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of the Kirgiz - I

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

By A. T. HATTO

The *Smert' Kukotay-khana i ego pominki* (henceforth *K*) recorded by Chokan Valikhanov in 1856 and translated by him into Russian between 1861 and 1865,¹ and *Bok Murun* (*BM*) recorded by V. V. Radlov in 1862² are two poems of remarkably 'heroic' temper that derive from a common source. They deal with the funeral feast of Kōkōtōy-kan, which is proverbial in Kirgiz as *Kōkōtōydün aşı*, than which there was no greater funeral repast. Of the two poems, the former is apparently the more archaic, yet the latter too has archaic features. Regrettably, the Kirgiz original of *K* is lost but for some three couplets cited by Valikhanov in separate essays. Nevertheless, Valikhanov evidently translated closely, since it is possible to recognize not only the 'parallelistic' structure of lines in various passages,³ but also traditional epic formulae, including epithets, that occur in other Kirgiz heroic poems, including *BM*. The translation seems to be so close that if a Kirgiz bard, a good scholar, and a cryptographer could ever be brought together, it should prove possible to reconstruct much of the text of the lost *K*. Even this translation, alas, is unfinished. To supplement it very barely, indeed there is in Valikhanov's published works a prose résumé of the *Manas* cycle, including the Kukotay (Kōkōtōy) episode. The latter does not entirely agree with *K*. It will be referred to here below as 'the Résumé'.⁴ Radlov's Kirgiz text of *BM* is accompanied by a German verse-translation in another volume.⁵ Both require a word of assessment.

Radlov's reputation as the pioneer of Turkic studies in Central Asia is unassailable for all time. Turcologists of all future generations will owe him an incalculable debt for the unique corpus of texts and lexica which he has bequeathed to them. But close examination of vol. v, containing his (as he felt) irksome verse-translations, shows that he was working both very fast, and, on

¹ *Sobranie sochineniy, v pyati tomakh*, editor-in-chief A. Kh. Margulan, Alma Ata, I, 1961, 289-300; I, 421 f. : Valikhanov died in April 1865. The text may have been recorded on 26 or 27 May 1856, when Valikhanov was visited by a bard (*ırđı*) who sang *Manas*. V. was then on the Santash Pass, east of Lake Issyk Kul', among the Bugu tribe; I, 249 f.

² *Narechiya tyurkskikh plemen zhiuvshchikh v Yuzhnoy Sibiri i Dzungarskoy Stepi. Obratzy narodnoy literatury severnykh tyurkskikh plemen. v. Karakyrghyz*, St. Petersburg, 1885, pp. 140 ff.

³ cf. K. Jackson, 'Incremental repetition in the early Welsh *Englyn*', *Speculum*, xvi, 1941, 304 ff.; A. T. Hatto (ed.), *Eos*, The Hague, 1965, index sub 'parallelistic songs'. Valikhanov's commentators unaccountably refer to the original recorded in 1856 as in prose (I, 670). Even if the two couplets cited by V. were not extant, we could be sure the Kirgiz original set down by V. was in verse. See p. 346, below.

⁴ op. cit., I, 421.

⁵ *Die Sprachen der nördlichen türkischen Stämme. Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme. v. Der Dialekt der Kara-Kirgisen*, St. Petersburg, 1885, pp. 142 ff.

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his own confession, fitfully.⁶ This also applies in a lesser measure even to his texts. Kirgiz was not Radlov's best Turkic language and he had not the time to collate parallel passages and study his texts in depth while translating them. These statements will be justified subsequently.

K and *BM* have more or less of the following narrative in common. (Since *BM* is complete and *K* a fragment, *BM* is taken as the norm.) (1) Kökötöy-kan [father of the Nogay, *K*], feeling the approach of death, summons his people [and feasts them, *K*]. [(2) He gives instructions for his burial and the great funeral feast, and for the installation of Bok Murun as his successor, *K*.] (3) Kökötöy-kan then dies; (4) Bok Murun assumes control of the people [he announces his Plan and is made Khan, *K*]. (5) Invitations are sent to the heroes both Muslim and Infidel. [*K* has this after (6) below.] (6) Bok Murun announces his Plan. [*K* breaks off while the first invitation is being delivered to Ir-Kosay. *BM* continues thus:] (7) the ordering of the Feast and Games; (8) the Horse-race (*K* already has a minor horse-race immediately after the death of Kökötöy), with (9) the Heroic Contests inserted in the long interval between the start and finish of the race; (10) the deterioration of the race into a brawl between heroes, ending in (11) Manas's vengeance on Joloy for stealing the prizes (cf. the *Résumé*: Manas kills Dzhulay and Konurbay).

Detailed comparison of these common elements (1)-(6) is appropriately introduced by citation of a couplet which *K* and *BM* share. In his long essay '*Zapiski o kirgizakh*' Valikhanov adduces these lines:

Kuk dunannyn basy bar,
Kukotay-khannyn asy bar, [i.e.]
U seroy loshadi est' golova,
*Po Kukotay-khane est' trizna*⁷

'[Just as] the grey steed has a head, [so inevitably] Khan Kökötöy has his [famous] Feast'.

The couplet is excerpted from a parallelistic quatrain towards the end of *K*, translated there by Valikhanov in prose as:

Est' golova u serogo merina,
est' pominki po Kukotay-khane,
est' golova u voronoy kobylitsy,
*est' trizna po batyushke-khane.*⁸

In *BM* the couplet occurs as:

33 *Kök dönöndön baş edi,*
Kökötöi Kandın aş'edi.

Radlov translated: 'Du, das Haupt der Kök Dönön, / Kökötöi's Leichenmahl wird sein'. Radlov's 'Du' is addressed in thought to the hero Er Koşoy, to whom both in *K* and in *BM* the messenger is instructed by Bok Murun to

⁶ *Proben*, v, p. ii. (References to Radlov's introduction will be to the German edition, as the more easily accessible.)

⁷ *op. cit.*, 1, 367.

⁸ 1, 299, 29 f.

deliver an invitation. In a footnote Radlov translates *kök dönön* literally as '“Blue” four-year-old' with the comment 'probably a tribe'. He was unaware that it was to be taken as a term in a rather primitive simile.

From the brief analysis of the narrative sequence (1)-(6) above it can be seen that *K* and *BM* agree remarkably well, though it is evident that *K* gives the fuller and more coherent account both of *Kökötöy's* dealings with his people and of his burial. To this must be added that as *K* and *BM* stand, the latter shows a higher degree of assimilation to the *Manas* cycle. This will be elaborated subsequently.⁹ A further point to be noticed is that despite *Kökötöy's* fame, neither *K* nor *BM* attributes a genealogy to him, and *K* alone makes him Khan of the Nogay. With these preliminaries it is now possible to compare the sequence (1)-(6) in detail.

(1) In both versions *Kökötöy* feels the approach of death and summons his people.

(2) *Kökötöy's* purpose in summoning his people is very adequately represented by *K*. The mere couplet in *BM*: *başı tülü kanım bar, / biläp turgan bīm bar* (9 f.) 'I have banner-bearers that are khans, I have *biy* accustomed to rule' is in itself vague and lame, and it contrasts with the *de facto* situation that Bok Murun as *Kökötöy's* son assumes unquestioned control (but of which people, *eli jurtun* 6, is never stated explicitly—scarcely of the Nogay, since *Manas* speaks of them as his people at 875).

(3) *BM* makes nothing of *Kökötöy's* death, dismissing it in a couplet: *ainäktäi kösü süzüldü, / Kan Kökötöi üzüldü* (14 f.) 'His eyes as clear as mirrors grew peaceful, Kan *Kökötöy* was no more'. *K* on the other hand does justice to *Kökötöy's* passing. His eyes close, his soul hastens to eternity:

zarydala—zaplakala
i izmyal verkhi uryukovikh derev,
zarevela—zakrichala
*i izlomala vetvi yablon*¹⁰

'They fell to groaning and weeping
And bruised the tips of apricot-trees,
They fell to moaning and crying
And broke the twigs of apple-trees'.

The 'parallelistic' structure of the quatrain is self-evident,¹¹ and Valikhanov has rendered it sensitively whilst disguising it as prose. The actual burial rites are those prescribed by *Kökötöy* when alive. As will be seen, they have an interest of their own.

(4) In *BM*, Bok Murun simply begins to give orders from his high seat. *Kökötöy* dies at l. 15: 16 and 17 continue: *Endi kalgan Bok Murun / asil*

⁹ In the second part of this study, to appear in *BSOAS*, xxxii, 3, 1969.

¹⁰ I, 291, 21 f.

¹¹ For another example see p. 357, below.

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jerdän akırat 'then Bok Murun who survived (him) called from his place of honour [Radlov: 'Thron']. In *K*, Kökötöy has handed power over temporarily to the warrior Baymurza, who is not named by the bard of *BM*. Baymurza's epithet is 'son of a wealthy father' (a reasonable translation of his name).¹² Kökötöy asks Baymurza not to treat the foundling Bok Murun as 'a mottled (mongrel?) puppy'. Baymurza, then, was of high rank, perhaps a possible if not the obvious successor to Kökötöy. Kökötöy continues: 'When he grows to manhood he will be a hero and equal of the children of heroes',¹³ raising the question whether Bok Murun is perhaps not a hero's son. It is at this point that the boy's name becomes relevant. 'Bok Murun' means 'Snot-nose'. How did so important a young hero acquire so unbecoming a name? In his *Er Töstük*, in which more eloquence and verbiage are lavished on the plot than the theme can sustain,¹⁴ the twentieth-century bard Sayakbay narrates that Ay-salkın, a peri loved by Töstük, knowing nothing of the rearing of children, leaves the fruit of their love among Kökötöy's herd, where the khan, helped by his more perspicacious steed, Maniker, discovers and adopts him. To save the babe from the attentions of evil spirits, so narrates Sayakbay, Kökötöy gives him an off-putting name. The bard of *K* must have known some such version of Töstük,¹⁵ but this did not necessarily include the motif of the defensive name.

The hero with modest, obscure, or even seemingly unpropitious origins is a widespread type in folk-lore, and in Turco-Mongol folk-poetry may assume the especial characteristic of being snotty or scabby; or, if well-born, he may pass through a snotty or scabby phase, like the 'Turkic Romeo' Kozy Körpös. This of course expresses the spiritual truth, not withheld from the most 'primitive' societies, that the path to glory leads through humility, an aspect which is exploited to the full in the religious sense in versions of the Tibetan epic of *Geser*. Here the hero passes through two phases marked by the names 'Joru' and 'Geser'; with 'Joru' covering the hero's humble, even base phase. The meaning of the name 'Joru' is disputed; but M. R.-A. Stein writes 'Les versions mongoles et turques de l'épopée et de nombreux doublets du folklore de ces pays font bien ressortir le caractère espiègle et vilain du héros. Joru est toujours appelé *nisuqai* "morveux";¹⁶ i.e. 'snotty'. If antecedent versions of Bok Murun's story were of this type, as is probable, he was destined for

¹² As Professor Bernard Lewis observed.

¹³ *i.*, 290, 36.

¹⁴ See the Kirgiz edition, Frunze, 1956, and P. Boratav (tr.), *Er-Töstük* (Collection Unesco d'Œuvres Représentatives), Paris, 1965. With commentary by P. Boratav and L. Bazin.

¹⁵ Radlov's *Er Töstük* does not know Ay-salkın. In it there is the parallel and contrasting figure of Bek Toro, a peri disguised in rags, who never enjoys Töstük's love, though the commentators may well be right in thinking Bek Toro and Ay-salkın to be variants of one and the same original figure.

¹⁶ *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, XIII), Paris, 1959, 543 ff. I am grateful to Sir Harold Bailey and Dr. C. R. Bawden for this reference.

great honour. True, in *K*, Bok Murun succeeded Kōkötōy and was elevated as Khan on a silken carpet after the promulgation of his masterly Plan; and this represents some achievement in that he assumed power in difficult circumstances and led his people out of tutelage. Yet there is no exploit of normal heroic type as far as *K* goes; and in *BM* there is no exploit at all, for Bok Murun is entirely overshadowed by Manas, who takes the lead when Maniker, the famous steed inherited from Kōkötōy, is about to be extorted from Bok Murun by Koḡur-bay. And in any case, Manas has had Bok Murun's messenger quartered without earning so much as a frown from the young master.¹⁷ All Bok Murun's grandiose threats in *K* and *BM* come to nothing. The solution of the problem may be that because Bok Murun's exploit (defeat of the Sino-Kalmak adversaries?) has been appropriated to Manas as the result of the aggrandizement of the latter's cycle, he is deprived of the glorious 'true' name that once went with it. At the stage at which *K* and *BM* stand, we might know even less of Bok Murun's achievement than the little we know, but for his association with the celebrated funeral feast of Kōkötōy. It is as though Manas had stolen Bok Murun's glory and the Kōkötōy tradition would not let him die: he is held in suspense between the two, a mere shadow of his former self. Bok Murun's epithet in *K*, 'born for power' (see the discussion of epithets in part ii), and his ousting of Baymurza, 'son of a wealthy father', might also show a fading memory of a type of hero known elsewhere as a 'democratic hero', in this case an obscure orphan perhaps beloved of the Kirgiz, who, unlike the Kazakh, for long periods had no khans but were governed and misgoverned by wealthy *manap* and *biy* like Baymurza, until wishful thinking of the much-harassed Kirgiz people led to the crushing supremacy in epic of the Činggis- (later: Stalin-) like Maḡas, himself an upstart with no settled pedigree, of the 'black bone', i.e. plebs of the Nogay.¹⁸

(5) *BM* now has the Invitation of the Heroes followed by the Promulgation of his Plan, whereas *K* has these themes in the reverse order. Now the 'Plan' referred to comprises Bok Murun's itinerary to the venue of the great feast together with the economic activities of the tribe in preparation for so great an event, but also as part of the normal routine of nomadic subsistence. *K* would seem to have the more logical order. Since the guests, Muslims and Infidel alike, often live far away and are themselves for the most part nomadizing, the sooner the venue is established and the guests invited the better. In *BM*, Bok Murun announces his Plan (180-251) only after the departure of the messengers (175-9), and when he has announced it they are seen issuing the invitations (252-7). This can be glossed over as 'epic time' (a cliché that needs close inspection). By the standards of *K*, however, it is one of several cases of bungling. The lists of those invited in the two poems are:

¹⁷ *BM*, 317 ff.

¹⁸ On the 'black bone' cf. L. Krader, *Social organization of the Mongol-Turkic pastoral nomads*, The Hague, 1963, 212, 259, 277.

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| 1. Ir-Kosay | 1. Er Koşoy |
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| 3. Ir-Kokcho | 3. Agış |
| 4. Agysh | 4. Töstük |
| 5. Khozhash | 5. Ürbü |
| 6. Aleke | 6. Kök-koyon |
| 7. Baubek | 7. Éreş |
| 8. Bechu | 8. 'Akpay Mamät' cf. 99 'Alpai-imät' |
| 9. Chechu | 9. Bagış |
| 10. Duyur-kulak ('Cast-iron Ears') | 10. Jar Manas |
| 11. Urunkha[y]-khatun | 11. Bos-ül |
| 12. Idne s. of Ichki | 12. Kan Koyon |
| 13. Bagysh s. of Dzhebeker | 13. Éргеç |
| 14. Karachu | 14. Er Kökčö ¹⁹ |
| 15. Dzhanaly | 15. Joloy |
| 16. Tustuk | 16. Nes-kara |
| 17. Alpay-Mamet | 17. Koşur-bay |
| 18. Manas | 18. Jil-basal |
| 19. Ay-khodzha ²⁰ | 19. Ögüz-kan |
| | 20. Tö-tejšer |
| | 21. Mis/Mus-burčak ²¹ |
| | 22. Orongu ²² |

Of these lists of 19 and 22 heroes respectively, no more than 8 are shared: Ir-Kosay, Er Koşoy; Ir-Kokche, Er Kökčö; 'Urbé' (properly named Munku), Ürbü; Agysh, Agış; Urunkha[y]-khatun (i.e. 'woman'), Orongu (a warrior-woman); Bagysh, Bagış; Tustuk, Töstük; Manas. As to their order, Koşoy comes first by seniority; Manas comes second in *BM* because of its bard's predilection, whilst in *K* Manas comes last but one to the holy man Ay-khodzha, also a place of high honour. In *BM*, Orongu comes last because she is a woman: for her this bard has indignities of a sort entirely absent from Homer; and Manas's attempt to show his magnanimity (*törölük*) by sending her a cloak does not mend matters.²³ Of all the Kirgiz heroes, not excluding Manas, Kökčö is the only one possessed of an acceptable pedigree: Kökčö, son of Aydar-kan, son of Kambar-kan.²⁴ Unlike Manas's fluid genealogy

¹⁹ Kökčö has a set piece of his own with Manas at v, 1, (3) and with Alman Bet at v, 1, (2).

²⁰ Papers written on by this holy man and clapped on to the withers of a horse help it to win: but Ay-khodzha runs his own horse, Ayban (298, 40 ff.).

²¹ Line 167 *Mis-Burčak*; 1298 *Mus Burčak*: Radlov, translation 167 *Alys Burtchak*; 1298 *Mus Burtchak*! cf. v, 1, (5), 599 *Mus Burčak*.

²² 173 *Orongu*; 747 *Orongu*; 1372 ff. regularly *Orongu*; translation *Orangi*; *Orongy*; *Orongo*! Further editing will modify this list 1-22, which is tentative.

²³ 1366 ff.

²⁴ In the Kazakh *Er Kökşü* the genealogy is: Uak—Kambar—Kökşü—Kosay (Koşoy), and Kökşü is lord of the Ten Nogay, Radlov, III, 1870, viii, 10.

beyond his father Jakıp, Kōkčö's derivation remains thus constant in all the nineteenth-century Kirgiz poems in which it is given, including *K*.²⁵ Noticeable by their absence from the list in *K* are Joloy, Nes-kara, and Koğur-bay (*BM* list nos. 15-17), always the antagonists in poems in which Manas is prominent, though Joloy is the hero of a nineteenth-century poem of 5,322 lines devoted entirely to his and his family's affairs.²⁶ In *BM*, Joloy loses his life to Manas and Almam Bet in the feud into which Kōkčö's feast degenerates and which is provoked in part by Joloy; ²⁷ Nes-kara, the heathen Kalmak khan engaged in battle with Muslims is attacked by Manas in the intercalated glorification of Manas before the action proper begins (445 ff.); and Koğur-bay, lord of the Kitay (no doubt Chinese) with 'sharp, straight nose, with slanting eyes' ²⁸ is unhorsed by Manas in the jousting-match (1259 ff.), poetic justice for his attempt to extort Maniker from Bok Murun (775 ff.). Nes-kara (*K* Meskara) and Koğur-bay (*K* Konurbay) are nevertheless known to *K*, the former as a hostile infidel khan defeated by Koşoy (296, 14 ff.), the latter as the great Chinese warrior to whom Baymurza has to take the Nogay after Kōkčö's death. (In the *Résumé*, Manas kills Dzhulay and Konurbay and is himself slain by the Mongol khan Naz-kara.²⁹) If in the lost sequel of *K*, Nes-kara and Koğur-bay were intended to make trouble for the Nogay, it seems they would have done so as uninvited guests: and the same would have applied to Joloy, whose winged steed Ač-buudan is the challenger of Manas's Ak-kula in *BM*. Were these traditional antagonists of Manas imported into the Kōkčö tradition together with Manas?

Since only a fraction of the *Manas* material collected in the twentieth century has been published and even that in popular editions, it is not possible to prove that the twentieth-century bards (admittedly subjected to various influences by patriotic intellectuals) were unacquainted with *K*, *BM*, and Radlov's other texts. In strict method, therefore, the twentieth-century material will not be adduced in argument, though it will be mentioned occasionally for information.

On the basis of the nineteenth-century material it is not possible to say whether or not the fatal clash with Joloy belonged to the theme of 'The Funeral Feast of Kōkčö-kan'. Yet clashes there must have been. Where heroes contend even in sport, ugly incidents inevitably occur. Another funeral feast, that of Patroklos, is a case in point; and the episode from twentieth-century Kirgiz tradition in which heroes fall out over the game of knucklebones (*ordo*) looks traditional.³⁰ In view of the passions which the horse-race

²⁵ Radlov, v, i, (2), 23 ff., etc.; *K* 291, 37.

²⁶ v, ii. In this poem, in which he is presented positively, Joloy is the son of Nogay-bay of the Ten Nogay and is at odds with the Kalmak Khan and his henchman Koğur-bay. He is therefore presented here as a tribal hero of the Kirgiz Soltu, possibly in a mock-epic sense.

²⁷ 1554 ff.

²⁸ See the discussion of these epithets in part II, *BSOAS*, xxxii, 3, 1969.

²⁹ i, 421. For initial 'M' cf. further Radlov, v, ii, 4740 ff. *Mis Kara* (*Joloi-kan*, Soltu tradition).

³⁰ The harmonized version of *Manas*, Frunze, 1958, ii, 131 ff.

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(*bayga*) arouses even to-day, the return of the horses towards the winning-post is a very promising point at which to introduce a feud.³¹ Yet the absence of Joloy and his *tulpar* Ač-buudan from *K*, fragment though it is, is remarkable.

Another traditional adversary of the Nogay is Alooke. He is no. 6 in the list from *K* (Aleke); but he is not invited in *BM*, though he is known (Aläükö 846). In *K* we learn nothing about him, he is merely one of several heroes to be invited at a certain stage of Yash-Aydar's journey. In *BM*, Manas names Khan Aläükö as having once demanded a tribute of sheep and even Manas's white steed, failing which he would take Manas himself, then in his sixth year. Manas's father Jakip was for surrendering, but young Manas mounted and fought his way through Kokand of the Six Gates. Manas quotes this as an example to Bok Murun, who finds himself under similar pressure from Kogurbay in respect of the steed Maniker (829 ff.). Urunkha[y],³² the *batyr-baba* 'warrior-woman' owns the steed Urkhu in *K*, but is not further characterized. Perhaps she was invited for the role she has in *BM*, namely to win the strange game of the Silver Ingots (*Jambi*):

1344 *Naiza boyu or kasti,*
altımış jambı köp töktü,
tö bailap saldı deit,
alda bailagan tönü
tışminän öcümäk kim bolor?

'They dug a pit a lance-length deep, they poured in some 60 silver ingots. Then they tethered a camel. Who will set himself to untie the camel tethered there, with his teeth?'

The silver ingots serve as the prize. In his dictionary, Yudakhin notes under '*jambi* 3' 'an archery contest with silver ingots', not the type of contest in which Oronggo (Orongu³³)/Urunkha[y] participated. (The tentative [y] in Valikhanov's or the 1958 editor's version may be due to some connexion real or imagined with the ancient Yakut auto-ethnonym 'Uraankhay' now surviving only in poetry, notably in the heroic and epical *olonkho*.³⁴)

So much for the correspondences between the two lists of heroes and their problematical absences. Certain of the heroes, like Koşoy and Manas, have important and intriguing epithets, sometimes common to *K* and *BM*. But this is a subject to itself and will be dealt with subsequently.

The terms of the invitations in *K* and *BM* now require examination. In *K*, when uttering invitations, Bok Murun often ends them with a threat in the event of non-acceptance. Non-acceptance would be an insult to Kökötöy, which Bok Murun as his successor must avenge. The threat to Koşoy is the longest, as befits the first—the bard is aware that too much repetition can

³¹ cf. *BM*, 1403 ff.

³² Thus the 1958 ed., *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, 356, 28: the current ed., I, 297, 13 reads *Urunkha*. Similarly 1958 ed. *Irku*, current ed. *Urkhu*.

³³ See n. 32 above.

³⁴ G. U. Érgis, *Istoricheskie predaniya i rasskazy Yakutov*, Moscow, Leningrad, I, 1960, 282.

prove wearisome. 'Let him not appear before my eyes [again] . . . Kōkötöy's gold-red banner will fly over his yurt. If I do not smash his fine pack-loads . . . if I do not destroy his branchy gardens . . . seize his lovely daughters roughly by their white hands and bind them to a horse's tail, then let my name Bok Murun be cursed and me be no longer Bok Murun!' (296, 20 ff.). The threat to Urbü is briefer but it still contains mention of the (now) red banner, scattering his forefathers' ashes, and destruction of his branchy gardens. But it also contains a new element oft repeated in subsequent invitations: 'And put a mighty fear into him and trouble him like the waves of Lake Issyk Kul' (296, 39). Kōkčö, too, is to have the Issyk Kul' treatment. As to Agıs with Khojaş, Alooko with Baubek, Beçu and Čeçu and Orongo, in the event of non-acceptance they will see Kōkötöy's red banner in their homes and be troubled like Issyk Kul' (297, 1 ff.). And so it continues. But threats are noticeably absent from Bok Murun's invitation to Manas: 'Let him choose a dainty morsel . . . speak him fair lest he kill you' (298, 9 ff.). The motif of the threat survives vestigially in *BM*. It occurs only once, in the invitation to Koşoy:

48 *bul aşıma kelbäsä,*
körünbösün kösümö!

50 *tarınbasın özümö!*
Tay atardın aldında,
Kün eigardın keinindä
Bok Murundai batırdın
aişığı altın kızıl tü keläp,

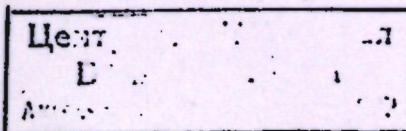
55 *tötögölü bos üyün*
töşkö süröi salbasam,
tör tolturgan sulün
ač biläktän albasam,
at soynun salbasam,

60 *artık olja kılbasam!*

'If he does not come to this feast of mine, let him never appear before my eyes! Let him not be offended at me! Before the rays of dawn, after the rising of the sun, the warrior Bok Murun's gold-red half-moon banner³⁵ will come, and if I do not tear his grey felt house down the slope, if I do not seize by their white wrists his beauties that sit in the yurt and thrust them behind my horse and make them my most excellent booty [let my name not be Bok Murun!] . . .'. The structure of the sentence requires some such main clause as appears in [] in the English translation, cf. *K*: *esli krasavitsdocheri . . . ne povleku ya derzko za belye ruki i ne privyazhu ikh k khvostu loshadi,—pust' budet proklyato moe, Buk Muruna, imya i ne budu ya Buk-Murunom bol'she!* (296, 31 ff.). It is noteworthy in *BM* that the feast is no longer Kōkötöy's but Bok Murun's, as is the red banner. *BM*, cruel enough in some ways, seems to replace the threat to kill Koşoy's beauties by that of capture alone. This passage,

³⁵ Radlov omits to translate *aişığı*.

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coupled with Koşoy's most ornate epithet (*K*, 296, 12 ff.: *BM*, 27 ff.), to be discussed subsequently, affords ample proof that *K* and *BM* preserve close verbal echoes of one and the same source. In *BM*, the next hero is Manas, who is to be threatened even less than in *K*. Nor are any of the remaining heroes in *BM* threatened by Bok Murun. What may once have been the necessary accompaniment of Bok Murun's début as a young hero and khan and would logically have led to a glorious encounter, remains, as was suggested above,³⁶ a blinded motif in both *K* and *BM*, the result perhaps of increasing assimilation to the *Manas* cycle, which appears at two different stages of development in these poems.

(6) In the lives of large nomadic tribes great demands are made on the foresight, sagacity, and geographical and economic knowledge of their leaders. Examples from the Old Testament will spring to mind. There is much mature reflection on this subject in Professor Lattimore's writings.³⁷ It emerges from the strategy of Činggis's world-conquest. The announcement of Bok Murun's Plan, common to *K* and *BM* though differing in detail, is an interesting expression of this fact in poetry. Deeply conscious of his responsibility, the new young khan Bok Murun has to make plans for his people not only to survive through a number of months but also to arrive at the venue of Kökötöy's great funeral repast with sufficient animals, salt, and fuel to feast the numerous guests from all over his known world and with a lavishness that will enhance his prestige.

In *K*, after Baymurza has led the Nogay to the 'hawk-nosed' Kitay Kogur-bay with gifts betokening tribute, as instructed by Kökötöy for his 'Fortieth' Repast,³⁸ the tribe holds counsel on a white hill, 'the Navel of the Earth'—not the least archaic of the ritual survivals that have found a place in *K*.³⁹ It is here that Baymurza fails to manage the people and Bok Murun asserts himself, forbidding Baymurza both to mount Kökötöy's steed Maniker and to arrange Kökötöy's Great Anniversary Feast.⁴⁰ Bok Murun further declares that he himself will not go to Manas, thus asserting himself against Kökötöy's Second Behest (*zavet*).⁴¹ Then follows the announcement of his Plan, introduced by the pregnant formula: 'I have firmly resolved'.⁴²

Bok Murun resolves on something on which many a great nomadic leader resolved before him, both on the Eastern Steppe and elsewhere. He is resolved on decamping in silence and removing his people from the 'protection' of the Chinese power represented by the warrior Kogur-bay. Kökötöy, having

³⁶ p. 348.

³⁷ *Studies in frontier history: collected papers, 1929-1958*, London, 1962, o.g. pt. 1 'The Inner Asian frontier'.

³⁸ See below, p. 372.

³⁹ cf. U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (FFC, 125), 1938, 57 ff.

⁴⁰ See below, p. 371.

⁴¹ In a sense Kökötöy's 'Behests' dominate *K*. In view of the tone of some of the Turkic runic inscriptions it is to be considered whether perhaps the Behest or Bequest is not a fundamental attitude of rhetorical or poetic utterance in early Turkic which has been preserved in *K*.

⁴² i, 292.

summed up Baymurza as fit to discharge his Behest of giving alms to the poor but little more, has implicitly advised a policy of settlement on the Chinese frontier in the knowledge that one day Bok Murun will be ripe to lead the Nogay back to the steppe and by that test become their leader. Such a drama was, for example, enacted many times in the Ordos. Such is the situation described at the beginning of a Turkic runic inscription of Tonyukuk:

'I, the wise Tonyukuk, grew up in China. The Türk people were subject to China. The Türk people then living without a khan separated from the Chinese and acquired a khan. Leaving their khan they submitted to the Chinese again...'⁴³

The moralizing tone recalls that of a more famous inscription in stone and the accompanying sermon on backslidings into the ways of a sedentary civilization recently abandoned. Later in Tonyukuk's inscription we read how the Türk left their precarious stronghold on the northern side of the Yin-shan near the Chinese *limes* and made for their ancestral Ötükän homeland along the soggy bed of the Onggi-yin yöl.⁴⁴ The comparison, remote though it is in time, not only stresses the age-long drama of the frontier as it is reflected in the poetry of *K* but it also enables us to make two further points concerning *K*. If it is a genuine element of tradition, the council on the 'white hill, Navel of the Earth' which led to Bok Murun's being made khan has somehow become displaced.⁴⁵ The Türk or T'u-chüeh returned to their Ötükän homeland in the Khangay Mountains as to the one place in which, by making contact with the 'cave of the spirit of the Turkish ancestors and the place of the cult of Mother Earth',⁴⁶ they could renew themselves as nomadic Türk. No doubt the 'Navel of the Earth' of the Türk was there. It is therefore not appropriate that the 'Navel of the Earth' of the Nogay in *K* should be on the Chinese *limes* and that it should have to be abandoned when Bok Murun resolves to seek freedom. Rather should it have been the goal of his itinerary. The second point is that on being made khan of the Nogay, Bok Murun ought to have acquired a new name, just as Qutluy acquired that of 'Elteriš', and (moving out of the Turkic sphere) Temujin that of 'Činggis'—all the more so in that his need of a new name was greater.

In *K*, Bok Murun's Plan is as follows:

'I shall shear sheep at the Kuzibash Marshes; arriving on the Great Aktam I shall mend *kibitki*. I shall cross the Tiek-Tash; on the river Dzhalanach I shall leave the horse-herds; at the lake and down the broad river Ili I shall go ahead, leaving the ploughmen there. At Kalkan I shall cross the river in boats and rafts, and climb the Ak-Teresken Mountains, where I shall rest the horses without removing saddles. I shall cross the Turgen-Aksu and rest the camels

⁴³ S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, Moscow, Leningrad, 1951, 61 and 64 f.

⁴⁴ K. Czeglédy, 'Čoyay-quzi, Qara-qum, Kök-öng', *Acta Orientalia Acad. Sci. Hungaricae*, xv, 1-3, 1962, 55 ff.

⁴⁵ If so, it would not imply the only displaced couplet or quatrain in *K*. See p. 357, below.

⁴⁶ Czeglédy, art. cit., 55.

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⁵⁴ 1, 670 ff.

⁵⁵ 1, 280. There

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⁵⁶ 1, 671.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* Aktam i

without removing loads. Arriving at the saline lake I shall boil salt and, loading 60 camels, come to Dzhuzay⁴⁷ . . . who nomadizes on the salinae of Butanyn-Saz⁴⁸; . . . he will nomadize with 'Ir-Cholan'⁴⁹ and the Kalmak who fill the Altay and Katay.⁵⁰ 'I shall go along [presumably up-stream] the Upper Irtysh day and night; in the upper reaches of the Irtysh I shall descend over the Bishterek range, crossing the river Dzhurga I shall pass over the *khanskaya gora*,⁵¹ making for Mula-Khurgoy, and there I shall sojourn on the head-waters of the Irtysh under Burun-Tash . . .'. Bok Murun then says that after a week's rest for the horses he will load 90 camels with rice and select 90 amblers and 'go to the Inner Khan' (*po ydu k vnutrennemu khanu*).⁵² There Bok Murun will give Kōkötōy's Feast to the whole world. He will raise Kōkötōy's white *orda* on the road, he will drive Kōkötōy's numerous herds thither for the required rite. Fires will be made, horses will be slaughtered, their flesh will loom black as mountains. He is then made khan.

The general impression left by Bok Murun's resolve is that he will follow an itinerary that will remove his Nogay from Chinese suzerainty. Only detailed reference to the place-names in terms of the date of the text (pre-1857) can confirm or throw doubt on this impression.⁵³ Examination of this itinerary will also involve scrutiny of explanations offered by the commentators of the current edition of Valikhanov's *Sobranie sochineniy*.⁵⁴

After leaving the Chinese Kogur-bay, Bok Murun plans to come to the Kuzibash Marshes. These have not been traced in the maps consulted by the writer, but they are mentioned once as an *urochishche* in the many peregrinations of Valikhanov recorded in the current three volumes of the *Sobranie*, as two days' riding from Vernoe (Alma Ata) without indication of direction, in the form 'Kozybashi',⁵⁵ which is reconcilable with the commentators' identification with the *urochishche* of Kuzybashi in the *rayon* of Issyk Kul'.⁵⁶ Presumably the Kuzybash(y) Marshes are not far from Great Aktam, which the commentators locate on the north-east shores of Lake Issyk Kul'.⁵⁷ Bok Murun

⁴⁷ i.e. 'Dzhulay' (Joloy), see p. 376, n. 183, below.

⁴⁸ *saz* = 'marsh'.

⁴⁹ i.e. 'Er Dzhulay', see n. 47 above, and p. 376, n. 183, below.

⁵⁰ The 1958 ed. reads *Katan*; the current ed., I, 293, 13 reads *Katay*, whether by conjecture or by improved understanding of the manuscript one can never tell. *Katay* does not appear in the geographical index, but is listed without discussion under *Kitay*. Since, stylistically, *Katan/Katay* is a 'parallelistic' variation of *Altay*, the reading '*Katay/Kitay*' would require justification. If the text actually read 'K(h)angay' much would be explained.

⁵¹ See the discussion, p. 358 f., below.

⁵² 293, 24. See the discussion on pp. 374 ff., below.

⁵³ The learned institutions of this country are very ill-provided with large-scale maps of Kirgizia and its neighbours. Such identifications of places as are offered in this article were the fruit of three to four weeks of intensive research in the full sense of that term.

⁵⁴ I, 670 ff.

⁵⁵ I, 280. There is a 'Kozu (!) bas' (translation: 'Kosy Basch') at Radlov v, I, (5), 239 which I have failed to tie down.

⁵⁶ I, 671.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* Aktam is not indicated at 1 : 250,000.

next plans to cross the Tiek-Tash, that is, he will pass northwards over the Kungey Alatau and go through the Tiek-Tash, which, Valikhanov informs us elsewhere, is a fearsome gorge cut by the river Sharyn (Charyn) through the nose of the Kuuluk Mountains,⁵⁸ and also famous because of a simile from *Manas*.⁵⁹ The next stage is the 'river' Dzhalanash.⁶⁰ This can be but a stream, since it is not indicated at 1 : 250,000. But the Dzhalanash-valley north of the present town of Dzhalanash and contained between the rivers Sharyn and Chilik lies below Tiek-Tash. Bok Murun will then follow the river Ili down to [a point opposite] the Kalkan Hills [on the north bank] and ferry across. All of this is as clear as it is gradual and local. But from now on there are leaps. Admittedly the poet is not giving us a route as the crow flies but is dealing in what is emotionally important for himself and for his audience—good pastures, salinae, and woods; and such places in predominantly mountainous and desert regions demand tortuous itineraries. Yet from this point on the bard strides as though in seven-league boots. Arriving at the Kalkan Hills on the north bank of the Ili, Bok Murun plans to climb the 'Ak-Teresken'.⁶¹ Wherever this may be, he next intends to cross the Turgen-Aksu and at two stages thereafter means to nomadize with a Kalmak khan of the Altay and proceed to the Upper Irtysh. The commentators identify the Turgen-Aksu with a river Aksu at the Dzhungarskie Vorota.⁶² Aksus, however, abound in the whole region. The maps show—by not showing it—that an Aksu at the Dzhungarskie Vorota can be no more than a stream, and even then the identification offered ignores the element 'Turgen'. In his writings Valikhanov refers several times to the Turgen-Aksu Pass over the Tien-Shan at the head of the river Turgen-Aksu flowing into the south-east end of Lake Issyk Kul'. For him, this pass is the first of four on the way south from the lake to Uch-Turfan.⁶³ If we suppose Bok Murun to have wished to elude Kojur-bay over the Tien-Shan from this part of the Chinese frontier, a crossing via the easy⁶⁴ Turgen-Aksu Pass would have brought him to the east end of Lake Issyk Kul' and so within striking distance of Aktam, located by the commentators on the north-east shore of the lake.⁶⁵ The true explanation is that Valikhanov or his bard has misplaced a quatrain. With this assumption, after a forced march to get clear of Kojur-bay, Bok Murun's horses would be rested for the first time after climbing the last of four ranges on the way north to Lake Issyk Kul', and the camels in the last pass of four. But, for a caravan on a sensible journey, to

⁵⁸ I, 244.

⁵⁹ II, 618.

⁶⁰ K, 292, 41 *Dzhalanache reke*. *ch* (č) and *sh* (š) tend to alternate in the names and place-names of this region owing largely to the correspondence Kirgiz (č) : Kazakh (š).

⁶¹ Thus the current ed. 292, 44. The 1958 ed., however, reads: *Ak-Tersken*. There is no discussion. Neither form occurs elsewhere in the three current volumes of Valikhanov. *Terskey* occurs variously. One suspects that *Tersken* may have arisen through *u* for *u*.

⁶² I, 671.

⁶³ II, 544.

⁶⁴ II, 227; 514.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 355.

r the climb a mountain range and reach a pass are one and the same thing. Thus the parallelistic technique of a quatrain becomes obvious, 'Ak-Teresken' revealing itself as the 'White' Terskey Range:

na Ak Ter(e)skey podnimus'
zdes' dam odykh loshadyam, ne snimaya sedel.
Cherez Turgen-Aksu perepravlius'—
verblyudam dam ya odykh, ne snimaya v'yukov (292, 44 ff.)

'I shall climb the Ak-Terskey,
Here I shall rest the horses without unsaddling ;
I shall cross over the Turgen-Aksu,
There I shall rest the camels without unloading'.

nous Placed at the beginning of the Nogay's flight from China, this quatrain would give it a 'heroic' tone. Why should Bok Murun risk exhausting his horses and camels later on the way to the Altay, when he has time to spare? We are surely to imagine these fine beasts resting only when they and the Nogay are looking down on the beloved Lake Issyk Kul' after the exile which Kökötöy had ordained for them. The horses are evidently of the same heroic breed as those which, immediately after Kökötöy's death 'started in the spring and returned in chilly autumn' (291, 31 ff.). Thus if the above quatrain (292, 44 ff.) naming the (emended) Ak-Terskey and the Turgen-Aksu be transposed to the very beginning of the itinerary to precede the phrase *Na bolotakh Kuzibashskikh ostrigu ya ovets* (292, 38) it will be only after the crossing of the Ili at Kalkan that the journey moves in great leaps to the Altay.

For It is from this point onwards that the commentators' observations must be scrutinized with great care, and unambiguous identification be insisted upon, all the more so since (as will be seen) *K* was the only contemporary source of information known to Valikhanov that presented a nomadic route from Kirgizia to the Altay, and also because he will be under some suspicion of having unconsciously influenced his bard.

The commentators' interpretation of the itinerary from Kalkan on the Ili is this: ⁶⁶ (a) To the river Aksu 'at the Dzhungarskie Vorota'; (b) through the latter; (c) by the south Tarbagatay Mountains; (d) descending to the Upper Irtysh valley; (e) near the Beshterek [*K Bishterek*] Pass, which (f) is situated at the north-east end of the Saur Mountains; (g) on the Upper Irtysh under Buruntal [*K Burun-Tash*] there is a stopping-place ('where the Kirgiz wait for the trade caravan to buy rice and other goods').⁶⁷

As to this: (a) has already been disproved; (b) is an assumption, as is also (c). The sequence (d), (e), (f) is geographically inconsistent, since at the north-east end of the Saur Mountains (f) the Kara Irtysh and its valley and indeed any of its affluents still have to be crossed.

In addition to their interpretation of the itinerary, which is claimed as a

⁶⁶ 1, 671.
⁶⁷ Are we to understand that it is still the custom of the Kirgiz to take rice here?

' clear description of a nomadizing route of the old Kirgiz ',⁶⁸ there are individual identifications as follows, in the order of *K*: (i) the Dzhurga is a left tributary of the Irtysh in east Kazakhstan; (ii) the *khanskaya gora* (Khantau) is one of the old names for the Chingisskiy Khrebet; (iii) The commentators do not even mention Mula-Khurgoy; (iv) they do not give a precise location for Buruntal [*K* Burun-Tash] ' on the Upper Irtysh '.⁶⁹

Whether the stages as given in *K* itself are consistent geographically or poetically will be discussed below. (i) The Dzhurga is too small to be indicated at 1 : 1,000,000. If it is within Kazakhstan above Lake Zaysan it will rise not too inappropriately on the north slopes of the Saur Mountains already named; if below the lake, this will imply a giant leap from Beshterek over the lake to the north-west and will no longer be the Upper Irtysh. (ii) Movement from a river Dzhurga below Lake Zaysan to the Chingis-Tau would mean a 300 km. ride to the south-west, to reach it from above the lake a ride west-north-west of 450 km. Then, (iii)-(iv), there would be a return to the Upper Irtysh via Mula-Khurgoy and Burun-tal(tash). It therefore seems that another explanation must be sought. Either the bard had no precise geographical knowledge at this distance from home and he is cataloguing features to the north-east—in which case this is not an ' old nomadizing route '—or *khanskaya gora* must receive another interpretation. (Possibly useful under this head is the knowledge that the original of *K* will have had not *khan-* but *kan* = (1) 'khan', (2) 'blood'—volcanic rock?)

In what might be called the second half of the itinerary in *K*, the Upper Irtysh is mentioned thrice. This, however, does not mean that Bok Murun will approach it as many times. The repetition is due to the style of the poem, the line-divisions of which can again be detected at this point. Until these have been examined it will not be possible to say what actual itinerary is being envisaged.⁷⁰ The information is contained in 10 lines:

... *po techeniya reki poydu,*
po techeniyu verkhnego Irtisha,
dnem i noch'yu budu idti.
v verkhov'e Irtisha
 5 *cherez Bishterekskie khrebtly spushchus',*
cherez vodu Dzhurgi perebredshi,
cherez khanskuyu goru proydu
na Mula-Khurgoy napravlyus',
i tam na verkhnem Irtishe
 10 *pod Burun-Tashem ostanovlyus' ...*⁷¹

⁶⁸ I, 671.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* 'Bes-Teräk' is named in the disordered list of places in Young Manas's Plan for his future at Radlov, v, I, (1), 101.

⁷⁰ Similarly, archaeologists needed warning that a famous passage on swords in *Beowulf* was not an ironmonger's list till it had been divested of its stylistic wrappings.

⁷¹ I, 293, 17 ff.

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Lines 1-3 announce Bok Murun's general intention to travel night and day beside the Irtysh, surely up-stream, 4-10 give his route to the Upper Irtysh in stages; 4-8 say that he will descend to the upper reaches of the Irtysh over the Beshterek Range and having found the Dzhurga will pass the *khanskaya gora* and then make for Mula-Khurgoy; 9-10 say that (having at last arrived) on the Upper Irtysh he will halt under Burun-Tash. One's ear tells one at once, and it is borne out thus by logic, that the bard is using the name of the Upper Irtysh lyrically, almost as a refrain (ll. 2, 4, 9). It is probably after Burun-Tash that Bok Murun intends to journey up the course of the Upper Irtysh day and night. Were he indeed to do so now, the head-waters would soon lead him into the Altay. Whatever he or it is,⁷² the 'Inner Khan' is situated there or beyond—there is no evidence in the text of *K* for stating positively 'in the Khangay Mountains' (a further 600 km. to the east as the crow flies).³

Let us now turn to the itinerary in *BM*. Here 'Kökötöy's son Bok Murun'⁷³ summons his companions⁷⁴ and puts the question to them: 'Where shall I assemble the Infidel and the Muslims to entertain them?' The question is rhetorical, since he announces his Plan forthwith. Since there is no dislocation of the stages of the itinerary in *BM* they are numbered consecutively in roman numerals.

(Abbreviated) 'I shall set out and camp in I Sairam; move on and camp at II Šibi kent; ride through III Saŕı-bulak and cross IV Karabura; descend to the broad V Talas; move on, and riding over VI Karaköl, cross over VII Uč-korum;⁷⁵ descend to VIII the Su-samır where I shall castrate the male lambs, make my [female] live-stock "dry";⁷⁶ camping there for one month I shall fatten up my cattle; I shall hang yurt frames and make them ready. Moving on again I shall cross over IX Kara-balta, ride through X the Kaiŕdı. Having set out again and come to XI Agr-min, I shall untie the camel-saddles;⁷⁷ then roaming along XII Kōra-kot, I shall ford the river at XIII It-kečü; passing through XIV the Ak-ŕar valley I shall camp at XV Ak-buluŕ. There I shall shear my sheep⁷⁸ and cover my yurts. Moving on, I shall cross the XVI Irgaitı; I shall make straight for XVII Kōpu. I shall move on and having traversed XVIII Karkara I shall camp. I shall there make friends with the Kaldai [a Sino-Kalmak rank] and boil salt. Moving on, I shall ride over⁷⁹ XIX the Temirdik Mountain, cross through XX the Tūluk⁸⁰ and, continuing, traverse XXI Baktı-kurai and pass over XXII Mount Kuš Murun and then

⁷² See pp. 374 ff., below.

⁷³ *Kökötöy ülu Bok Murun* (181).

⁷⁴ *čorolorun*.

⁷⁵ Radlov 198 *ašamın* (= 'I shall open') (Radlov, translation: 'will ich ... überschreiten'); read *ašamın*, cf. 194, 208 *ašamın* (R. 'will ... überschreiten').

⁷⁶ *maldı subai kılamın*.

⁷⁷ i.e. 'release the camels' (R. 212 'entlass' ich die Kameele').

⁷⁸ *koi küzöŕün (!) alamın*.

⁷⁹ *basamın* (227).

⁸⁰ *Tūluktan ašamın* (228).

camp between the confluence (*cut*) at XXIII (Great Kulja and the end of Little Kulja. When seven months have passed, I shall have dug the hearths; when ten months in all have passed, I shall have gathered my fire-wood.'

The itinerary in *BM* by comparison with that of *K* is more homogeneous; it is less mythical and more everyday. I, Sairam (l. 190), must in view of what follows be the old town of that name c. 15 km. due east of Chimkent (north of Tashkent).⁸¹ II, Šibi kent (192), rendered by Radlov as 'der Schibā Stadt' is problematic.⁸² IV and V require an ascent from the head of the river Chatkal at the south (south-west) followed by a descent from the head of the river Karabura at the north (north-east); so that III Sari-bulak should be south-west or south of the Talasskiy Ala-Tau. Sari-bulaks abound—the name means 'Yellow Stream'—yet a suitable one has eluded us.⁸³ This uncertainty in turn makes the area in which to seek II Šibi kent less definite.⁸⁴ The above-named 'Chimkent' c. 15 km. due west of Sairam is highly eligible: (i) initial *s* for *č* is explicable as due to Kazakh influence; ⁸⁵ (ii) interchange of *m* and *b* in any position occurs in various words; ⁸⁶ (iii) dissimilation of the nasals in 'Chimkent' occurs in 'Chimket',⁸⁷ and so the textual 'Šibi kent' might be regarded as showing alternative dissimilation; (iv) Chimkent is in many ways the twin town of near-by Sairam: the two are frequently named together, and the route from Kashgar in Valikhanov's day bifurcated at Tashkent to reach Chimkent and Sairam on equal terms.⁸⁸ Thus if by 'Šibi kent' ⁸⁹ we are indeed to understand 'Chimkent', stage III will have served as a lead-in from the south-west to the head of the Chatkal. The descent from IV the Karabura Pass to V the Talass valley is straightforward, as is the crossing of VI the western Karakol river (valley or mountain), since after running parallel to the Talass in a westerly direction for much of its course the river turns south to join it. The passage from VI to VIII, the river Su-samir, is also unproblematic, since the sources of these two rivers are divided by but a single watershed, though it has not proved possible to trace the crossing VII, Uč- or Uč-korum. The move to IX is also clear, since the northward-flowing river Karabalty rises just over the watershed from the Upper Susamyr and is reached from the latter by the Karabalty Pass.⁹⁰ From this pass Bok Murun does not propose to follow the river Karabalty on its course to join the Aksu but instead to follow X, the river

⁸¹ The eastern Sairam and Lako Sairam are excluded by stages IV, V, VI, etc.

⁸² Radlov's translation 'der Schibā Stadt' suggests that he was thinking of the Tungus-speaking 'Schibā' in the Manchu service in the Ili Province, who interested him greatly. Did Radlov mentally place the beginning of the itinerary in the eastern Sairam?

⁸³ Streams are not visible on the map at 1:250,000.

⁸⁴ Shibbe, far to the south below Fergana, is to be excluded on grounds of phonology, distance, and absence of *-kent*.

⁸⁵ See p. 356, n. 60, above.

⁸⁶ See I. A. Batmanov, *Sovremennyy kirgizskiy yazyk*, I, fourth ed., 1963, 80.

⁸⁷ cf. Valikhanov, II, 530, map.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ The second *i* in *Šibi* would seem to be Radlov's responsibility.

⁹⁰ The Pass is c. 60 km. south of the present town of Karabalty.

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Kaindy,⁹¹ one of the easternmost tributaries of the river Kuragaty, which like the Aksu, is a southern tributary of the river Chu, the Kuragaty flowing north-east, the Aksu north-west. Had Bok Murun chosen the Karabalty valley he would have committed himself to taking his men and beasts over the maze of rivers and streams between the mountains, and XIII, *It-kečüü* 'Dog-ford', the most notable ford across the Chu in Valikhanov's day; and, moreover, the decision was operative already some 150 km. to the south of this ford.⁹² The bard is presenting Bok Murun here as a leader well versed in the topography. XI, *Agır-min* has eluded identification, but the verb of motion *kel-* would require it to be a place. XII, 'Kōra-kot' requires brief discussion. At 213 the text reads *Kōra-kottu kidırip*, which Radlov renders 'Dann durchstreif' ich Kōra Kot'. The absence of a 'Kōra-kot' on the maps, though never decisive, combined with XIII, the ford at *It-kečüü*, strongly suggests the river Kuragaty (*Kuragati*), the western tributary of the Chu and recipient of the aforementioned river Kaindy (with the implication that Radlov read *-ti* as the accusative ending). As to the quality, though not the quantity of the first vowel, cf. Valikhanov's spelling *Korgaty*.⁹³ The topographical significance of XIII, *It-kečüü* (Radlov, literally, 'Hundefurth') has been explained. It is situated at the confluence of the Chu and the Kuragaty and below that of the Aksu. XIV, *Ak-jar* 'White Scarp' was not found, nor XV, *Ak-buluj* 'White Cove'; but this is of no account, since XVI, the crossing of 'Irgaiti' does not take us far from *It-kečüü*. 'Irgaiti' is the river Rgaty, which runs into the sands. It is situated between Georgievka, 30 km. north-north-west of Frunze and the town of Krasnogorka in the Chu-Ili Range. XVII, *Kopu* at once suggests *Kopa* on the river of the same name. *Kopa* is correctly placed for XVIII, *Karkara*, near the east end of Lake Issyk Kul'. Radlov's *Kopu* at 220 is surely the same as his *Kopi* at 1826. In Bok Murun's itinerary, moving from the west towards Kulja, we read *Irgaitın ašamin / Kopunu tūra basamin*, whereas when Joloy boasts at Kulja that he will overtake Manas and seize the horses he has lifted we read *Kōpını tūra basarmin / Irgaitını ašarmin*. The two toponyms are logically reversed. (Cf. further v, I, (5) *Kōskaman* 655 ff. *Kopunu tūra basat deit, / Irkaitını ašat deit, / Sari özön Čüidü kidırip*—thus a common-place of this school.) Kirgiz *-ı* in place-names often occurs as *-a* in the Russian version. If we assume *Kopi* as the basic form, then Radlov's 220 *Kopu* can be understood as due to a momentary confusion between roman *y* as the equivalent of Cyrillic *ы* and roman *u* as the equivalent of Cyrillic *у*.⁹⁴ Radlov's failure to collate 220 and 1826 is evident, in addition to which he renders *Kōpını* with a short *o* in *Kopy*. *Kopi* was no doubt the correct form. XVIII, *Karkara*, which Bok Murun can traverse (223

⁹¹ BM, 207 *Kaipdi*.

⁹² Perhaps other formidable obstacles were avoided, too.

⁹³ I, 316. For *kidırip* with a river as object see *Čuidü kidırip* below on this page.

⁹⁴ R.'s translation at 221 'Kopyy' suggests an incomplete correction from *Kopu* to *Kopy* which the printer had not understood. The lack of vowel-harmony in *Kopi*, however, is disturbing in Kirgiz.

boiloi), is the river Karkara flowing north-north-east at a distance of 70 km. east from the eastern tip of Lake Issyk Kul'. The Karkara flows into the Kegen and the Kegen into the Sharyn (Charyn), already mentioned in connexion with the gorge at Tiek-Tash in *K*. Together with the Kegen and Tekes Valleys, says Valikhanov, the Karkara was unique in all Dzhungaria for its rich black soil, and its upper valley gave rich pasture to the Abdan and the Bugu⁹⁵ tribes. Valikhanov was well acquainted with this region and gives surprising confirmation of what follows the naming of the Karkara in Radlov's *BM*. He refers to a hilly ridge running from north-east to south-west and terminating at the river Karkara. On the eastern slope of this ridge in a depression there are saline springs called 'Karkaranen-Kaynatma-Tuz'.⁹⁶ There is, continues Valikhanov, a salt-lake, Bora-Dabysyn by name, on the eastern slope of Mount Labasy, and it is joined to the Kegen salinae by a ravine.⁹⁷ The Bugu narrate that everywhere from the river Shilik (Chilik)⁹⁸ as far as the Santash Pass⁹⁹ used to belong to the Kalmak. Thirty years previously, Kalmak nomadized on the Toraygyr Mountains¹⁰⁰ and wintered on Kuuluk.¹⁰¹ Even in Valikhanov's day, Chinese Kalmak of the Zurgan-suun and Argun-suun clans nomadized on the Kush Murun Mountains and on Labasy.¹⁰² There was then a real foundation for the lines:

*BM 223 Karkara boiloi konomun,
Kaldai-minän dos bolup,
tus kainatyp alamn . . .*

'Traversing the Karkara valley I shall camp, making friends with the Kaldai I shall boil salt . . .'

This passage from *BM* in turn corresponds to *K*, 293, 1 ff.: 'When I arrive on the salt-lake I shall boil salt and, loading 60 camels with it, I shall go to him who ranges on the salinae of Butanyn-Saz,¹⁰³ who every day plays hazard, to the infidel khan, brave Dzhuzay,¹⁰⁴ whose cap towers like a black cauldron, who rules all that has life and blood. To that infidel khan Ir-Cholan¹⁰⁵ I shall range with my *ulus*. Near-by I shall sojourn as a chief and to him shall become as a kinsman. . . I shall take him a skewbald-headed ambler and also a dappled steed. I shall don a golden kurma (Kirgiz: *kürmō*)¹⁰⁶ and become a regular grandee. On my cap I shall wear a red pompom and adorn myself with a

⁹⁵ I, 410.

⁹⁶ 'Cooking salt of/from the Karkara'.

⁹⁷ I, 245.

⁹⁸ 40-60 km. west of the river Sharyn.

⁹⁹ At the head of the river Tyup, east of Lake Issyk Kul'.

¹⁰⁰ I, 246.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ Not identified by the commentators of *K*.

¹⁰⁴ See p. 376, n. 183, below. From this point on it becomes possible to detect line-divisions of the original. Some well-balanced parallelistic quatrains emerge.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 376, n. 183, below.

¹⁰⁶ A 'Kalmak' over-garment.

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¹¹⁰ I, 237

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peacock¹⁰⁷. . . . I shall range with the Kalmak that cover the Altay
 Making peace with the Kalmak as a means of obtaining salt from the salinae
 they dominated was evidently a feature of the heroic song from which *K* and
BM derive. It is noteworthy that *K*, with the need for token submission to the
 Kalmak, comes nearer to the conditions of only 30 years previously reported
 by Valikhanov's Bugu informants. There is no question of submission in *BM*.

The satirical Kara Čač in *Joloi-kan* (4826 ff.) refers to Bok Murun as camping
 at the 'thick' marshes of Karkara [*Karkira*] and assembling Muslims and
 Infidels.

In the songs recorded by Radlov, assumption of foreign dress by Nogay-
 Kirgiz warriors normally implied a ruse of war.¹⁰⁸ In *K*, it is a diplomatic move.
 One wonders how Bok Murun, having led his people away from the Chinese,
 can now risk associating with the Chinese Kalmak. But perhaps this does not
 conflict with the Chinese policy of the day not to subjugate but rather to control
 the peoples of the Semirech'ye.¹⁰⁹

XIX in *BM* is over the Temirdik [i.e. Temirlik] Mountains (highest peak
 c. 80 km. east of Dzhalanash), widely known as such in Valikhanov's day but
 now rarely named apart from the Ketmen Khrebet. Valikhanov reports that
 the Karkara valley is bounded to the north by the pass across the Temirlik
 and that the caravan route from the Chilik (Shilik) to the south of Lake Issyk
 Kul' goes over the Temirlik to [i.e. via] Karkara.¹¹⁰ In his time, the Chinese
 frontier passed through or near the Temirlik.¹¹¹ The Temirlik Mountains
 terminated in the bold headland of Mount Kush Murun 'Hawk Bill', a candi-
 date for stage XXII of Bok Murun's route. Leaving the route across the Temirlik
 in *BM*, the way continues through XX, 'Tuluk'. This can be no other than the
 'Kuuluk' Mountains already mentioned as still a place of Kalmak wintering
 c. 1860.¹¹² The Kuuluk Mountains are east-north-east of Dzhalanash, and
 west-north-west of Peak Temirlik, and might have to be skirted by Bok Murun
 on the way from Kopa to Karkara. XXI, Bakti Kurai has eluded identification.

Since XIII, It-kečüü, implied a fording of the Chu without actually naming
 the river, it is possible that Bakti Kurai (*sic* short -u-) implies a crossing of the
 Ili to the north, i.e. Kulja bank (see XXIII) on which the journey has to end.
 Yet Bakti Kurai remains unresolved. (899 *Bakti-kurai başında* parallel to 884
sarı özön Čüidün başında suggests that it is a river: but *baş* 'head' can also
 indicate the top of a mountain. 1813 *Bakti-kurai basırmun* is neutral. Yet
 again, Radlov has failed to collate occurrences of a proper name.) But if it
 does imply a crossing to the north bank of the Ili, a second, more northerly
 Kush Murun, not the Kush Murun of the Temirlik, is intended by the itinerary,

¹⁰⁷ A sign of high rank in the Chinese hierarchy, sometimes also conferred on Kirgiz *manap*
 and on princes of the lesser dependents of China, cf. the commentary, I, 671.

¹⁰⁸ e.g. *BM*, 1725; 1802; 2100 and v, I, (5), 1635.

¹⁰⁹ Lattimore, *op. cit.*, 184.

¹¹⁰ I, 235.

¹¹¹ II, 106.

¹¹² See above, p. 362.

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in which case Bok Murun's route would have joined that followed by Valikhanov and Radlov, who both journeyed to Kulja from the west via the Pass of Altyn Émel (see Valikhanov's sketch-map of 1856 with the route apparently skirting the northern Kush Murun, II, 42 f.). If on the other hand the Ili is not crossed at stage XXII, the bard gives no hint how the river was crossed to reach Old Kulja.¹¹³

The final stage XXIII brings us to a point between Great and Little Kulja (232 *ulu Kulja*: 233 *kiči Kulja*). 'Great' Kulja—'Chong Kulja' in the speech of the Taranchi Tatars¹¹⁴—is also known as 'New Kulja' since it was founded in 1764 as the administrative seat of the Ili Province by the Manchu after their final defeat in that year of the Jungarians, the residence of whose khans had been in 'Old Kulja'.¹¹⁵ Owing to the welter of peoples and their political vicissitudes, these cities are also known by other names. Curiously enough, Valikhanov calls New Kulja 'Little Kulja' as against Radlov's 'Great Kulja';¹¹⁶ so, in order to avoid confusion, the terms used here are 'New Kulja' (Manchu) and 'Old Kulja' (formerly Jungarian; Tatar; Muslim).

Since Old Kulja was almost completely and New Kulja utterly destroyed in the Dungan Rebellion of 1863-6,¹¹⁷ it is perhaps best for the purpose in hand to accept Valikhanov's assessment of their relative positions, namely that Old Kulja was 35 versts (c. 23 miles) up-stream (i.e. east) from New Kulja.¹¹⁸ Writing in 1862, Radlov situates New Kulja on the right bank of the Ili not far from its confluence with the Ukluk (Kuitun).¹¹⁹ This feature is probably referred to in the passage under discussion: 232 *ulu Kulja éatinan—éat* (1) 'crutch' (of legs), (2) 'narrowing land between confluents'. The topographical accuracy of this bard maintains itself to the end of this long route from the western Sairam. The virtual destruction of the two Kuljas by A.D. 1865, which the bard of *BM* does not notice, will be taken up later with the question of dating.

Beginning from the western Sairam, the itinerary of *BM* takes us through territories first of Uzbek and Kazakh tribes and then of the following Kirgiz tribes—Kytay, Saruu, Kushchu, Chekir-Sayak, Solto, Adigine, then great stretches of Kazakh country, and finally into Bugu territory.¹²⁰

To what conclusions does confrontation of the itineraries of Bok Murun in *K* and *BM* lead?

(i) The itineraries resemble each other only in their general purposes of tribal subsistence and accumulation of stores for a great feast; although

¹¹³ Maps at 1 : 250,000 show a route through the Ili valley to Kulja also from the southern Kush Murun presumably ending with a ferry.
¹¹⁴ Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, second ed., II, 1893, 305.
¹¹⁵ To which, however, V. V. Bartol'd is ready to concede very little antiquity—see his article 'Kuldja' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first ed.
¹¹⁶ Valikhanov, II, 105 f.
¹¹⁷ Bartol'd, loc. cit.
¹¹⁸ II, 106.
¹¹⁹ op. cit., II, 305.
¹²⁰ In Radlov's day the Bugu nomadized as far east as the river Tekes, *Proben*, v, p. i.

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(ii) both versions, probably reflecting the contemporary situation, agree that salt is to be had through 'friendship' with the (hated) Kalmak where the Kegen and Kungey Ranges approach each other east of Lake Issyk Kul'. (iii) The move away from Chinese overlordship and the apparently mythical 'Return' are entirely absent from *BM*, and we have instead a venue between the Chinese Kuljas. (The fact that the western Sairam was once under the Jungarians was not significant, though formerly it may have been so.) (iv) The general trend of the route in *K* after correction of its initial stages¹²¹ is south-south-west to north-north-east; that of *BM*, despite the northerly sweep through the Chu Valley, is west to east: and the routes intersect somewhere in the salinae of the Karkara region. (v) Even though the view-point in *BM* is super-tribal as befits an action of the legendary Nogay, and begins in a non-Kirgiz city in the west and ends between non-Kirgiz cities in the east, the itinerary remains tangibly local; whereas the point of view implied in *K* recedes from the local to the mythical.

The mention of the Nogay, of 'white *orda*' (p. 355, above), the Kuljas, and the Kalmak on the salinae demands consideration of the historical setting of the two poems.

K was recorded in 1856; *BM*, it is implied in Radlov's introduction, was recorded in either 1862 or 1869, or more precisely if it is a product of the Bugu on the Tekes then it was collected in 1862, or if it was a product of the Sary Bagysh west of Lake Issyk Kul' or of the Soltó south-east of Tokmak, then its date was 1869.¹²² There is no trace of Soltó outlook in *BM*.¹²³ The 'Birth of Manas' (Radlov, v, 1, (1)) enshrines a somewhat different tradition of the 'Birth' from that implicit in *BM*,¹²⁴ and was explicitly recorded from the Sary Bagysh.¹²⁵ By a process of elimination this means that *BM* was collected from the Bugu (apparently like *K*—see p. 344, n. 1) on the Tekes in 1862, which agrees well geographically with the culmination of the journey between the Kuljas and chronologically with the destruction of these two cities in the Dungan rising of 1863-6; ¹²⁶ of which fact the eastern Kirgiz were well aware, having gone in to plunder. Further, in 1862 there was still need to make friends with the Kalmak, but in 1869 there was no need; for the Kalmak existence had been shattered together with that of their Chinese overlords.¹²⁷

The facts concerning the Nogay, and also the White Horde, which has to be

¹²¹ See p. 357, above.
¹²² Meticulous in other matters, Radlov does not always specify the source of his poems, so that one has to resort to inference.
¹²³ R. presumably collected *Joloi-kan* and *Er Tóshuk* (both still independent of the *Manas*-cycle) from the Soltó.
¹²⁴ See my article 'The birth of Manas: a confrontation of two branches of heroic epic poetry in Kirgiz', *Asia Major*, NS, xiv, 2, 1969.
¹²⁵ *Proben*, v, p. xiii.
¹²⁶ See p. 364, above.
¹²⁷ Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, II, 403-12. The last battle the victorious Taranchi had to fight was with the Kalmak. After the Kalmak defeat, the latter withdrew to Lake Issyk Kul' and submitted partly to the Russians, partly to the Taranchi (August 1860). Under 1868, R. speaks of the plight of the Kalmak in the Semirech'skaya Oblast' (II, 373).

considered in view of the expressions *K*, 289, 28 *na beluyu ordu* and 293, 26 *kukotaevu beluyu ordu*, are more difficult to arrive at. *K* presents us with Kōkōtōy and, succeeding him, with Bok Murun as khans of a Nogay people moving from the Chinese frontier north of Uch-Turfan through what is now Kirgizia and Kazakhstan to the Upper Irtysh. This is not history but legend. The historical Nogay for many centuries had had their being far to the west, centred on Little Saray at the mouth of the Ural.¹²⁸ They were not an element of the White Horde, but a southern constituent of the Golden Horde, though one of their eastern groupings, in early days, nomadized as far east as the Irtysh. They were not even an ancient tribe, but a group of Tatar tribes who took the name of the great amir after his defeat and death in 1299, as a result of the overpowering impression his deeds had left on the imagination of warriors. This impression grew steadily in legend and was infused into the heroic poetry of the forerunners of the present-day Karakalpak, Kazakh, and Kirgiz. V. V. Bartol'd notes that in the seventeenth century the term 'Nogay' was used only by Russian sources but that in more recent days in Central Asia 'Nogay' is used in a far broader sense than with the Russians to include even the Volga Tatars.¹²⁹ Bartol'd does not mention heroic legend, but it seems natural to suppose that legend aided this process in a region with little recorded history. A similar drift away from historical accuracy into legend seems to have affected the term 'White Horde'. The White Horde was that portion of the western *ulus* that fell to Joči's eldest but overshadowed son Ordu, namely western Siberia and the area Ili, Alakul, and Oxus as far as the Irtysh,¹³⁰ i.e. the region in which *K* and *BM* are situated. Very little is known to historians about the White Horde, indeed so little that an historian of the Golden Horde dismisses it from his book with a bare mention.¹³¹ The area was clearly one in which oral legend could thrive. How it thrived regarding the names 'Nogay' and 'White Horde' (*ak orda*) is shown by a passage in a fifteenth-century Persian history which declares that the division into the White Horde in the east and the Blue (i.e. Golden) Horde in the west was undertaken only after the war between Tohta-kan and Amir Nogay and that the khans of the White Horde were Nogay's descendants!¹³² After a notable political development under Erzen-khan (1320-45) despite the preservation of marked relics of archaic social structure, followed by temporary incorporation into the Golden Horde under Urus-khan (1364-82) and Tokhtamysh (1382-95), the White Horde was vanquished by Timūr and in 1425 incorporated into the rising Uzbek Khanate.¹³³

¹²⁸ Bartol'd, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, second ed., Hildesheim, 1962, 178.

¹²⁹ *op. cit.*, 179.

¹³⁰ 'Belaya orda' in the *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya*, second ed., iv, 1950, 409 f.

¹³¹ B. Spuler, *Die goldené Horde*, Leipzig, 1943, 25: "... wo sie das Reich der "Weissen Horde" bildeten, von dessen Geschichte nur wenig bekannt ist und dessen Schicksale im folgenden nicht [Spuler's emphasis] ausführlicher behandelt werden".

¹³² Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, 172, citing Mu'in al-Din Natanzi.

¹³³ *Bol'sh. sov. ents.*, loc. cit.

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An ambiguity hangs over the expression *belaya orda*, which, as was seen, occurs twice in *K*. The first occurrence is when the multitude of the Nogay, 'darkening the sun', come to the farewell-feast given by Kōkötōy whilst still alive: 289, 27 *tolpa nogaytsev upala na beluya ordu—stavka khana Kukotaya*. The edition of 1958 has *Beluya Ordu* and lists it in the index of geographical names with the clear implication that we are to understand 'White Horde'. The current edition, however, prints *beluyu ordu* and does not list it as a geographical or ethnic term. The second occurrence is when Bok Murun's Plan has come to the point where he will give Kōkötōy's Feast: 293, 26 *Kukotayevu beluyu ordu podnimu ya na dorogu*. Both editions here print without capitals. Did Valikhanov use initial capitals at all? and what did he understand by *belaya orda*?

The answer is more complex than might be expected, and is best approached from the second occurrence. Here we have the pitching of Kōkötōy's white yurt or pavilion in which to feast the guests of honour (cf. Manas's *Ak-čatur* 'white tent', *BM*, 376; 404 ff.). This is confirmed by citation of the passage in which the Plan was given effect on the Upper Irtysh: 294, 7 *postavil beluyu jurtu Kukotaya* 'he pitched the white yurt of Kōkötōy'; and by the apparent synonym (was it in the Kirgiz original?) in the first passage, 289, 27 *stavka khana Kukotaya* 'the headquarters of Khan Kōkötōy'. The Russian fem. acc. *ordu* presupposes a nom. *orda*, and *orda* is the form which Kirgiz *ordo* takes in Kazakh and other dialects to the west. If *ordo* stood in the Kirgiz original, Valikhanov's translation '*orda*' is learned and technical. *Ordo* in Kirgiz means: (1) 'Khan's HQ, Khan's court, Khan's yurt'; (2) 'sumptuous yurt', as in *ak ordo* 'sumptuous white yurt'; (3) the game of Ordo. *ak ordo* 'Khan's pavilion, palace' occurs in Radlov's material at v, 1, (3), 2120 and (5), 959; and *ak čatur tip-* 'pitch a Khan's yurt' with *kan kōlör-* 'elevate as Khan' at (3), 2447. This might seem to be the solution of the problem. But in his writings, Valikhanov devotes a page to the semantics of *orda* in Turkic, with *ak orda* as one of his chief collocations. His conclusion is that the concepts *kök*, *ak*, and *sarı orda* are political. The HQ pavilion of the khan is the mobile focal point of political power derived from and exerted upon the constituent named tribes of a khanate. The word ('concept'?) *orda* and the person of a reigning khan are one and the same (I, 124). It seems, then, that Valikhanov must have regarded Kōkötōy's 'White Yurt' as far more than a pavilion and rather, in its wider aspects, as some sort of political equivalent of the ethnic 'Nogay'. Thus it would be well to know to what extent Valikhanov used initial capitals for *beluyu ordu* in the manuscript of *K*. In any case, on the same page on which he speaks of Kōkötōy as belonging to 'the epic saga' of Manas (I, 357), he writes: 'They [the Central Asiatic nomads] name the Tatars of the White Horde [Beloy ordy] and especially the Nogay [nogaytsev] 'Nogay' [Nogayami]'. In legend, he was familiar with the interpretation of the terms 'Nogay' and 'White Horde'. For reasons stated below, any oral legend naming the White Horde would have been worth recording. But, apart from *K*, Valikhanov cites

none. Taking *K* and Valikhanov's reflections on the Nogay and the political sense of *ak orda* together, one cannot help being reminded of the fifteenth-century Persian history referred to above.

The question of authenticity is also bound up with the problems of the funerary rites and the 'Inner Khan' in *K*.

The funerary rites in *K* comprise 18 specific items which will be dealt with one by one, and then the balance will be struck. The problem of assessing funerary rites and beliefs in heroic poetry, as for example in the Homeric poems and in *Beowulf*, are notorious; for good poets are wide-awake men who will take promising material wherever they find it, not excluding conversation with learned men and, as in this case, perhaps, from opened graves. Furthermore, funerals themselves tend to be archaic in settled societies, in which it is not in good taste to dispose of one's loved ones in a novel manner.

(1) Washing the body with *kumys* (290, 5; 291, 33). No parallel found. The cleansing effect of any alcoholic liquid would be acceptable in a hot country with transportation by camel to the burial-ground (290, 9). Mummification, known from the Pazyryk burial, is inconceivable in latter-day Kirgizia and Kazakhstan except as a temporary practical measure. *Kumys* here does duty for ritual water.¹³⁴

(2) Scraping with a sharp sabre (290, 5; 291, 23). No parallel. The commentators understood this as implying removal of the flesh from the bones in accordance with ancient Turkic custom (670). Against this is to be set: (a) the waste of good *kumys*, the application of which would have been pointless if the flesh had been immediately removed; (b) men who lived on freshly killed meat knew that flesh could not be removed cleanly from bones without boiling at this stage, this is why ancient Turkic custom left corpses to putrefy or exposed them to small carnivores to obtain a clean skeleton.¹³⁵ The report of J. Georgi would seem to justify the commentators, to the effect that among the Kazakh hordes which he visited in 1775, when the journey on horse-back to the place of burial was too great in the heat for inhumation to be postponed 'they reduce the body to a skeleton, burying the flesh and intestines in the neighbourhood of the deceased, and transporting the bones'.¹³⁶ The means of 'reduction' however, is not specified: but it cannot have been 'scraping' (*oskredit', oskoblit'*). The effect together of (1) and (2), the washing with greasy *kumys* and scraping with a sabre, would be like that of anointing with oil and scraping with the strigil, as practised on the living body by the ancient Mediterranean peoples.¹³⁷

(3) *K*. is attired in his corslet (290, 5). This implies *contra* the commentators

¹³⁴ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second ed., under 'Djanāza' (A. S. Tritton).

¹³⁵ J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux, d'après les documents écrits*, Paris, 1963, 81; 158.

¹³⁶ *Russia: or a complete historical account of all the nations which comprise that Empire*, II, 1780, 280 f. (Russian original in Brit. Mus. incomplete.)

¹³⁷ I am grateful to Dr. G. F. Cushing for this elucidation.

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that the body was intact. One cannot 'put on' (*K*: *oden'te*) a corslet on a heap of bones. Attirement in a corslet is not good Muslim practice, which required clothes or a winding-sheet. A. Levshin reports for the early nineteenth-century that sometimes a man's weapons and horse-harness would be placed in the grave beside him. Such is of course frequently the case in Iron Age burials. Corslets, with iron rectangles sewn on to fabric or leather, are comparatively rare beside the corpse.¹³⁸ A Chinese report that the Uigur placed the body upright in the tomb fully armed as in life was judged by Radlov on the basis of his great experience to be an exaggeration of the committal of weapons as grave-goods.¹³⁹ In the attirement of *K*. in his corslet have we an imaginative 'heroic' touch contributed by the bard? Did he derive this trait from the poetic tradition?

(4) *K*. is next swathed in leather. The nearest parallel discovered is from Levshin,¹⁴⁰ where rich men who died in winter were not buried but swathed in linen or felt and suspended in a tree pending burial at a distant sacred tomb. In *K*, however, judging by the preliminary horse-race which started in spring, *K*. died in that season.¹⁴¹ Nor was he suspended. We are left with the thought that a leather winding-sheet was felt to be more magnificent than one of linen. It is also more effective for a journey through the heat.

(5) A white winding-sheet is to be placed under *K*'s head. A corslet and a leather winding-sheet having made a Muslim winding-sheet of linen superfluous, *K*. would seem to wish to have it under his head for piety.

(6) *K*'s head is to face east presumably after burial (290, 7). A good Muslim would face Mecca.¹⁴² The heads of bodies in *kurgan* often face east: but sometimes also west, and in one and the same burial.¹⁴³ Roux quotes all four points of the compass from written sources and considers it premature to come to any firm conclusion regarding Turkic custom.¹⁴⁴

(7) Red broadcloth is to be loaded on a red camel, black brocade on a black (290, 7 f.; 291, 25). This cloth—Kāshghari names it *āsük*—is for display and distribution to the poor, Brockelmann thinks by Muslim custom.¹⁴⁵ The two colours arise from the parallelistic technique of the bard (another quatrain is discernible). Since it was sometimes white, it was easily confused with the winding-sheet, which *janāza* forbids to be red.

(8) The cortège is to form a caravan of 40 camels. Carriage of the body on camel- or horse-back is well authenticated for the mid-nineteenth century. The great and rich could afford to be buried resting among the 'White Bone',

¹³⁸ Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, II, 112; 126; 130.

¹³⁹ op. cit., II, 121.

¹⁴⁰ A. Levshin, *Description des hordes et des steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks ou Kirghiz-Kaïssaks*, trans. F. de Piguy, Paris, 1840, 365 (Russian original, 1832).

¹⁴¹ *K*, 291, 30.

¹⁴² 'Djanāza', see p. 368, n. 134.

¹⁴³ Radlov, op. cit., II, ch. vii, *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ op. cit., 167.

¹⁴⁵ 'Völkenskundliches aus Alturkestan', *Asia Major*, II, 1, 1925, 122.

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i.e. in the cemeteries of holy men and grandees, no doubt an Islamized version of ancient tribal aristocratic burial-grounds. One recalls, too, that in the parlance of the Central Asiatic Turks and the Mongols 'White Bone' means the noble section of the community.

(9) The caravan is to go to K.'s 'timber-frame (tomb)' [text: *srub (mogila)*] (290, 9 f.). The timber-frame or log tomb is arresting, since it recalls the ancient burials of Kostromskaya and Pazyryk. Yet Muslim ritual required the soil to rest lightly on the corpse, so that a roof of stone or planks¹⁴⁶ was often inserted. Is the bard thinking of such a roof of planks? Or has he learned directly or indirectly of ancient timber-framed graves? In the absence of instructions from K. to raise a mound over his grave it is not possible to decide finally. But in view of the number of ancient graves throughout the area and the known predilection of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz for robbing them,¹⁴⁷ it is highly probable that the bard derived the notion of *srub (mogila)* from plundered ancient burials in his area. (Among the Ostyaks and Samoyeds there are obvious connexions between their heroic poetry and strongholds that have been abandoned after being taken by storm, with ancient weapons still lying near the surface.)

(10) The red and black fabric is to be distributed to the old women who will flock there (290, 10). See (7) above.

(11) The black 'Sart' or city-dwelling plainsman, leader of the caravan, is to make bricks on the fat of 80 goats (290, 11). The commentators note that strong bricks meant to last are still made in this way in this region.

(12) At the crossing of great and little ways, K.'s people are to build a *saray* white as the moon. It is to have a sky-blue cupola and a gutter 'like a road' with volutes and cornices (290, 12; 291, 26). The commentators translate *saray* as *dvorets* 'palace' or *zamok* 'castle', and state that the ornaments refer to the part of the edifice containing the fluted portal (671). Now the rearing of this 'palace', built to last, at the cross-roads for all to see implies that it is a cenotaph rather than a mausoleum. Memorial buildings of this type with prominent cupola are widespread in Turkic-speaking Central Asia and are duly reported by art historians as 'mausolea'. Whether they actually contain a burial or not appears to be of no architectural interest: yet it is of considerable ethnographical interest and of some importance for the case in hand. Cenotaphs away from burial-grounds were sometimes favoured by the early Turks and Mongols if only as a compromise between their wish to keep the site of the burial secret and their desire for fame. One of the earliest known Turkic memorial buildings, a cenotaph it seems, is very well authenticated, that in honour of Kül-tegin (d. 731). Chinese sources¹⁴⁸ and the Turkic runic

¹⁴⁶ Levshin, op. cit., 366.

¹⁴⁷ Radlov, op. cit., II, 77, 'Meine Grab-Oeffnungen in der Kirgisen-Steppe haben mir aufs Deutlichste bewiesen, dass die Gräber der Kirgisen-Steppe ebenso gründlich durchwühlt sind wie die Gräber am Ob, im Altai und am Jenissei'.

¹⁴⁸ See Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-kue)*, 1958, I, [text in German translation] 179; II, [commentary] p. 620, n. 999.

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inscription of Bilye-kayan¹⁴⁶ agree not only that Chinese and Turkic inscriptions were incised in stone but also that an edifice (runic *bark* 'house, building') was erected—the ruins of which are still extant. The Chinese sources indicate a memorial hall or temple.¹⁵⁰ This building was excavated in 1958 by the Czechoslovak-Mongol expedition. Statues of Kül-tegin and his wife were found, but in the account available to the writer there is no mention of his being buried there.¹⁵¹ It seems that there was a tradition of cenotaphs in Central Asia transmitted through the Činggisid rulers, and it is no accident that the most famous cenotaph in the world is the Mughal Taj Mahal. This tradition merges with that of Islamic mausolea, so that despite the early analogy with Kül-tegin's memorial hall no significant antiquity can be attributed to K.'s cenotaph in our poem.

(13) On the first Friday there is to be a horse-race with prizes (290, 16; 291, 29 ff.). Comparison with the funeral chariot-races of antiquity, e.g. in the *Iliad*, suggests a very early date for this custom, and its origin no doubt lies very far back. Yet a horse-race was a fixed element of the funeral celebrations of Kazakh and Kirgiz personages in the mid-nineteenth century. Levshin reports this for the years prior to 1832.¹⁵² Radlov reports it for the 1860's in much greater detail.¹⁵³ According to Radlov, the horse-race (*bayga*) began on the fourth day of the anniversary funeral feast. Thus the local race which began on the first Friday in *K* was of a different kind. This latter type of race is absent from *BM*, in which a horse-race is held after a long interval and no doubt corresponds to the anniversary reported by Radlov. The race foreshadowed by *K* before it breaks off surely also corresponds to the anniversary race. As to Friday, see (15), below.

(14) *Largesse* is to be distributed to poor wandering folk and mounts are to be given to those who lack them (290, 25). The seeds of this are contained in *janāza*. Furthermore, unless the poor Nogay are mounted, they will be unable to ride to Koġur-bay and afterwards elude him.

(15) In his First Behest, K. commands Baymurza to take the Nogay to Koġur-bay on the day on which the Feast of the Fortieth Day [after his death] is to be given (*moyu sorokovuyu pominku*—290, 38; 292, 5). Radlov notes that among the Kazakhs, memorial feasts were given on the seventh, fortieth, and hundredth days after death, and often nine years later. Rich people, as was seen under (13) above, might have an Anniversary Feast.¹⁵⁴ Can we infer from mention of the seventh day, above, that K. died on a Friday (see (13))?

¹⁴⁶ S. E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*, Moscow, Leningrad, 1959, Xb (14), pp. 19 and 24.

¹⁴⁷ cf. P. Pelliot, 'Nouf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale', *T'oung Pao*, xxvi, 1929, 229 ff.

¹⁴⁸ L. N. Gumilov, *Drevnie Tyurki*, Moscow, 1967, 329 ff.; L. Jisl, *Mongolian journey*, London, 1960, ref. illustrations nos. 8-10.

¹⁴⁹ op. cit., 367.

¹⁵⁰ op. cit., I, 489.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

Writing of the 'Altaic' peoples in a broad sense, Uno Harva notes similar memorial feast days:¹⁵⁵ Yakut ninth, twentieth, fortieth; Beltir third, seventh, twentieth, fortieth, half and full year; Teleut seventh, fortieth; Chuvash third, seventh, fortieth. Also among the Islamized Turks: Tatars third, seventh, fortieth; 'Eastern' Turks third, seventh, twentieth, fortieth, and anniversary (this no doubt covers the Kazakh and Kirgiz). Harva observes that these memorial days are known only among those tribes influenced by Islam and Christianity: the ninth day (Yakut) instead of the seventh is Russian Orthodox. The fortieth is shared by the Christianized and the Islamized, but a justification is adduced only for the former: the Ascension. The placing of K's Memorial Days is therefore contemporary and, in view of the thin Islamic veneer of the Kazakh and Kirgiz, of comparatively recent origin.

(16) In his Second Behest, K. lays it down that on the occasion of his Great Repast (*velikuyu triznu*¹⁵⁶), the people are to address themselves to Manas, presumably to direct the Feast and Games (291, 3 f.). In view of the statement that the horse-race promulgated for the Seventh Day—see (13), above—started in spring and ended in chilly autumn, if such a well-worn formula is to be taken seriously,¹⁵⁷ and another statement that the Nogay nomadized during the summer until the 'Fortieth' (292, 1), after which they set out on the long trek to the Altay, it is reasonable to assume that the Great Repast fell on the anniversary. This agrees with the *Résumé* (I, 421, 31 *chtoby prazdnoval' godovuyu triznu svoego otsa*).

(17) On the death of K. there was great lamentation (291, 20). This, especially in the form of set dirges,¹⁵⁸ together with self-laceration, was both current practice in the area and an abomination to good Muslims.

(18) The bruising of the tips of fruit-trees (291, 21 f.; see p. 346 above). If fruitful vegetation symbolizes youth and life, its destruction must imply age and death; so that this touching funeral rite might occur anywhere at any time prior to the encroachment of the Industrial Age. It is nevertheless interesting that certain (early Turkic?) funeral steles show representations of trees stripped of their foliage.¹⁵⁹

It is convenient here to mention two items which do not belong to the funeral ritual but which are associated in our texts.

(a) It was seen above that Bok Murun's invitations were accompanied by the threat that Kōkötöy's (K) or Bok Murun's (BM) red banner would appear

¹⁵⁵ op. cit., 321 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *pominka* (the pl. *pominki* is normal) and *trizna* are not used consistently in K to make a distinction between smaller and larger feasts. *treba* 'religious rite' is also used. *aš* may well have stood in the original in all cases.

¹⁵⁷ cf. BM, 609 f.: *barsın koyur salkın küs-minän / kelsin emyn ułkan ala talıur jas-minän*.

¹⁵⁸ See Roux, op. cit., 163 ff. on *ayıl*.

¹⁵⁹ Roux, op. cit., 185. M. Roux gives no precise reference.

above the home of any who gave offence by declining the invitation.¹⁶⁰ There are very good grounds for believing that originally Turco-Mongol standards were totemic,¹⁶¹ and also for interpreting standards in earlier times as the 'residence of the soul'.¹⁶² Precisely red banners were prominent in such contexts. The implication of the threat in *K* seems to be that the late Kōkötōy, embodied in his banner, would avenge the insult of non-acceptance personally, in *BM* that his son, Bok Murun, inheritor of his life-force in all respects, would avenge the insult. Or at least, so these passages would have to be interpreted if *K* and *BM* were very archaic texts. But the symbolic situation can have persisted, caught in the web of a bard's imagination, long after its earlier significance had faded. Once again an 'antiquity' in our poems proves baffling. (b) In *K*, Bok Murun is to be made khan on a silk carpet (290, 36); later he is duly elevated on the carpet as khan (293, 37). Levshin narrates in 1832 how one who has been chosen khan is set on a piece of finest white felt and raised above men's heads.¹⁶³ Yudakhin's *Slovar* gives the name of the ceremony as *kan kōtōr* 'elevating a khan [on white felt]'.¹⁶⁴ Again, an archaic rite which is contemporary.

It is now time to attempt a conclusion as to the nature of the funeral rites in *K*. Nothing is known positively about the cultural background of items (1), (2), and (3). The antiquity of (4) cannot be demonstrated. Contemporary custom, either prescribed or tolerated by Muslim observance, accounts for (7), (8), (10), (11), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17), and no doubt (18). Item (12) derives from recent or even contemporary Central Asiatic princely tradition. (5) was recognized as a Muslim custom displaced by (3) ('heroic' elaboration?) and (4).

This leaves no more than the two items (6) and (9) to try to account for. Orientation of the head or body to face east is definitely pre-Muslim. Like the possible timber-framed grave (rather than a Muslim grave with planks) in (9), it may well have been observed at the uncovering of a *kurgan* (from whatever causes, even from the weathering of a mound); and it is possible that item (3) (attirement in corslet) might derive from the same type of source. All in all, the case for an oral tradition of any antiquity is a very weak one. Kōkötōy's funeral arrangements could be accounted for in terms of the old-fashioned customs lingering on in Kirgizia and Kazakhstan with some 'ancient heroic touches' by the bard drawing on his own 'archaeological' knowledge (for which Valikhanov cannot in principle be excluded as a possible source). Apart from these last touches, the rites are such as might well have been described by Levshin or the English traveller T. W. Atkinson, had they worked on their funerals with ethnographic precision.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ p. 352.

¹⁶¹ Roux, op. cit., 118 ff.

¹⁶² Roux, op. cit., 105.

¹⁶³ op. cit., 374.

¹⁶⁴ under *kan* II.

¹⁶⁵ *Travels in the regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor*, London, 1861, 62 ff.

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The journey to the head-waters of the Irtysh and thence to the 'Inner Khan' (*k vnutrennemu khanu*) has a strong mythical suggestion.¹⁶⁶ Who or what is this 'Inner Khan', that Kōkötōy's funeral repast should be celebrated in the proximity by his Nogay? The commentators¹⁶⁷ imply their doubts concerning their own interpretation by the well-known scholarly device of *nesomnenno*, 'doubtless'. They re-translate *vnutrennyy khan* into Kirgiz as *ički khan*¹⁶⁸ and comment that it is to be understood as the region of the Upper Irtysh and Yenisey where part of the Kirgiz people used to dwell in the early medieval period, and that in the epic of *Manas* the Kirgiz used to name that country 'the Inner Khan' or 'the Inner Region', i.e. situated behind the high mountains of the Tien-Shan, Karakoram, and Alay Pamir.¹⁶⁹ This is a confusing comment. It not only does not name the view-point from which the alleged country is 'behind' those southern and western mountains but it also fails to quote a single word of *Manas*. The comment does not justify the naming of the Yenisey textually, so that it implies the same sort of leap as Valikhanov's 'Khangay'.¹⁷⁰ The selection of Valikhanov's writings published in 1958 in advance of the current complete edition, attempts in a footnote to explain *ički khan* in terms of Kazakh: 'That which lay beyond the Irtysh to the east the Kazakh formerly used to call *ički jak*', i.e. 'inner side', 'interior'. But the present editors pass over this note. Furthermore, their reference to the Yeniseyan homeland of the medieval Kirgiz takes the route sharply to the north, whereas the last general direction implied in *K* is east-south-east with the Upper Irtysh.

It seems possible to improve on these suggestions without wholly disregarding them.

Linguistic usage requires that *k(h)an* be a 'khan' (leader of a tribal confederacy) or possibly by extension his tribe and tribal country (although this is not authenticated for Kirgiz); or a prominent and sacred mountain, cf. Khan Tengri south-east of Lake Issyk Kūl.¹⁷¹ There is no reason to doubt that the underlying expression is *ički khan*. The most immediate interpretation of this phrase that offers itself under Central Asiatic nomadic conditions is 'Khan of the Inner, i.e. Primary Horde'. Turkic runic has the verb *ičik-* 'to go to the inside', 'to be incorporated [into the horde]', i.e. 'to submit', e.g. *ičikigimä içikdi; budun bolı* 'some "came in" [and] became [part of my] people'.¹⁷² The *Kitab-i Dede Qorqut* knows the tribal dichotomy of the 'İç Oğuz' and the 'Taş Oğuz' ('the Inner Oghuz' and 'the Outer Oghuz'),

¹⁶⁶ See p. 354, above.

¹⁶⁷ I, 672.

¹⁶⁸ *kan* is the more authentic form in Kirgiz.

¹⁶⁹ I, 672.

¹⁷⁰ See below, p. 375.

¹⁷¹ Harva, op. cit., 58. On the Turkic reverence for sacred mountains see Roux, op. cit., 97 ff. Cf. further the role of the Burhan Khaldun Mountains, in which, according to the 'Secret history', Činggis's ancestor was born of a wolf and a hind.

¹⁷² Malov, op. cit., p. 18 (Mog. 37) and 94b.

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where the Khan of Khans, Bayundur, surrounded by his great court, is at the centre of the inner horde. The 'Inner' Oghuz are the 'right sort' of Oghuz: the 'Outer' show their yellow streak in the twelfth book and are duly punished. In his edition, E. Rossi quotes an interpretation of *ič* as 'intimate', 'quasi sacred', in antithesis to *taš* 'external', 'alien', 'profane'.¹⁷³ This is evidently correct, for a similar situation arose among the Salyr. A Türkmen confederation of Teke, Salyr, Saryk, and Iomut was led by the aristocracy of the Ički (Inner) Salyr: the Teke, Saryk, and Iomut were called *Taški* (Outer) Salyr.¹⁷⁴

We are told by Harva, but unfortunately without naming of source, or a date, that the Altay Mountains are frequently named 'Khan'.¹⁷⁵

Was the *ički kan*, then, both the Khan of the Primary, i.e. Primeval Horde and the sacred Altay Mountain from which they were deemed to have emerged—two aspects of one and the same concrete notion?

If *K* were a medieval text, there would be little difficulty in interpreting the relevant data as providing a poetic parallel to those of the Tonyukuk inscription, i.e. (*mutatis mutandis*) as showing a 'flight' northwards from Chinese suzerainty and influence to the 'original' mountain land of the ancestors, to which the spirit of Khan Kōkötōy will have 'returned' in order to preside there over his funeral feast and games. But *K* is a late oral poem. It has, as was seen, no other convincing antiquities. The tradition which is nearest to *K*, namely *BM*, knows nothing of a 'Return'.¹⁷⁶ Can other traditions be quoted in support of *K*?

On his many travels in Central Asia, Valikhanov combed the region for oral traditions of early tribal migrations of the Kirgiz—and found none. Summing up his investigations under this head, Valikhanov states that the Kirgiz regard as their country the mountains of Andizhan, and that no traditions are preserved among them of migrations from southern Siberia.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, he continues, there is a tradition that they spread in their nomadizings from south to north, to the Black Irtysh, the Altay—and the Khangay Mountains,¹⁷⁸ and east towards Urumchi.¹⁷⁹ Regrettably he cites no source other than unspecified 'popular traditions'.¹⁸⁰ Compare his further statement in his essay on the Kirgiz:

'In their epic saga *Manas*, it is true, there is mention of a movement of "Nogay" tribes, after the death of the famous Kukotay-khan, to the north, to the Black Irtysh, but this movement refers to the Nogay and is from south to north. In it are mentioned the Khangay and the Altay and the Khan of the

¹⁷³ *Il' Kitāb-i Dede Qorqut* (Studi e Testi, 159), Città del Vaticano, 1952, 49, quoting Ziya Gök Alp, *Türk türeri*, Istanbul, 1339/1923-4, 79.

¹⁷⁴ *Narody Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana* (*Narody Mira*), II, 1963, 12 (quoting Abu 'l Ghāzi).

¹⁷⁵ op. cit., 58.

¹⁷⁶ Twentieth-century material is excluded in principle, see p. 350, above.

¹⁷⁷ I, 416.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Urumchi is reached from eastern Kirgizia by entirely different routes.

¹⁸⁰ Occasional reports of Kirgiz (and Kazakh) nomadizing in the Altay or further east in the nineteenth century are naturally met with, e.g. Radlov, op. cit., I, 219.

Kalmak. *This is a unique legend*,¹⁸¹ indirectly recalling the Altay where stood the horde of the altyn-khan of the Uryankhay, and Khangay, the centre of the Mongol tribe of the Khalka'.¹⁸²

It is to be noted here that Valikhanov writes 'Black' for 'Upper' Irtysh as though from memory of *K*; that it is *in his thoughts* (and not in the text of *K*) that the Altay and the Khangay are 'indirectly recalled', cancelling out 'in it are mentioned' (the Altay, like the unexplained Katan/Katay, is mentioned only as part of an epithet of the Kalmak); and, most significantly, that he names this episode from *Manas* 'a unique legend'.¹⁸³ Lastly, we are alarmed to see that he is ready, like many of his contemporaries, to treat heroic poetry as a source for history; for no distinction is made between the Nogay of poetry and the historical Nogay. We must surely conclude that Valikhanov had no source for the south-north movement of the Nogay other than the heroic poem *K* and (if it was different) the corresponding episode in the source of the *Résumé*, which it is pertinent to quote, since there is a discrepancy in detail. In the *Résumé*, Bok Murun moves nomadizing from the neighbourhood of Lake Issyk Kul' to the Black Irtysh and thence to the Altay and the *Khingan* Mountains, under the patronage of the Mongol Khan Dzhulay!¹⁸⁴ The discrepancy between *Burun-Tash*¹⁸⁴ on the Upper Irtysh, the last station named by *K*, and the *Khingan* Mountains in the *Résumé* is gross. The *Khingan* Mountains are in remote eastern Mongolia. The likeliest explanation is a slip of the pen on Valikhanov's part, perhaps prompted by mention of the 'Mongol Khan', leaving only *Khangay* to be accounted for.

Since the *Khangay* Mountains are 600 km. farther east from the last-named stage on the Upper Irtysh and *K* does not name the *Khangay* Mountains, the question arises in an acute form: Whence did Valikhanov obtain 'Khangay'?

Several answers are possible: (i) *khanskaya gora* (cf. 293, 20), which was not appropriately identified in the itinerary, stood for *Khangay*; (ii) the bard or other native informants told him that *ički khan* stood for *Khangay*; (iii) on the basis of his unremitting inquiries after Turkic antiquities among scholars and their books, Valikhanov knew that the ancient Türk 'returned' on ritual occasions to the ancestral cave in the *Ötükän* Mountain in the *Khangay* Range.

✠ (i) can be dismissed at once. Whatever allowance one makes for variation

¹⁸¹ My italics.

¹⁸² I, 357.

¹⁸³ I, 421. On the basis of the *Résumé*: *Dzhulay*, and the parallelism at *K*, 293, 4: *nevernomu khanu khrabromu Dzhuzayu* and 293, 6 *k člonu-to nevernomu khanu Ir-Cholanu*, one can confidently emend *Dzhuzayu* to *Dzhulayu*; and *Cholanu* to *Dzholayu* (another *u* for *ü*? cf. p. 356, n. 61, above). The whole passage concerns *Dzhulay/Dzholay* (i.e. *Joloy*) and only after this emendation does he clearly become a Kalmak, cf. the *Résumé*: '*mongol'skogo khana Dzhulaya*' (I, 421, 34). On the basis of the discrepancies between (i) *K*, (ii) the *Résumé*, and (iii) V.'s account of the '*Manas* saga' as given at I, 357, it would be possible to argue that V. knew three different versions of *Kukolay*: yet I suspect he was quoting rashly from memory in (ii) and (iii), in which case, however, an explanation is needed why '*Dzhulay*' should be correct in (iii) and wrong in (i). The chronology of the documents—(i) translated 1861-5; (ii) 1860; (iii) post 1856—does not of itself suggest a solution.

¹⁸⁴ Reproduced in the commentary without discussion as *Buruntai*, I, 671.

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within the parallelistic technique of the underlying verse, the whole group of lines in which 'khanskaya goru' is embedded, is terminated by a period, and only after a six days' rest does Bok Murun intend to move on to the 'Inner Khan'.¹⁸⁵ (ii) is a possibility, but there is no means of confirming or denying it. (iii) Valikhanov had read N. Ya. Bichurin alias Father Hyacinth's *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Sredney Azii v drevniya vremena* of 1851, and in his essay 'O zapadnom krae kitayskoy imperii'¹⁸⁵ he quotes extensively from it on the subject of Turkic antiquities, both as regards religious observance in the mountains and the strategy of the wise 'Tun'yuygu' [Tonyukuk].

In a section entitled 'Tyugu', Bichurin translates from the Chinese *Chou-shu* thus:

'They have no settled abode, but each one has his district. The Khan always lives in the Dugin Mountains. The entrance to his chieftainly yurt is at the east in reverence of the land of sunrise. Every year he performs sacrifices with his grandees in the cave of his ancestors At 500 li to the west of Dugin there is a high mountain, the summit of which is treeless and bare of vegetation. It is named "Bodin-inli", which translated into Chinese means "Protector Spirit of the Land"'.¹⁸⁶

Thomsen,¹⁸⁷ Pelliot,¹⁸⁸ and Czeglédy¹⁸⁹ took 'Dugin' [Tu-kin] to be the same as Ötükän, though Liu Mau-tsai expresses doubts;¹⁹⁰ but Bichurin and Valikhanov were not to know that. In his geographical index, Bichurin fails to list 'Dugin': but in a footnote to his text he locates the Cave of the Ancestors in the Altay.¹⁹¹ Paraphrasing Bichurin's *Khan vseгда zhiwet u gor Dugin*¹⁹² as *Khan zhiwet pri gore Dugin*, Valikhanov adds in parenthesis: *gory Dugin lezhat v Tatan'skom vladenii* 'the Dugin Mountains lie in the "Tatan domain"'.¹⁹³ 'Tatan'skiy' presumably stands for 'Tatar', in which case Valikhanov's localization is too vague to be serviceable here.

As to Tonyukuk, from what seems like a loose Chinese adaptation of the Tonyukuk inscription (deciphered in the West only in 1894), Valikhanov could easily glean the following data from Bichurin's rendering into Russian: Khan Mogilyan wished to have a walled palace and to build shrines to the Buddha and Lao Tzu; but Tonyukuk warned him that sedentarized nomads would be swallowed up in the teeming population of China. Their role was to follow grass and water and exercise themselves only in deeds of war. Strong they would go forward to booty, weak give ground and hide. The teaching of the Buddha and Lao Tzu makes people kind-hearted and weak, not warlike and strong.¹⁹⁴

Was the Khan of the Eastern Türk who *always* lived in the ancestral homeland in the Dugin Mountains the prototype of the 'Inner Khan' of K,

¹⁸⁵ II, 105 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors, 1896, p. 152, n. 32.

¹⁸⁸ art. cit., 212 ff.

¹⁸⁹ op. cit., II, p. 500, n. 58.

¹⁹⁰ ibid.

¹⁹¹ Bichurin, op. cit., I, 332.

¹⁸⁶ I, 270.

¹⁸⁷ art. cit., 55 ff.

¹⁸⁸ I, 270.

¹⁸⁹ II, 124.

in the legitimate sense of the 'Khan of the Primary Horde'? Was the Return thither inspired by the return of the Khan and his grandees to the ancestral cave? Was the subtle policy of the dying Kōkōtōy in *K*, with its temporary token submission to China till Bok Murun should have proved himself, based on Tonyukuk's political strategy for the Türk?

More remotely, perhaps, did Valikhanov get to hear of some such Mongol manuscript as was later to be cited by Banzarov, in which libations of *kumys* were prescribed not only for the Burhan Khaldan Mountain and the Genteil-khan (i.e. the Henteyn or Khentei Range revered as a 'Khan'), but also for the 'Khangay-khan'?¹⁹⁵

There is in the citations from Bichurin, fully known to and partly quoted by Valikhanov, insufficient to draw definite conclusions as to influence. But, taken together with the difficulty over the *belaya orda*, there is enough to excite scholarly mistrust. If indeed Bichurin's extracts from the Chinese annals helped in any way to inspire the bard of *K*, it is not to say that this part of *K* constitutes yet another 'Ossianic' forgery. No moral blame need attach to Valikhanov. The parallels could be due to unconscious suggestion. Valikhanov was the grandson of the last Khan of the Kazakh Middle 'Horde' (*jüz*). He was frankly and eagerly interested in the Turkic past. A Kirgiz bard (who was evidently much open to Kazakh influence) would have done his best to please him. Valikhanov's inquiries and discussions with others could have 'got round' to the bard. All knew what Valikhanov was looking for—he no doubt 'rewarded' his bards—why could they not have supplied it?

Until new facts are brought to light, the ancient-looking and even mythical aspects of Bok Murun's itinerary to the Inner Khan, which are one of the most arresting features of the remarkable *Smert' Kukotay-khana i ego pominki*, cannot escape suspicion. Even if in these respects *K* is subsequently vindicated, it will have been worth-while to provoke such vindication. At present its 'antiquities' are too easily accepted by scholars to whom we otherwise owe much for their magnificent edition of Valikhanov's writings.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ D. Banzarov, *Chernaya vera ili shamanstvo u Mongolov*, St. Petersburg, 1891, 20 f.; cf. Harva, op. cit., 244.

¹⁹⁶ A continuation of this article will offer, among other topics, a stylistic comparison of *K* and *BM*, and will attempt a description of their common source in outline.

N. I. Veselovskij's edition of Valikhanov's *Kukotay*, to make confusion over the text of *beluyu ordu* worse confounded, reads: (a) *beluyu Ordu*, (b) *beluyu ordu* ('*Sochineniya Chokana chingisovicha Valikhanova*', *Zapiski Imperat. Russk. Geograf. Obschestva, Otdel Étnograf.*, XXIX, 1904, 209 and 213 respectively, cf. pp. 365 ff and 355, above; on p. 213, Veselovskij reads *Ak Tersken*, cf. p. 357 and n. 61, above, and *Katay*, cf. p. 355, n. 50, above).

I am grateful to Sir Harold Bailey, Dr. C. R. Bawden, and Dr. T. O. Gandjei, all colleagues in the London Seminar on Epic, for their helpful suggestions when I was completing my manuscript. They of course bear no responsibility for the views set forth here. It goes without saying that I have learned much from Professor V. M. Zhirmunskij's authoritative '*Vvedenie i izuchenie éposa "Manas"*' in the symposium volume entitled *Manas*, Moscow, 1961, 85-196. My thanks are also due to those in charge of the map rooms at the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Royal Geographical Society, and University College, London.

