaische Ekstasetechnik* (1957) pp. 381 ff.

<sup>158</sup> *AK* 718ff. *CAJ* XIII (1909) pp. 168f.

<sup>159</sup> *KK* 1861ff.

fifth year.<sup>160</sup> This is surprisingly late in life, since, claiming never before to have lain in a maiden's arms,<sup>161</sup> he had married Kanikey only six months earlier.<sup>162</sup> At this advanced age he still retains his youthful epithet 'hot-head' or 'dare-devil'.<sup>163</sup> He has a whole list of victories behind him: over Bukhara, Andizhan, over the Afghan Khan Mus Burčak, the 'Russian' warrior Orok, and Koņur-bai the ruler of Chinese Kashgar and Yarkent.<sup>164</sup> His epithets are partly known from other episodes. His face is like that of the bear in the forest, his head like that of the tiger on the mountain-spur.<sup>165</sup> He was born clutching a clot of blood as large as a sheep's liver.<sup>166</sup> If you look behind him you see the dust of forty horsemen (his and his Companions' tracks), if you look before him you see herds of the five kinds of cattle (which he is 'lifting').<sup>167</sup> He is scorpion-eyed and strong-jawed. Most intriguingly he has with him Forty 'Chilten' (*kirk ėilten*).<sup>168</sup> *ėilten* are protective or helping spirits and their number is canonical.<sup>169</sup> In view of the ecstatic even shamanistic manner in which Manas evokes his Forty Companions,<sup>170</sup> that is, his 'feudal' retainers, bodyguard or comitatus, I put forward the theory here that the epic 'Forty' has been influenced by the con-

<sup>160</sup> 181; 621.

<sup>161</sup> V, I, 3) 562ff.

<sup>162</sup> KK 554f.

<sup>163</sup> 1047. *tentäk*.

<sup>164</sup> 591ff.

<sup>165</sup> 804ff; 975ff. Cf 'Kukotay and Bok Murun' II, pp. 543f, which shows that Radlov in his translation has erroneously attributed this group of epithets to Almambet.

<sup>166</sup> 807f; 985f = BM 71f. Cf Hatto, A. T., 'The Birth of Manas', *Asia Major*, New Series, XIV (1969) pp. 236ff and p. 241.

<sup>167</sup> 811ff; 980ff. Cf 'Kukotay and Bok Murun' II, pp. 548f.

<sup>168</sup> 978 *kirk ėiltāni bašinda*. Yudakhin, *Slovar' sub ėilten*: 'ir. (ili kirk ėilten) mif. chil'tany (*sorok sushchestv, yakoby nezrimo zhivushchikh sredi lyudey i obladayushchikh sverkhlestvennoy siloy*).

<sup>169</sup> As I argued in my 'Shamanism and Epic Poetry in Northern Asia', pp. 17ff. I noticed KK 978 *kirk ėiltāni bašinda* too late to clinch my argument there, but make good that omission here.

<sup>170</sup> Zhirmunskiy, V. M., 'Vvedenie v izuchenie "Manas"' in *Kirgizskiy geroicheskiy epos Manas* (Moscow, 1961) p. 159 refers to Sagymbay's version of *Manas*, in which the boy Manas meets the Forty Chilten and is promised their help at times of mortal peril. Professor Zhirmunskiy cites a parallel in the Uzbek *Gorogli*, and explains it as due to Muslim influence in both traditions. Because of this, and the Persian origin of *ėilten*, one must assume a fusion of the native retinue and the alien mythic helping spirits in which 'feudal' and 'shamanistic' elements are combined. Nobody has pointed out the close parallel between the Forty Chilten and Manas's Forty Companions (*ġoro*) so far as I know.

ception of the 'Forty Chiltens', widespread in Central Asian folklore,<sup>171</sup> so that the 'shamanistic' attributes of Manas are thus enhanced. The only other shamanistic trait of Manas in *KK* is his resuscitation by Kanikey and a holyman from Mekka after being 'knocked out' by Kökčögöz.<sup>172</sup> Apart from the epithets cited, an interesting because rare one, compounded with his steed Ak-kula, is:

378 'astindagi ak kula, baikuš,  
Bölčörü tōdin seņirdāi, baikuš,  
üstündöğü töröbūs, baikuš,  
obodo kökkö teņirdāi, baikuš,  
tīgān ekān töröbūs, baikuš . . .'

('Ak-kula, beneath him, you wretch, is like the high green shoulder of Mt. Bölčör;<sup>173</sup> our lord seated upon him is like a god touching the sky above its pass, thus is our lord.')

In passing we may note his lordly yet indulgent teasing of Almambet over Altin-ai (2087 ff); his careless generosity with booty towards the furtive Kargaldai (2295 ff); his quick-thinking powers of leadership in recognising the advantages of Kökčögöz's prior knowledge of the Kalmak country (1589), or when he mollifies the outraged Serek by saying that in his anger Almambet is as likely to strike him, Manas (1045 ff); or again in the force and eloquence of his appeal to the ethics of the comitatus when he requires a supreme effort.<sup>174</sup> But having noted this we are left with two major issues concerning Manas the hero.

<sup>171</sup> See above, p. 293.

<sup>172</sup> See above, p. 252.

<sup>173</sup> Following Radlov, translation; 'des Böltchör Gipfel'. This has yet to be textually confirmed and located, and until this has been done there seems to be no ground other than its odd appearance for the dropping of *ü* in 'Bölčörü'. Another mountain in a simile which uses some of the same elements is at V, I, 3) 355 ff *Boz Adir tōmun seņirdāi/üstündö kūdai teņirdāi/Alman Bet jilkini aıdıp jüröt* ('like the high green shoulder of Mt. Boz-adir, like the lord god on high, Almambet chased the herd of horses . . .') a triplet balanced by a triplet giving Almambet's shamanistic attributes (see p. 205 above.)

<sup>174</sup> *KK* 2144: *sōtti fidim sen üčün, soguşu bölgün men* [Radlov: *mon*] *üčün, kilisti fidim sen üčün, kiriliskin men üčün* = *BM* 2143 + 2145-6: the discrepant line *BM* 2144 is *sayışip ölgün men üčün, ėorom!* Since *soguşu* 'battle' is not a correct accusative governed by *bölgün*, *KK* 2145 was probably *sayışip ölgün* ('die exchanging lance-thrusts') as at *BM* 2144. Radlov in any case had *sagışip*, see 'Kukotay and Bok Murun' II, p. 568. Radlov's renderings of the two parallel passages are i) very inaccurate, and ii) differently so.

The first is Manas's 'loneliness' by which is meant his isolation in his kindred. He is the only son of Jakip-kan, though he has a sister Kardigač.<sup>175</sup> Abākā and Kōböš, treacherous younger sons of Jakip (traditionally by a second – naturally Kalmak – wife)<sup>176</sup> are fully grown in the following episode of Semetey's birth,<sup>177</sup> though they have not been mentioned in *KK*, nor for that matter in any of the episodes recorded by Radlov up to that point in the cycle.<sup>178</sup> Only towards the end of *KK* does Kanikey, alone of Manas's wives, conceive after six months of marriage.<sup>179</sup> Manas himself was conceived semi-miraculously when his mother passed either for barren or well past the age for child-bearing,<sup>180</sup> an event not likely to be repeated. There is therefore irony and drama in Manas's clash with the Kōz-kamans, since if the would-be murderer among them succeeds, Jakip's line will be extinguished at the time when the clan can be enriched by the advent of long-lost cousins. Manas's 'loneliness' is expressed in lyrical set-pieces based on the form of the lament and punctuated by the refrain: 'Whom shall I reward for good tidings?' The motif is used thematically. It is first stated when Sly-boy asks Almambet for a 'messenger's reward for good news' (*süyünčü*) (*KK* 429ff). He then tells of the coming of the Kōz-kamans, which Almambet reports to Manas, who begins by saying 'Let us reward him for his good news' (486f), but who then gives grounds for questioning the matter. He names his wives from whom he has had no children, and so (484 etc.) '*Kimgā beram süyünčü, čorom?*' – 'To whom shall I give a reward for good news, my Companion?' It was the custom to give a great reward to the bringer of news of a first-born son, as emerges with much colour and humour from Sagymaby's account of the birth of Manas. Manas then dwells on his 'loneliness' otherwise:

491 'menin atam Jakip Bai, čorom,  
özü jalgis kiš' elä,  
jumurtkadan ak eläm,  
bir enädän tak eläm,

<sup>175</sup> Also known as Manas's sister in Sagymbay.

<sup>176</sup> See 'The Birth of Manas' pp. 223 and 232.

<sup>177</sup> V, I, 6).

<sup>178</sup> Radlov has arranged the episodes in a reasonably chronological order.

<sup>179</sup> *KK* 2471f and 2497ff.

<sup>180</sup> 'The Birth of Manas', pp. 222ff.

- 495 Jañis edim kiyadan,  
Jañis edim uyadan  
bir tūganim Jok edi,<sup>181</sup>  
anın beri jagında  
astında Jali Jog-elä,<sup>182</sup>  
500 arkamda kuiruk Jog-elä -<sup>182</sup>  
er Jalgisi bal'eläm,  
kingā beräm süyüncü?' etc.

('My father, Jakip-bay, is himself an only child, my Companion, I am whiter than the white of an egg,<sup>181</sup> my mother's one-and-only [son], I am the lone [fledgling] from the cliff, the solitary [chick] from the nest, I have no brother,<sup>181</sup> and beyond that I have neither 'mane' before me nor 'tail' after me<sup>182</sup> - I am a one-and-only son, to whom shall I give a reward-for-good-tidings?')

The theme is taken up by Almambet when he gives Manas's answer to Sly-boy, with the added information that Manas's father is sixty years of age and his mother fifty - to whom shall he give reward-for-good-news? (531 ff). When Almambet asks Jakip about his brother Köz-kaman, Jakip renews the theme with reference to himself - he is the 'lonely' one (721 ff).<sup>183</sup> The theme is revived for the last time

<sup>181</sup> Radlov: *börtü kalim*. Cf 503 *bir tūganim Kardigač* Radlov: *kardigač*.

<sup>182</sup> Radlov 499 *arkamda jali*: 500 *astında kuiruk*. But of the parallel passages 541 *astında jali*: 542 *arkada kuiruk* = 723 f. Radlov's divergent renderings of these three passages suggest that for reasons of apparent logic he silently rearranged lines 499 f. without noticing that 500 *astında* must mean not 'hinten' but 'vorne'. According to Yudakhin, *Slovar*, sub *jal*, *jal-kuyruk* means 'support, defenders, adherents (kinämen, friends, and such like)'. In the light of *KK* 499 f, 541 f and 723 f, and of Yudakhin, *Slovar*, *kuyruk* 5. 'progeny', I suspect that *jal* (corresponding to *kuyruk*) used to have the transferred meaning of 'ancestors' or at least of elder kinsmen' in the 19th century.

<sup>183</sup> Yudakhin does not note the idiom in his *Slovar* under *ak* I, 5.

<sup>181</sup> Literally, 'blood-relation' but the context makes it clear that 'brother' is intended, as 'sister' is intended at 503 (footnote 181).

<sup>183</sup> Radlov's text is corrupt at 725 ff. For 726 *alda taman* (Radlov: 'vor mir') read *alda tälam* = 1438. 725 *Jaggirakti kiyadan* is problematic, cf 1440 *Jaggarakti kiyadan*. The elements of the formula are more fully elaborated at *AK* 235 ff (Almambet's father reproaches him for threatening to leave home) and *V*, I, 6) 52 ff (Kanikey's Lament for the Dead Manas) in almost identical words: (*AK*) *Arkar jürböš kiyadan, latadan, jalgis uyadan, sečkilär jürböš kiyadan, jonädän, jalgis uyadan* (less well understood by Radlov; better understood by him at *V*, I, 6) 52 ff). *AK* (239 f) and *V*, I, 6) (58 f) both have

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with rather empty rhetoric when Kōkčögöz has aimed his curiously ineffective dagger-stroke at Manas's head at the feast,<sup>186</sup> since although the incident quickly blows over, the bard breaks out into passionate lament on Manas's 'loneliness' and abandonment by God (143 ff).<sup>187</sup>

The second important issue affecting Manas's image in *KK* is his flight from the field of battle, lending a greater depth to his personality, and so to the Kirgiz heroic tradition, than is found in heroes of other traditions that deal only in hyperbole and the superhuman.

An untoward event on the field is portended at 2149 ff:

Bos čoloktu mingän Kirgin čal<sup>188</sup>  
 tū karmatip koidu deit,  
 tū jigilip kalat deit,  
 tušmanga koltuk ačat deit,  
 Bos čoloktun butana<sup>189</sup>  
 orus kišän saldi deit . . .

([Manas] bade Kirgin-čal mounted on Boz-čolok seize hold of the Standard, [but] the Standard fell to the ground; they would be at a disadvantage to the enemy, [so]<sup>189</sup> they put Russian trammels on Boz-čolok's legs . . .)

If the Standard-bearer's horse is hobbled there can be no retreat – but what happens if the commander rides from the field?

Manas's flight is due to his steed Ak-kula, who is not hobbled. Already at 280 ff this wise beast had displayed his anxiety before the Kōz-kamans had been named or sighted, and his vital rôle on both occasions is underlined by the use of his epithet.<sup>190</sup> The first to follow Manas in order to find out the reason why, is the heavily

the sequel *šumurtkadan ak edi (elän), bir šatından tak'edi (elän)*; thus *KK* 491 ff, and even more briefly the parallel passages, present 'short-hand' allusions to a well-established elegiac formula.

<sup>188</sup> See p. 257 above.

<sup>187</sup> That this is 'Lament' in the technical poetic sense is shown at V, I, 6) 51 by the words *emdi košup ilait deit* 'Then Kanikey laments in verso' (*koš-* 'link-line to line', 'compose verso'): This last passage, at 1437, adds the metaphor *su jakalari jalbisi* 'mint growing at the waters edge'.

<sup>189</sup> Radlov: *bos čoloktu*.

<sup>190</sup> Radlov in his translation brings out the presumed motivation well: 'Dass er nicht dem Feinde weiche . . . logt er an die Russenfessel'. *koltuk ač.* with dat. = 'expose oneself to'.

<sup>191</sup> 280 ff; 2172; but with textual discrepancies.



wounded Almambet.<sup>191</sup> Left as Leader of the Forty, Sirgak at once detaches himself to question Almambet.<sup>192</sup> After pointing out how seriously wounded they all are, Almambet rides to Manas and placing his neckerchief on his neck in token of submission,<sup>193</sup> reasons with him 'who never since birth had fled the enemy'.<sup>194</sup> Manas then replies to Almambet:

2257 'Sen ne deisin ai Jarkin, čorom,  
ak-kulanin barinda, čorom,  
sudan korkup ketäsin, čorom,  
Kan töröndün barinda, čorom,  
Jödan korkup ketäsin, čorom,  
andai bolso, beri tart, čorom . . .'

('What are you saying, my illustrious companion? While there is an Ak-kula, will you fear the water? While you have your lord, will you fear the enemy? If this is so [that you will not fear], ride this way [with me] . . .')

Manas then turns and leads his men to victory.

Even if I have rendered this passage correctly, which is doubtful,<sup>195</sup> the application is elusive, resting perhaps on a proverb. Manas seems to be turning the tables on Almambet. Was he testing his friend again, as on the subject of Altin-ai? The reality of his flight, on the other hand, seemed well prepared by Kirgin-čal's dropping of the standard. Whether or not the hero Manas is capable of genuine flight from the Kalmak foe must affect our conception of him as the leading personality of his cycle. This first enquiry into his nature in *KK* therefore ends on a note of bafflement, bafflement which, it is hoped, some scholar better acquainted with Kirgiz idiom will soon resolve.

The rôles of the Companions Kirgin-čal, Sirgak and Serek have been mentioned in passing.<sup>196</sup> Of these only Serek requires a closer

<sup>191</sup> 2176ff.

<sup>192</sup> 2183ff.

<sup>193</sup> *moynuna boto salin* has the same meaning as the more obvious *moynuna Eilbir* ('bridle') *salin*. Cf Radlov: 'Hängte sich an seinen Hals' i.e. round Manas's neck.

<sup>194</sup> 2244ff.

<sup>195</sup> The rendering offered is tentative. 2258, 2260 *barinda* is presumably from *bar* I. The interrogative is not explicit, but, following Radlov's rendering, sensed from the context.

<sup>196</sup> See pp. 262ff.

look. Serek's animosity towards the alien intruder Almambet, destined to be made much of in 20th century Kirgiz epic, is already well developed in *KK*. On the occasion when Kōz-kaman's son Čagaldai delivers the invitation to a feast indirectly to Manas through the Forty, Serek exhorts Almambet to go their lord.<sup>197</sup> Almambet does so, hears Kanikey's forebodings on the subject of the feast and returns to Serek and the Forty with the excuse that Kanikey has made Manas drunk.<sup>198</sup> Serek then accuses Almambet of siding with Kanikey and is about to go to Manas himself (to get him to come to the Kōz-kamans) when Almambet flies into a rage and cuts Serek's cheek open with his lash. Serek, beside himself with passion, threatens to seek satisfaction from Manas, with the ineffectual outcome we know.<sup>199</sup> From the fact that Serek does not attack Almambet there and then we must assume (as is made clear in similar confrontations in 20th century poems) that Almambet was terrible in his anger.<sup>200</sup> There is perhaps also the suggestion that Manas keeps iron discipline among his retainers. In comparison, it is interesting that in Germanic and Old French heroic poetry a hero could scarce pocket such a blow and retain his honour. The explanation may be that our bard is so sympathetic towards Almambet and so antipathetic towards Serek that he sacrifices Serek's honour; for on three occasions the bard curses Serek epithet-wise.<sup>201</sup> The main reason for this is that Serek indeed fetches Manas to the ominous feast, breaking through the defences which Kanikey and Almambet had so loyally erected round their lord.<sup>202</sup> A minor reason may be that it is consistently Serek who damages the esprit de corps of the Forty by raking up Almambet's 'Kalmak' past, both to his face<sup>203</sup> and behind his back.<sup>204</sup>

Manas had according to one passage three, according to another four wives. It has already been remarked that Manas's warm reception of his long-lost kinsmen was determined by his being an only son as yet without issue, and it says much for the clear sighted-

<sup>197</sup> 1228 ff.

<sup>198</sup> 1251 ff.

<sup>199</sup> 1304 ff. For the consolation which Manas offers him, see p. 263 above.

<sup>200</sup> Cf the Harmonized *Manas* II (1958) 148, 44 ff.

<sup>201</sup> 1233; 1314 '*asti Seräk oñbosun!*' 'May Seräk be utterly damned!'

<sup>202</sup> By getting Manas drunk early in the morning and by reporting the fact (1250 ff).

<sup>203</sup> 1064 ff; 1323.

<sup>204</sup> 1384 ff.

ness of the bard of *KK* that he begins the episode by introducing Manas's wives, whom old Jakip then assesses:

2 kabilan tūgan er Manas  
üč katin algan ekän . . .

(Tiger-born warrior Manas had taken three wives . . .) Manas had seized Kara-börük, daughter of Kayip-kan, on the steppe (4f),<sup>205</sup> and also had Čoruk's daughter Akilai called out from her house (*üi*) (6f). Manas had further married Kanikey, a Khan's daughter, after payment of what is evidently a satisfactory *kalym* or bride-price (10ff). This agrees tolerably well with what is narrated in V, I, 3) concerning the wooing of Kanikey: at I, 3) 558 Manas took Kayip's daughter Kara-börük from the steppe, but Šoruk's daughter Akilai as booty from a fortress (*korgon*);<sup>206</sup> yet, never having lain in a maiden's arms, he wished to marry a good woman (567 *men jakši katin alayin*) – who of course turns out to be Kanikey. I, 3) 2055ff varies this as follows:

2055 'Kayip Kan kisi Kara Börük  
algan edi kanōdan,  
Šauriktin kisi Akilai  
aldin üč korgondon kanōdan.'

(Kayip-kan's daughter Kara-börük was taken from a battle,<sup>207</sup> Šaurik's [Kazakh form of Čoruk's] daughter Akilai thou [Manas] tookest from three fortresses [toponym ?] from a battle.)

Thus Manas captured Kara-börük in battle on the steppe, Akilai as booty from a fortress taken by storm. And he took Kanikey to wife through a normal marriage with bride-price arranged by his father Jakip.

This tidy pattern is jeopardized for *KK*, however, at 1672f,

<sup>205</sup> Perhaps appropriately in that *Kayip* means 'invisible', 'good (protecting) spirit' in Kirgiz and other Turkic dialects, and, individualized, in Kirgiz also 'Lord-protector of game'.

<sup>206</sup> The *š* for *č* tends towards the Kazakh. The full Kazakh form *Šaurik* would imply a long *o* in Kirgiz: \*Čooruk. Repeated at I, 3) 689ff, but with the error 691 'Nakilai' – read *Akilai*.

<sup>207</sup> *kanoo* not cited by Yudakhin, *Slovar*, but must be a gerund from *kana-* 'let blood', 'bleed', cf *kayna-*: *kaynoo*; *kala-*: *kaloo*. Thus 'a blood-letting' (Radlov: 'im Krieg').

where Kökčögöz tells the Kalmak that he will seize Manas's four women or wives and himself be their lord:

'tört katinin alain!  
törösü özüm boloin!

('I shall take his four wives, and myself be their lord!')  
*tört* = 'four' seems well confirmed by the alliteration with *törösü* at the head of the next line, and so cannot be dismissed out of hand.

If we look hard for a fourth wife we find a problematic 'Atalik' ('Fatherhood').

There is question of Manas's wives in the passage in which Manas teases Almambet on the subject of Altin-ai,<sup>206</sup> whom the latter has 'wooed', captured and wants to marry as his prize.<sup>207</sup> Almambet praises Altin-ai (2093ff) in terms used earlier of Kanikey (152f), so that Manas asks:

2096 'Ataliktan dagi andai, čorom  
Kara-börüktön dagi andai, čorom?'

('Is she as good as \*Atalik, Companion, is she as good as Kara-börük, Companion?')

Almambet replies that she is much better than \*Atalik and Kara-börük:

2098 'Ataliktan anč' ödö, töröm,  
Kara-börüktön dagi ödö, töröm...'

- In fact she is like Kanikey. If she is like \*Atalik or Kara-börük, says Manas, Almambet can have her: but if she is like Kanikey, he, Manas will have her (2112ff). There is the further well-structured passage at 142ff, in which Kanikey is recognised by the Companions as the best of Manas's wives. The structural principle is a) the name of the wife, b) the statement 'There was nothing like this, (i.e. generous gifts) from her'. In the case of Kara-börük a) is extended by the stock line indicating how she was acquired (143ff). With Akilai there is no such extension (148f). Between the two, apparently with the same structure, there is:

<sup>206</sup> See p. 264, above.

<sup>207</sup> *soogat*, selected from the body of war (Radlov confuses it with *süyünčü*. 'Botenlohn' = 'messenger's-reward-for-good-news'.)

146 ataliktan ak dölöt  
andan mindai jok elä.

— recalling and perhaps impugned by

8 ataliktin ak dölöt  
özü kelip tigändä . . .

occurring between Akilai, with her mode of capture (6f) and Kanikey with hers. (10-14) If we believe that Kökögöz is right in attributing four wives to Manas and also that the name of the fourth occurs as *Atalik* at 2096ff, then we shall have to emend *ataliktan* at 146 to *Ataliktin* on the basis of 8 and interpret *ak dölöt* in a metaphorical and periphrastic sense, say as 'True-wealth' or 'True-bliss', thus 'Blessed Atalik'.<sup>210</sup> If this were so, *KK* 8f would mean 'when Blessed Atalik, coming of her own accord, fell to his [Manas's] lot'. In other words Kara-börük and Akilai were captured in their different ways, Kanikey was acquired by a regular arranged marriage with *kalym*, whereas Atalik came to Manas of her own accord. It would be surprising, though possible in oral epic, that while introducing four wives, a bard should add them up to make three: and even if Atalik, having come on her own, were a concubine,<sup>211</sup> there is always Kökögöz's *tört katin* (1672), which would then have to be rendered as 'four women'.

There is some support for this interpretation of *Ataliktin ak dölöt*. At the first look, 'Atalik' with the meaning of 'Fatherhood' seems a most unfitting name for a young woman - 'Enelik' 'Motherhood' would be far more prepossessing.<sup>212</sup> But reflexion shows that fatherhood and motherhood are aspects of one and the same thing, so that a husband would regard an 'Atalik' as auspiciously named. *ak dölöt*, too, would fit into the pattern under consideration, since the allegorical name 'Bak-döölöt' or 'Bagdi-döölöt' occurs in Kirgiz epic either as one of the names of Manas's mother (in Radlov's texts) or as that of the second wife of Manas's father Jakip (in

<sup>210</sup> Unfortunately, the collocation *ak döölöt* is not cited by Yudakhin in his splendid *Slovar*, either under *ak* I ('white' etc.) or *ak* II ('true' etc.), nor yet under *döölöt* ('wealth', 'prosperity'). *ak* I and *ak* II tend to overlap in meaning, yet the *ak* in *ak döölöt* is more likely to be *ak* II.

<sup>211</sup> This might have been common knowledge.

<sup>212</sup> In a Kazakh variant of *Alpamys*, 'Analik' ('Motherhood') is mother to the hero, *Batirlar jiri*, Alma Ata I (1963) p. 233.

Sagymbay's version). I have examined the three names of Manas's mother elsewhere,<sup>213</sup> and shown that 'Čakan' was the first name she was given in Kirgiz epic and that she received the new name 'Čiyirdi' through the levirate.<sup>214</sup> With the expression *Atalıktın ak dölöt* before me, it now seems possible to account for Čakan's third name 'Bagdi dölöt' 'Good-luck-and-prosperity' as a former epithet personifying an attribute, and as such detachable from its owner, so that a co-wife could inherit it in a tradition which found three names for one wife confusing. This line of reasoning seems supported by *KK* 37f, where, after comparing Kanikey very favourably with two other wives – presumably Kara-börük<sup>215</sup> and certainly Aki-lai,<sup>216</sup> – Jakip comes out with the verdict not only that she is 'fortunate' (*baktü*),<sup>217</sup> but also:

37 'ak sōk kandin balasi  
ak dölöt tūgan bala ekān.'

('The daughter of the 'White Bone' [Chinggisid] Khan is a young woman born of/as "True-bliss"')  
*ak dölöt*<sup>218</sup> here applies to Kanikey, daughter of the 'Chinggisid' Khan Temir. The phrase evidently embodies a desirable womanly quality, possessed, so it seems, by both Kanikey and 'Atalik'. But if Manas really had a fourth wife or woman 'Atalik', she occurs in one passage that seems corrupt:

478 'Kayip kandin Kara.Börük, [čorom]  
Karmatip aldim taladan,  
480 bir Alman Bet baladan  
atalıktın ak dölöt  
čakirtip aldim üyünön,  
andan mersät jog' elü,<sup>219</sup>  
kingä beräm süyünčü ?

<sup>213</sup> 'The Birth of Manas', A confrontation of two branches of heroic epic poetry in Kirgiz. *Asia Major*. New Series, XIV (1909) pp. 221 ff.

<sup>214</sup> *op. cit.* p. 223.

<sup>215</sup> *KK* 19–23. See p. 278 below.

<sup>216</sup> *KK* 24–27. See p. 279 below.

<sup>217</sup> Cf *Bagdi* (= *Bakti*) *Dölöt*, discussed above on this page.

<sup>218</sup> In view of the absence of *ak dölöt* from Yudakhin's *Slovar*' (see note 210, above.) and the occurrence of '*Bagdi Dölöt*' as a periphrastic name in our texts, one wonders whether \**bak dölöt* underlies *ak dölöt* or not.

<sup>219</sup> Radlov failed to recognize that *mersät* means 'children', 'off-spring' –

- 485 Čoruktun kisi Akilai  
 andan mersät Jog-elä  
 kimgä beräm süyünčü?  
 Kan balasin Kanikāi  
 andan mersät Jog-elä,  
 490 kimgä beräm süyünčü?

What makes this passage suspect at once is line 482 *čakirtıp aldım üyünön* which belongs not to 'Atalik' but to Akilai (KK 8; 50). Surprising is 480 *bir Alman Bet baladan*, which may be traditional, but which to the best of my knowledge has no support in Radlov V. Thus, if Radlov's manuscript is extant, close attention must be paid to this passage one day.

In the parallel passage 548 ff, 'Atalik' is passed over; both Kara-börük and Akilai are given their briefest forms, i. e. without mention of how they became Manas's wives; but Kanikey's marriage, once again, is given some detail:

- 555 'algani alt'ai bol-eläk, [baikuš],  
 betindä upa oñ-eläk . . .'  
 čirlagan čī-oñ-eläk . . .'<sup>220</sup>

([Almambet speaks]. "She was taken in marriage scarce six months gone, [rascal], the [nuptial] ceruse on her cheeks has scarce begun to fade, her bright mats of twisted grass<sup>220</sup> have scarce begun to wilt . . .')

Just as 'Atalik' is absent from this passage, so is Akilai absent from 2096 ff in which 'Atalik' is thrice compared to her disadvantage with Altin-ai.

cf Yudakhin, *Slovar' sub mersent, merset, parzant, parsant*. When one considers that Manas's childlessness is central to his reception of the Köz-kamans, one can only stigmatize Radlov's guess at the meaning of *mersät* ('Lohn', 483 etc.) as disastrous, entangled as it is with 'Botenlohn' (*süyünčü*) into the bargain.

<sup>220</sup> Radlov *čirlagan* may be a valid dialect form. Standard Kirgiz has *čirmagan čiy*, see Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, sub *čirma-* 'twist' (cf *čiyral-* 'twist') and *čiy* I (a stiff grass of the steppe used for making mats). See further Antipina, K. I., *Osobennosti material'noy kultury i prikladnogo iskusstva yuzhnykh kirgizov* (Frunzo, 1962), pp. 170 and 286 ('carpets made of the stalks of *čiy*-grass intertwined with coloured wool'). Shnitnikov, B. N., *Kazakh-English Dictionary* (1966) identifies *čī* as *Lasia grostia splendens* or *Stipa splendens* (p. 233). Such mats were hung round the latticed part of the yurt. One may infer that a girl intending to wed had to make or provide some.

My tentative<sup>221</sup> conclusions are i) that Manas did have four women, of whom at least three were wives, Kanikey, Kara-börük, and Akilai, with Atalik as a more elusive fourth; ii) that *ak dölöt* is a desirable womanly quality that can be used periphrastically for any wife who is possessed of it; iii) that the bard rang the changes on these four woman in a – for us – rather demanding fashion; iv) that the passage 478–90 is suspect; v) that 19th century Kirgiz heroic poetry cannot rationally be studied in Radlov's German verse translation.

The nature and function of two of Manas's woman, Akilai and Kanikey, are clearly conceived in *KK*, whereas those of Kara-börük are colourless and of Atalik positively shadowy.

Mustering Manas's young women, (17 *balani sinap*), in a set of three, Jakip asserts that neither a hero's nor a people's good fortune rests with one he does not name – there is no luck (*bak*) on her brow (19ff).<sup>222</sup> Since this could scarcely be said of one possessed of *ak dölöt*, like Atalik, Kara-börük must be meant. This in turn shows how far her father Kayip-kan has moved from Kayip, Protector of Game, from whom all hunter's luck descends.<sup>223</sup> If it was deliberate that she should be omitted from the scene in which Akilai and Kanikey seek without success to detain Manas from sallying forth against the Kalmak, then she is deficient in feminine intuition.<sup>224</sup> She is as yet without a child (548f), and she is less generous than Kanikey (143ff) and less attractive than Altin-ai (2199). Apart from the formula telling how she was acquired, this is all we learn of her in *KK*. From a satirical Catalogue of Women in the Soltu poem of *Joloi-kan*, however, where Kara-čač mustered (*sinadin*) Kara-börük among many other women of Kirgiz epic,<sup>225</sup> we learn that Agiš and Kojoš, 'who guarded a dark cave and praised gentle young women', thought the warrior Tülkü's daughter, lovely Tämön good, but the warrior Kaip's daughter Kara-börük bad, so that about to give birth though she was they wounded and killed her.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>221</sup> None would be happier than I if a more knowledgeable scholar could finally resolve *ataliktin/ataliktan ak dölöt* and the number of Manas's wives.

<sup>222</sup> This expectation that a wife should have *bak* reinforces the argument just concluded.

<sup>223</sup> See p. 273 above and note 205.

<sup>224</sup> Contrast the other two wives pp. 279ff, below.

<sup>225</sup> The passage on Ak Erkeč has already been cited in these pages, *CAJ* XIII (1969) p. 183f.

<sup>226</sup> *Joloi-kan* (Radlov V, II) 4802ff. Ancient tradition no doubt. Agiš the



Akilai is more definitely portrayed in *KK*. Jakip characterizes her as follows, again without using a name: "The roof of her mouth has a seal on it,<sup>227</sup> the tip of her tongue has a wart on it<sup>228</sup> - will this "child" of mine not be a curser (*kargišši*)?" (24ff). The answer to Jakip's question is in the affirmative. A 'wart' (*söl*) on one's tongue or palate<sup>229</sup> confers magical power on one's utterance, and Akilai proves a 'curser' at 208ff. She attempts to hold Manas back from a raid on the Kalmak on the grounds that all the astrological signs are against it, just as Kanikey had done, and, like Kanikey, receives Manas's lash, cutting through her robe and skin for her pains: but unlike Kanikey with whom Manas compares her unfavourably she does not laugh but instead curses him: - 'Do not return from your journey! Never see your home again! Never

cave-dweller in the dark forest is also known from *Bok Murun* (V, I, 4) 82ff. At 3) 401ff, 'Agiš and 'Kodoš' have the dark forest as their people, and live in a dark cave. At *BM* 716ff Agiš and Kojoš ride two-men-up with keen battle-axes at their waists, among their Kirgiz people [rarely named in 19 century epic, but significant in this context.] On the basis of presumably 20th century material, Yudakhin, *Slovar' sub agiš* 'milk-white' records: 'Er Agiš - the name of an epic hero who is given to amorous adventures and is of small stature', with the quotation: 'Er Agiš an ell in length, whose body is all sinew.' Agiš is thus clearly a phallic tribal progenitor. Cf the Kirgiz tribal origin myth of Sha Mansur and his sister Anal who were put to death because of the girl's visit to a forbidden cave peopled by young men, Vinnikov, Ya. R., 'Rodo-plemennoy sostav i rasselenie kirgizov'. *Trudy kirgizskoy arkheologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, Moscow, I (1965) p. 140. More may be gleaned from materials inaccessible to me, but I note the following here without drawing conclusions: - i) The name of the 'bad' Kara-börük has the same meaning as that of the Kara-Kalpak people 'Black cap' (Kirg. *börük* has the variant *börk*), indeed, in mediaeval times already there was a tribe of (or: with) the Kipčak named 'Karabörkli' i.e. 'those of the Black Cap (*Kara-börk*)' identified with the 'chernye klobuki' of the contemporary Russian documents, and possibly predecessors of the modern Karakalpak. See Bartol'd, V. V., 'Karakalpak' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Bartol'd. *Sochineniya*, Moscow, V (1968) p. 402; *Narody sredney Azii i Kazakhstana (Narody Mira)* Moscow, I (1962) p. 412. ii) She is the daughter of the mythic lord of game, Kayip; iii) the meaning of the name of the 'good' Tūmön is 'myriad', 'teeming'; iv) the name of Agiš's companion, 'Kojoš' is a Kirgiz ethnonym, albeit not a very prominent one - subsections of the Bugu and Azyk tribes (see Abramzon, S. M., 'Ėtnicheskiy sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya severnoy Kirgizii'. *Trudy kirgizskoy arkheologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, Moscow, IV (1960), p. 119. In *AK* at 595ff Er Agiš is represented as a 'Kitai' who raids Kökčö's herds. 'Er Agiš' is a folk-etymologized reflection of the 16th cy. Nogoy mirza Agiš.

<sup>227</sup> *tañdayında mörü bar.*

<sup>228</sup> *Kak tilindä sölü bar.*

<sup>229</sup> Both places are authenticated by Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, as seats of magical eloquence, *sub söl*.

cf  
J 3311P

cf J 3561-75

4 ... II, 210 ...

embrace Kanikey, having at her soft flesh!<sup>230</sup> May your evil mouth be filled with blood! May a day of disaster be born for you, my lord! Akilai's curse is of course fulfilled by Kökčögöz's treachery against Manas. Akilai has born Manas no children. She is passed over in the comparison with Altin-ai. As to other texts, Akilai is not 'mustered' by Kara-žač in *Joloi-kan*, but has a sinister part in the cyclic extension of *Manas* to the generation of the hero's son Semetey - V, I, 6. 'The Birth of Semetey' Here Akilai, still without a child, plots unsuccessfully with Jakip and her new husband Abeke<sup>231</sup> to kill Semetey at birth (6) 114ff).

Kanikey's preeminence among Manas's wives has already emerged. Jakip praises her for having the very qualities which Kara-börük lacks - *er talayı, el talayı* (29f) - a hero's good fortune, a people's good fortune, with *bak* ('prosperity') on her brow. She is of the 'White Bone' (Chinggisid stock), yet not only high-born but also born 'lucky'. One has to assume that but for the good luck acquired by Manas though his marriage with Kanikey the bad luck which came to him from Akilai would have proved decisive. Further, how came it that Kökčögöz failed to dispatch Manas with his steel during the drinking-bout, a danger brought on by Akilai's curse, unless it was due to Kanikey, whose clairvoyance foretold it to her and who then utters a prayer that as the blow falls Manas's guardian angel shall not abandon him?

1280 '... temir asil kapirdin  
törömö jaskai bergändä,<sup>232</sup>  
törömö aip bolbosun!  
berıştū tayip ketpāsin!

('... when the steel of the high-born Infidel threatens my lord, let no defect be [found] in my lord! May [his] angel not glide away [from him]!')<sup>233</sup>

Kanikey's attempt to hold Manas's back from a raid on the Kalmak

<sup>230</sup> 231f *Kanikāidi kuēpa, töröm/bülküldöktön tartpa, töröm*. Radlov is quite erratic in his renderings of *bülküldöktön tart-*, even forgetting the correct rendering when at last he has achieved it: *BM* 2183; *KK* 964; 2467.

<sup>231</sup> For Abeke see 'The Birth of Manas' (cited note 213 above), p. 224.

<sup>232</sup> Radlov 1281 *ʃaska*. Of *ʃaska* ('to his life') and *ʃaskay* ('threatening'), the latter seems much to be preferred, if only because *bergändä* would scarce have the required sense as an independent verb.

<sup>233</sup> With Radlov 1282 'Das wird Unglück für ihn geben. Wird der Engel fort sich wenden...' the sense is ruined and Kanikey's protective rôle lost.

is based not on her clairvoyance but on an orthodox knowledge of the astrological calendar, since the motive is shared between her and Akilai, only in such a way as to bring out her sweet temper; for after Manas's lash has fallen, scattering her pearls, she laughs, tells him to moderate his anger, and blesses his enterprise.<sup>224</sup> After his departure her dark forebodings prompt her to send to tell him that she is constantly praying and sacrificing for him and if he comes to Akilai's yurt he is to sleep with her and turn her curse into a blessing (251ff). On Almambet's announcement of the advent of the Kōz-kamans, Kanikey foretells the attack by the five brothers, in folk symbolism, as the attack of 'Five Wolves' (886f), just as Manas's equally clairvoyant mother had done (746f). Later she will express the inevitable struggle between the two branches of this ruling clan in terms which recall the struggle for supremacy between Temujin and his Tayiči'ut cousins in the *Secret History of the Mongols*.<sup>225</sup>

1270 eki tūgan uruša,  
er tenilā tabišar,  
eptāp tūgan bolgon soḡ  
jaḡidan kelgān tūganga  
uyat bolup kantām dep . . .

(‘When two kinsmen come to blows they will be found equal, being of one indivisible stock. With shame threatening from these newly arrived kinsmen I am at my wits’ end . . .’)

It is quite possible that *KK* descends from a lay whose emotional core was a struggle for the khanate between cousins of a ruling clan. As with Chinggis – and the Frankish Clovis – supremacy required extirpation of the charismatic stirps. Manas, generous by

<sup>224</sup> Radlov in his translation repeatedly takes *-ma-* in *karmai*, *karmadi* (178; 185; 207; 210) as the negative, whereas it is part of the stem of *karma-* ‘hold’.

<sup>225</sup> 79, 148. Another point of resemblance is that the Tayiči’ut, from their clan name to their personal names, show a strong tendency towards Turkic, Manchu and above all Chinese styles. Just as mother Hö’älün points to the dangers of family disunity vis-à-vis the Tayiči’ut, so mother Bagdi Džlöt and wife Kanikey warn of the dangers posed by the arrival of the Kōz-kamans. Temujin’s father *Yāsūgāi* was poisoned, though not by the Tayiči’ut but by the Tatar. Unlike the motifs shared by Valilchanov’s *Kukotay* and Bichurin’s account of the ancient Türk, so it seems, the resemblances between *KK* and the *Secret History* must be of a purely typological nature. (For *Kukotay* and Bichurin see my article in *BSOAS XXXII* (1969) pp. 353ff).

nature and little more than a boy, learnt this lesson tardily: whereas Kökčögöz, already a grey-beard, know it well, as we gather from the plan which he unfolds to Ai Kan.<sup>236</sup> Kanikey is a diligent hostess to Manas's retainers at the feast, reminding one of Wealth-peow in *Beowulf*,<sup>237</sup> and this activity brings out her physical charms:<sup>238</sup>

- 1005 basarina erinät.  
 küčügüttöi kerilät<sup>239, 240</sup>  
 moindoru koikoyot<sup>241</sup>  
 bogoktoru salaḡdait<sup>242, 243</sup>  
 kazilari ezilät<sup>244</sup>
- 1010 karindari ešilät  
 kelänkär čačpak bir kučak<sup>245</sup>  
 mai sörida čarkildait<sup>246</sup>  
 bala kastai karkildait<sup>247</sup>  
 köčügöndöi bilkindait...<sup>248</sup>

oIAK 495#  
 S 323f

<sup>236</sup> See p. 256 above.

<sup>237</sup> KK 1004ff, cf *Beowulf* 612ff.

<sup>238</sup> Cf the parallel passages KK 783ff and 84ff.

<sup>239</sup> *küčügüttöi* = 784. Comparison with AK [Radlov V, I, 2] 1034 *küčü itäi* ('like a small dog') suggests *küčük itäi* ('like a puppy-dog') at KK 784 and 1006 with thorough-going vowel-harmony (*itäi* — *ütöi*) Cf Radlov, translation, 'wie ein junger Sperber' (1006); 'wie ein junger Falke', and *Opyt'* II, 2 col. 1495 I *küčügüt* = 'ein Raubvogel'. Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, has not admitted *küčügüt* as a word, no doubt having recognized it as a ghost word. Radlov probably guessed 'Raubvogel' from *küčügän* (a species of small eagle) *Opyt'* II, 2, col. 1495 cf KK 1014, above. At AK 1034 *küčü itäi* might perhaps be emended to *küčük itäi*, since *küčüü* (a variant of *küčüü*) has -*üü*, and Radlov usually notes length in this position.

<sup>240</sup> Cf 784 *keirilip*, for which read: *kerilip*. (Yudakhin, *Slovar'* *keril-* 3. = 'move one's body coquettishly', of beauties.

<sup>241</sup> Cf 84 *moyundari*; 785 *moindoru*. Does the plural suggest reiterated movement?

<sup>242</sup> Cf 85 *bogoktoru*; 786 *bokoktoru*. The plural similarly?

<sup>243</sup> Radlov: *saliḡdait*. Cf 786 *salaḡdap*; 85 *salaktait*. (Yudakhin, *Slovar'* gives both *salakta-* and *salaḡda-* with overlapping meanings.)

<sup>244</sup> Radlov: *egilät. czil.* = 'to be (com)pressed'.

<sup>245</sup> = 86. Cf 787 *burgučak*.

<sup>246</sup> Cf 87 *mai sörida čarkildait*; 788 *mai sörindai čarkildait*. The collocation *mai soor(u)* = 'seat', 'buttocks'. With the frequent occurrence of (Kazakh) *š* for *č* in these texts, and also the abundance, with overlaps, of onomatopoeic words on the same pattern in Kirgiz it is difficult to tell whether *čarkilda-* or *šarkilda-* (= *šarilda-*) was intended.

<sup>247</sup> Cf 88 *bala kuštai*; 789 *bala kastai. karkilda-*, shared by all three passages is appropriate to geese, not birds of prey. Cf KK 1163 *bala kastai kargildap*, applied to old Bakay.

<sup>248</sup> *köčügöndöi* is suspect. *küčügön* = 'small white-tailed eagle' (Yudakhin,

(She walks with languid steps, moves gracefully as a young hound. Her neck is fine and slender, her throat full and pendulous.<sup>249</sup> Her plump sides are drawn in [at the waist], her belly is well-twisted.<sup>250</sup> With its gay threads and trinkets her hair<sup>251</sup> is an armful - [falling below her waist] at the back it tinkles there.<sup>252</sup> She gabbles like a gosling, sways like a *köchügön* [or: puppy].)<sup>248, 253</sup>

Allied to her gifts of foreknowledge, Kanikey possesses the gift of healing, since she revives the stricken Manas with her father Tomir-kan's medicaments (2423f). She cannot interpret her own final dream, presaging Manas's return from Mekka and the conception of Semetey (2463ff); but Altin-ai can (2484ff), and her life is saved by Kanikey, in return, from Manas's indiscriminate anti-Kalmak blood-lust (2520ff).

Note: - If the 16th cy. date of parts of the *Majmū' at-Tavarikh* of Saif ad-Din that tell of Manas can be maintained, the theme of the poisoning of Manas by a kalmakized renegade goes back more than 300 years beyond KK. Thoro, Manas, son of the Kipchak Yakub, is poisoned by a kalmakized man of the Jete Tubay to please Joloikhan. As in KK, Manas is revived with the help of a hoja. At least one of the two MSS of the *Majmū'*, which peddles pseudohistory-cum-legend for the sheikhs of Kasan in Ferghana, is 19th cy. See: Tagirdzhanov, A. T., *Sobranie istorii: Madzhmū' at-Tavarikh*. Leningrad University, 1960; Zhirmunskiy, V. M., *Narodnyy geroicheskiy épos*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1962. Pp. 325ff.

*Slovar'*). But of AK 1034 *küü itüi bilkindap*. 1014 *bilkindait* is not directly authenticated by the *Slovar'*, which lists only *bilkinda-*: but variants as between *-inda-* and *-ilda-* occur with other verbs. In view of KK 1006 (see note 239 above), AK 1014 *küügütöi bilkindait* would seem desirable.

<sup>249</sup> *bogok/bokok* = 1. 'goitre'; 2. 'double chin'. In a mountainous country, where many have goitre, this may be an attractive feature.

<sup>250</sup> The comparison seems to be with a rope or cable.

<sup>251</sup> *kelenker* or *keleker* *kačpak* 'adornment of threads with various trinkets and pendants woven into a woman's plaits' - Yudakhin, *Slovar'*. The plaits, together with their ornamental extensions, fall behind, well below the buttocks. For illustration see Antipina, K. I., *Osobennosti material'noy kul'tury i prikladnogo iskusstva yuzhnykh kirgizov* (Frunzo, 1962), p. 261, *Ris. 155a*, where the regional term is *kač papik*, cf Yudakhin, *Slovar'* 'kač papik, kirg. ir. yuzhn., to zhe chto suysal I (a similar hair-adornment). According to Yudakhin, *kačpak* (alone) = 'tassles of threads woven into plaits'; *keleker* (alone) = 'allegorical serpent.' Antipina does not cite collocations with *kelenker*, and none of the ornaments shown is obviously serpentine.

<sup>252</sup> Kanikey's hair is so thick and long that it descends at the back well below her waist and jingles over the silk of her dress as she walks.

<sup>253</sup> Much of Radlov's translation thus seems to be guess-work based on an insecure text.