

SEMETEY

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PART II

The first part of this study was devoted in the main to *The Birth of Semetey (BS)*,¹ which narrated not only the birth and the events which surrounded it but also Semetey's growth to heroic stature and his revenge on his enemies within the clan. Thus far Semetey has proved a worthy successor to his father Manas. In the present episode of *Semetey (S)*, however, the young hero reveals weaknesses which all but lead to the extinction of Manas's line, so often threatened with that fate. In his youth, Manas had been a "tentek" ("hot head", "mad-cap") and according to a version known to Chokan Valikhanov² had bullied his father Jakip unmercifully into wooing brides for him. Semetey on the other hand is something worse than a *tentek*, as the bard tells us in the second line of *S*:

1 Ol Semätäi jaš boldu,
ol akıldan boš boldu . . .

(That Semetey was young, he was a scatterbrain . . .)

In the locution *akıldan boš* there is a strong suggestion that Semetey was empty of good sense and unamenable to reason, and we can only agree with this assessment when he slaughters his father's Companions in anger at their reluctance to go campaigning with him.³ Just as in *BS* the bard had lost no time in indicating the direction which that labile character Jakip was to take in the episode, with "filthy fellow" (82 *aram kul*), so now with 2 *akıldan boš* he suggests in advance how Semetey's rash behaviour will fritter away the respite gained by Kanıkey and Čakan for Manas's line.

The action of *S* may be analysed thus:

- 1-6 Recapitulation of Semetey's growth to young manhood.
- 7-184 Semetey's exhortation to his father's Forty to go raiding with him; their refusal on grounds of age and the fear that he will be the death of them; their flight; his humble request and their renewed refusal and flight; Semetey's angry slaughter and plundering of the Forty.

¹ *Asia Major*, N.S. XVIII (1973) pp. 154-180

² *Sobranie sochineniy v pyati tomakh*. Ed. A. Margulan. Alma-Ata I, 1961, p. 368.

³ 156 ff.

- 185-227 The simultaneous birth of Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro, sons of Manas's Companions Aji-bay and Almambet respectively,⁴ and their adoption by Kanıkey as Semetey's milk-brothers.⁵
- 228-254 Kül-čoro's and Kan-čoro's swift growth to young manhood and their life with the auspicious Semetey.
- 255-292 Semetey's languishing for Akın's daughter Ai-čürök,⁶ betrothed to Kökčö's son Ümütöy, after hearing of her virtues; and his resolve to win her, if need be by force.
- 293-348 The visit of the Three at Akın's under cover of night; Ai-čürök's immediate response to Kül-čoro's wooing for Semetey; and her entering his yurt as his bride.⁷
- 349-446 Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro raid [Ümütöy's?] herds; Kül-čoro rides to the Kalmak for sheep to broil, Kan-čoro, *with no cause given*, dies in his sleep in their bivouac; Ümütöy comes with an army and [re?]captures the herds; returning to the bivouac, Kül-čoro curses the dead Kan-čoro⁸ and pursues the enemy.

⁴ This does not become explicit till 1247: but the occurrence of Aji-bay's epithet attached to Kül-čoro made it certain, see below, p. 33.

⁵ 220 *emšäktäf* (i.e., *emčektäf*). Much later in life, when both had attained the status of young heroes, Manas and Almambet had become milk-brothers at old Čakan's withered breast, for which event it had miraculously flowed with milk again: V, I 2) 1846 *Čakanınmın katıp kalgan ak emčäk|d süttör baida boldu deit,|tirkirüp ağıp turdu deit. | andan Alman Bet batır aittı deit:| "Enäkaymın ak emčäk|ağıp turat, Manas Kan,|bir emčägin sen emgin!|bir emčägin men emäin!|belimdi kündäi büain!|Jakıp baidan tüain!| seni-minän bir tügan adam bolain!"* (At my Čakan's white breasts that had grown hard, drops of milk appeared, and flowed in jets. Then the warrior Almambet said: "From your mother's white breast [milk] is flowing, Manas Khan! You suck one breast, I will suck the other! I will bind my waist [tight?] as a sheath [?Radlov "fest"], I wish to be born from Jakıp-bay, I wish to be your brother!" For the binding tight of a woman's waist as a preparation for childbirth see V, I, 1) (*Birth of Manas 16 belin bekäm büadı* (She had never bound her waist tight=never given birth); *BS 69 büp saldı beldärin* (she bound her flanks more tightly)—Kanıkey, as though to hasten her replacement for Manas, who has just died. At I, 2, 1854, Almambet, as well as drinking the milk of Manas's mother, would seem to be symbolically giving birth to himself from Manas's father.

⁶ I have throughout silently emended Radlov's "Čörök" to "čürök" in view of its meaning (1) "teal", (2) "beauty", and as confirmed by twentieth-century tradition.

⁷ 342 "*Semätäi čünak heldi*", *dep, | kulagina saldı deit, | Ai-čürök äğıp heldi deit, | Semätäi čünak aldı deit . . .* (He spoke into her ear the words "the orphan Semetey has come!" and Ai-čürök came out and took the orphan Semetey [in marriage] . . .) This, then, is a runaway love-match without payment of *kalıp* (bride-price). Ai-čürök's betrothed, Ümütöy, has evidently paid the bride-price and it will be seen that Semetey tried to make it good to him.

⁸ Radlov 428 has partly spoilt the curse: "*kairıgıns kün tüşün!*" ("May an ill-starred day dawn [for you]!") Radlov: "Kam ein unheilbring'nder Tag dir . . .").

- 447-489 In his yurt, Semetey has divined these events, including the lifting of his Tay-buurul⁹ and the death of Kan-čoro.¹⁰
- 490-644 Kül-čoro attacks Ümütöy's army single-handed and recaptures Tay-buurul. Returning to Kan-čoro, he tells the latter to take Tay-buurul to their lord Semetey who is unmounted – and, *with no indication as to how he was revived*, Kan-čoro does so, but is ill received by Semetey, who rides off to rescue Kül-čoro. Their meeting.
- 645-766 Semetey's aristeia as he attacks Ümütöy. Tay-buurul's incapacity as Ümütöy rallies his army; Semetey's flight; his recovery, thanks to Kül-čoro; and his victory.
- 767-874 Ümütöy submits; Semetey has himself adopted as Ümütöy's "maternal nephew" and gives him Tay-buurul and an impenetrable suit of mail,¹¹ both inherited from Manas.
- 875-980 Living with Ai-čürök, Semetey has a dream¹² as a result of which he resolves to sacrifice a white mare at Manas's tomb. Ai-čürök foretells ill fortune if he does so, but receives Semetey's lash for her warning that he should take not the mare but Tay-buurul.
- 981-1036 Kanıkey seeks to restrain Semetey; failing to do so, she counsels him how to sacrifice to Manas.
- 1037-1056 The sacrifice and its portent, signifying that Manas is "dead forever".¹³
- 1057-1156 Ahead of the Three, six armies approach, led¹⁴ by a man of gigantic stature on a brown steed. Semetey aims at rider and mount with his matchlock,¹⁵ but the horse

⁹ Radlov was baffled by the elliptical style of the bard at 399 "Alle Pferde . . . ausser Tai Burul trieb sie alle . . . fort". After 400 *tai būruldän bölöök nemä kalbadı* (apart from Tay-buurul none remained) we must render 401 f. *Kökčömin ülu Ümütöi | alp jürüp ketti deit* as "Ümütöy son of Kökčö seized [him too]." Cf. 474 f.; 498 f.

¹⁰ Nothing can be more explicit: 486 *ölüp* ("dead"); 487 *ölüp* ("extinguished"). Cf. *ölbös-ölpös* "immortal".

¹¹ That the steed and the mail-suit are compensation for Ümütöy's *kalıp* for Ai-čürök is suggested not only by the general situation but by the following two points: (1) Ümütöy asks for a steed and mail-suit immediately after renouncing Ai-čürök (844 ff., reported by Kül-čoro at 856 ff.); (2) immediately after Ümütöy rides away with his gifts (874 *Ümütöy jürüp ketip kaldı deit*) we read: 865 *Ai Čüröktü algan soy . . .* "Now that he [Semetey] had married Ai-čürök . . ."

¹² For the details and meaning see pp. 9 ff., below.

¹³ See discussion, pp. 12 ff., below.

¹⁴ The expression used is: 1065 *ögultup ögöl tur*, literally "collecting [them] together he herded [them]", cf. Radlov "treibt . . . herbei".

¹⁵ An *ak-kelte*: or *Ak-kelte*, cf. Part I, p. 165. The full form with epithet is *S 1085 1110: Alaidan tülkön ak keltä* – "Ak-kelte fallen from Alai", cf. *BM 2129 Alastan kelgän ak kelti* "Ak-kelte come from Alaš". The epithet is unstable.

warns his rider and leaps so that Semetey misses. Battle follows. When Semetey's "Coŋ-baš"¹⁶ is used up Kül-čoro offers Semetey his steed Kök-čebič; but Semetey and Kül-čoro ride Kök-čebič two-up and flee before the giant hero "Er Kiyaz, son of Jediger".

- 1187-1305 Doubly burdened, Kök-čebič fails, and the two are surrounded. While Semetey lies on the ground, unassailable in his majesty, Kül-čoro rides off [for help?¹⁷] and meets Kan-čoro, who reminding him how Semetey slew their fathers, incites him to betray Semetey. Kül-čoro passionately rejects the suggestion, rides off and hides so that he can take Semetey's corpse to Ai-čürök.
- 1306-1358 Kan-čoro goes to Er Kiyaz and offers to seize the "Only One" for a reward. Er Kiyaz promises him Kül-čoro's wife Čač-ike, and he comes up behind Semetey and holds him for Er Kiyaz to shatter with his club. Er Kiyaz then has Semetey's corpse burned to ashes and the ashes scattered.¹⁸
- 1395-1421 At Ai-čürök's yurt, Kül-čoro wards off Er Kiyaz for seven days, till Kök-čebič fails. Er Kiyaz seizes Kül-čoro, tears out the cartilage of his right shoulder and pours in boiling fat. Er-kiyaz then takes Ai-čürök to wife, and Kül-čoro becomes the degraded slave of nine horse-herds.
- 1422-1485 Ai-čürök bears a son in her twelfth month. Er Kiyaz, declaring that venom and perfidy will always be the same, orders women to cut off the boy's "apple head": but a childless woman sees his starry eyes and puts him to her breast. Divining that the boy still lives, Er-Kiyaz comes with drawn sword to kill him, but Ai-čürök tells him that although six months of her pregnancy were "his" [Semetey's], six were Er Kiyaz's. She then threatens Er Kiyaz that if he kills her son she

¹⁶ With Tay-buurul bestowed on Ümütöy (861 ff.) and not recovered (953 ff.), Semetey is mounted on another steed. The white mare has presumably been sacrificed, see p. 16, below.

¹⁷ The text is not explicit. One wonders why the loyal Kül-čoro did not stay to die with his lord. Was he already thinking of the preservation of Manas's and Semetey's line?

¹⁸ In oral poetry, the method of total extinction on the steppe used pre-eminently by heroes after overcoming dangerous enemies or monsters. We are twice told that Ai-čürök can revive the dead (279; 1301 f.); thus the total destruction of Semetey by Er-Kiyaz emphasizes the narrow escape of Semetey's line, see pp. 25 f., below. For the general topic of cremation as an historical burial custom of the Turkic peoples, see J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux*, Paris, 1963, pp. 135 ff.

will don her swan-mask and fetch her father Akın-kan to wreak vengeance, and so saves her child.

- 1486-1514 Er Kiyaz gives a naming-feast. None can name the child till Ai-kojo descends from heaven, bestows the name of "Seytek" and vanishes.
- 1515-1666 Kül-čoro learns of the birth of Seytek, and, after being mercilessly beaten by the horse-herds and Er Kiyaz, visits Ai-čürök, who tells him secretly that "Seytek the Wretch"¹⁹ will exact vengeance. Kül-čoro returns to his sorry life.
- 1667-1834 Seytek grows rapidly to young herohood. Ai-čürök incites him to go to Er Kiyaz and beg leave to ride the steed Too-toru.²⁰ Er Kiyaz commands Kül-čoro under threats to take Seytek to the herds. Kül-čoro tells Seytek that he has set his hopes on him, and after Seytek has beaten off the herdsmen, is healed and restored to full vigour in seven days.
- 1835-1870 Kül-čoro now tells Seytek to fetch Kök-čebič. They mount their steeds and ride to Er Kiyaz. Kül-čoro greets him, and Er Kiyaz offers friendship: but Kül-čoro courteously informs him that the maiming of his shoulder has made them mortal enemies. He draws his sword and cuts Er Kiyaz down.
- 1871-1912 Kül-čoro and Seytek ride to Kankey, who has been forced into menial service with Kan-čoro. Kan-čoro states before an assemblage of dishonest judges and grandees²¹ that he killed Semetey because he had slain his and Kül-čoro's fathers, and himself had then joined Er Kiyaz. Kül-čoro leaps on to Kan-čoro's chest and binds him. Kankey rushes in from the fields and begs a spoonful of Kan-čoro's blood. She seizes a sword, wounds Kan-čoro and slakes her thirst for vengeance in his blood.
- 1913-1927 Seytek takes Kankey and Ai-čürök with him to the shores of the Kul-ata in the broad Talas Valley, where

¹⁹ Seytek thus inherits his father's epithet of "čunak", see p. 7, below.

²⁰ "Mountainous-bay".

²¹ 1878 *kazı bala kandarın, | hardı [R: kordu] salık bilävin, | Stürük [R: ötrük] süilöp jakısın*: "the sons of cadis, of princely descent, pendulous-bellied judges, mendacious notables". For *hardı salık bilär* see the recently discovered Kirgiz original of Ch. Valikhanov's *Kukutay*, in the Kazakhizing transcription of A. Margulan, *Kazakh SSR Güm Akademiyasınıñ Xabarısı* No. 8 (245) Avgust (Alma Ata, 1965) p. 22, line 15 of "Manas": *Karın salık bilerge ait . . .* rendered by Valikhanov in 1861-5 thus: *skazhi biyam s otvislymi zhiivotami . . .*

Manas used to pitch his yurt, and holds sway from there to Tashkent.

The above more detailed analysis resolves itself into the following general themes:

- I Annihilation of Manas's Forty (1-184)
- II Their quasi-replacement by Two - Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro (185-254)
- III Semetey's marriage with Ai-čürök and his accommodation with her wronged betrothed, Ümütöy (255-874)
- IV the foredoomed sacrifice to Manas (875-1056)
- V The dominance of Er Kiyaz (1057-1421)
- VI The preservation of the line in Seytek (1422-1834)
- VII Vengeance (1835-1927).

There is at least a rough symmetry in this complexity. In the central section (IV), there is the foreshadowing in omens of the almost total disaster that follows (V), occasioned by Semetey's squandering of *arbak* ("blessings of the ancestors")²² (I and III) and reversed only by the elemental force of the women and by grace of the magnanimous warrior Kül-čoro, who chose not to avenge his father's death on Semetey (VI and VII).

One of the most remarkable passages in our two poems on Semetey and indeed in the whole of mid-nineteenth-century Kirgiz heroic poetry, is the departure and destruction of Manas's Companions as a result of their and Semetey's failure to see eye to eye, in the opening scene of *S*. The completeness of Semetey's new order and yet its essential sameness as regards the grim struggle to preserve Manas's lineage must have been one of the things which caused Radlov to write so perceptively on *Manas*: "We see battle upon battle, yet no return for the gigantic efforts made; we see the warriors pass away, and recognize a new generation in their children who, however, in equal contests, achieve no more than their parents have achieved and once again squander their resources to no use".²³

The steps towards Semetey's and the Companions' fateful division are not always made explicit; thus an element of speculation intrudes into this account of them. The purpose of the events, however, is very clear. It is to write off the older generation of men, so that Semetey may go his own way as an heroic scatterbrain and reap as he sows, while the women and the uniquely generous Kül-čoro bring the threatened lineage through to yet another generation.

At fifteen, having thrust his lance through his first enemy, Semetey becomes leader of the Forty whom his father has bequeathed to him (*S* 7 ff.).

²² See p. 13, below.

²³ W. Radloff, *Die sprachen der nördlichen türkischen Stämme*, I Abt., *Proben der Volksliteratur V* (1885) *Der Dialekt der Kara-Kirgizen*, p. x.

With Manas's old excuse that men and beasts are in good fettle,²⁴ Semetey summons the Forty for a raid. Had they ever seen Altun-Émel or Šemäi-kala (Semipalatinsk)? This question from a raw youth to his father's veterans strikes us as naïve, and we sense mild reproof in their answer that in days gone by they had lifted horse-herds from the far away Khangay.²⁵ However, they are ready to follow him. They troop out from their yurts and hail each other by name, the list of names in their collective "speech" being taken by the bard from Manas's set Invocation of his Forty.²⁶ Having saddled Manas's horses for him till they were sixty years of age, they will saddle Semetey's till they are seventy. But this wretched²⁷ Khan Semetey will drive them to their deaths in high mountains and swift rivers. Therefore:

79 "Keräs attı minäli,
kemin tondu kiräli,
sagınıp sargıl minäli
sargıra sapar jortolu,
bulkuntup būdan minäli,
buksatıp²⁸ sapar jürgölü!"

("Let us mount our steeds bequeathed by the dead [?], let us don our burial shrouds, with longing let us mount our light bay steeds,"²⁹

²⁴ *S* 9 at *semirip kūs boldu*, *er semirip tūs boldu*: "The horses growing fat, autumn came, the men growing fat, noon [?] came". Kaz. *kūs*: Kirg. *kūs*; Kaz. *tūs*: Kirg. *tūs*? If this is so, my note 40 to *Köz-Kaman I* (*CAJ* XIII, 1971, p. 88) requires revision. In the light of Yudakhin, *Slovar*, *buk* I: at *semirip ik bolso*, *er semirip buk bolso* ("when horses fill out again they are plump and spirited, when warriors fill out again they fret with inactivity") and *ik* I. 2: at *semirip, ik bolup*, *er sölügip, buk bolup* ("the horses filling out again grew plump and spirited, the warriors, spoiling for raids, grew excited"), I am tempted to emend *KK* 158 *bok* ("slovenly") to *buk* ("fretful"), and to interpret *KK* 156 *tūs bolot* as "their coats are in fine condition". At *S* 10 *tūs boldu*, the probably different bard seems to have interpreted *tūs* in the inherited formula as "noon", pairing it with *kūs* "autumn".

²⁵ In view of the seven or so place-names which Semetey throws at the Forty, this is an occasion when 37 *Kaŋgaidan* is to be taken literally and not in the transferred sense from "the Kalmak who infest the Khangay and shout 'Khangay!'" See *Köz-Kaman I*, pp. 90 ff.; "The Kirgiz original of *Kukotay* found", *BSOAS*, XXXIV, 1971, p. 382.

²⁶ Cf. A. T. Hatto, *Shamanism and epic poetry in Northern Asia* (Foundation Day Lecture 1970, School of Oriental and African Studies, London) pp. 17 f. Attention must be drawn to the following peculiarities. 58 *Tölgöcü-minän Tölgüm*: if the bard dictated *minän* he was losing grip of the formula, since *Tölök* is the *tölgöcü*, the specialist in *tölgö* "the art of divination", cf. V, 2) 1159 *tölgöcü kara Tölgüm*. For 61 *jatkan koidu kodurbas* [sic!] see p. 33 and note 188, below.

²⁷ *čunak*. In *BS* the meaning "wretch" seemed the more appropriate way of rendering Semetey's epithet (see Part I, p. 162): but now that Semetey is a headstrong youth and scatterbrain, the meaning "rascal" enters into it.

²⁸ Thus Radlov ("lachend"), but unsupported both by Yudakhin, *Slovar*, and Radlov, *Opýt*. Stylistically 84 "buksatıp" *sapar* ought to reflect and vary 82 *sargıra sapar* ("arduous journey"). Since *buk* I = "worry", "depression", it seems justifiable to separate *buk* and "satıp", for which (at a guess) one could propose *saltp*, a collocation which, however, is not confirmed.

²⁹ Yudakhin in his *Slovar* sub *sargıl* gives it only in the collocation *ak sargıl*.

setting out on an arduous³⁰ journey let us go ranging, urging them on let us mount our racers, let us start on our . . .²⁸ journey!")

So saying, they ride off, "setting the tips of their lances like the bearded barley"[?].³¹ Only after a week does news of them reach Semetey, who laments that the silver treasure left him by his sire has been scattered,³² the Forty bequeathed to him have fled. Later, it is told how with a striking gesture of finality and aloofness the Forty ride off: they do up the buttons over their whole body (101).³³ Semetey rides after them and eventually overtakes and reasons with them. Earlier he had wondered whether they had lost interest in taking horses and corselets as booty (93 f.)³⁴ and he now puts the question to them directly (115 f.), adding:

117 "aştan kōnūŋ kaldıbı, čorom?"

("Have you lost interest in feasts,³⁵ my Companions?")

Semetey's question scarcely concerns a memorial repast for Manas, an obligation which custom laid upon Semetey as on the Forty, but which is not mentioned anywhere either in *BS* or in *S*.³⁶ Semetey asks them to halt, saying that he has won otter-skins and silver ingots and that his patrimony extends from the Talas to Tashkent.³⁷ The Forty do not comply. Semetey then beseeches them, flinging his sash over his neck in token of supplication or submission.³⁸ The Forty, without so much as a glance in his direction, ride on. In anger Semetey leaps on to his steed, lowers his lance of fir tipped with steel and, shouting "The enemy has fled!", "Manas!" "Semetey!", gives pursuit. He overtakes them, dispatches them all, strips off their corselets and drives home their steeds.

³⁰ *sargır*- is included in Shrutnikov's *Kazakh-English Dictionary* (1966), but not in Yudakhin's *Kirgiz Slovar*.

³¹ 86 *kūkandai naıza kükaitıp* (R: "schilfgleich schwankend") is not supported by Yudakhin. For *kükaitıp* read *kiltaitıp* "allowing just the tips to show", cf. under the variant *kültıyt-* "*kültıytıp naıza salayın*" (izlovchivshis' i točno napraviv, ya udaryu kop'em). *kūkanday* is given the meaning "shapely", "smart", no doubt from "up-standing": but in view of the basic meaning "awn" and *kūkan čöp* "wild barley", there may well be a comparison here between "pennanted lance-tips" and "young barley".

³² Semetey was robbed of his patrimony when Abeke and Köböš destroyed his yurt (*BS* 243 ff.).

³³ The gesture may well have overtones. Semetey uses the same gesture on leaving Kan-čoro to find Kül-čoro, whom Kan-čoro has left in the lurch (563 f.). 101 *tulu boyun*: the latter is the "correct" reading.

³⁴ Horses and corselets are precisely the booty of which Semetey despoils the Forty when he has slain them (182 f.).

³⁵ Radlov renders *aştan* as though it were *attan* as in line 115: "der Pferde".

³⁶ Cf. the memorial feasts for *Kökötöy-kan*, A. T. Hatto, "*Kukotay* and *Bok Murun*: a comparison of two related heroic poems of the Kirgiz" I, *BSOAS*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 371 f.

³⁷ 128 *ayagı Talas bař Tařkän | akım tüřüp jatıppı*. *Text: *akı*, but cf. 1926 "*ayagı Talas bař Tařkän, | akım tüřüp jattı*", *deit* (Seytek speaking).

³⁸ 159 *moimuna kurun saldı*. A variant of the gesture occurs in *kamčısın moynuna il-* ("to loop one's horselash on one's neck" in acknowledgement of guilt). The assertion of guilt uses the same phrase with the factitive *ıldır-*.

As Semetey alights from his mount, the wives of two of the Forty, of Aji-bay and Almambet, give birth, the one to a son holding a flower,³⁹ the other to a son holding blood. The portentous birth of Manas clutching a clot of blood like Chinggis-khan,⁴⁰ furnished a topos which is sentimentalized with the "flower", and impoverished by the unqualified mention of "blood". These symbols are of course well-chosen for Kül-čoro, the man with a beautiful character, and the bloody traitor Kan-čoro: but compared with the type-symbol from which they are derived, these are no more than conceits. Semetey has "lost" his father's Forty; but he has "found" a replacement from the seed of Two of them.

An attempt to interpret these portentous events must be deferred until a second striking passage with Semetey's dream and his disastrous sacrifice to his father has been examined, since they are interdependent.

Some time after peace has been made with Ümütöy, Semetey has a dream. He is shown telling it next morning not to Ai-čürök (who as a swan-maiden is even better versed in such matters than other heroes' wives⁴¹) but to Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro:

886 "teräk tüptön⁴² terbäldi,
teŋis tüptön⁴² čaipaldı,
japırmagan bai täräk
jatkan jeriŋ ošo jer:
kožo, moldo barısı
bütkön jeriŋ ošo jer.
kečä ölük-minän tiriktin
arbagın emi kačırdık;⁴³
ölük-minän tiriktin

³⁹ In Kirgiz *kül, gül*, stands for "flower", not specifically "rose", as in my article "The Birth of Manas", *Asia Major*, N.S. XIV, 1969, p. 237.

⁴⁰ "The Birth of Manas", pp. 236 ff.

⁴¹ See below, p. 30.

⁴² R: *tüptän*. Cf. 932 and 933 *tüptön*.

⁴³ R: *čakırdık*. My seemingly daring emendation is based on these lexical, contextual and stylistic grounds: (1) *arbaktı čakar-* (not noticed by Yudakhin) does not imply a regular conjunction of *arbak* such as will be enacted at 1039 ff., but merely "calling on the *arbak* in need", e.g., on going into battle (Harmonized *Semetey*, pp. 229a *arbaktardı čakırtıp*) or when urging one's horse to victory at the races, when one shouts "*Arbak! Arbak!*" (Yudakhin, *Slovar*, *arbak* l.). (2) There is no mention in the narrative that Semetey has "called on" the *arbak* in this way, to justify *čakırdık*. (3) Most importantly, there is the control afforded by parallelistic structure: *ölük-minän tiriktin* in 892 is balanced by the same phrase at 894, and the action of the *arbak* in lines 893 and 895 must therefore also be parallel by stylistic convention. 895 tells us the *arbak* rode: 893 with **kačırdık* would mean that Semetey chased the *arbak* away on horseback, with *kačır-* as factitive of *kač-* "to run/ride away", cf. the collocation *arbagın kačır-* "lower a man's arrogance", "knock a man's insolence out of him" (Yudakhin, *Slovar*, sub. vb.), lit. "put his *arbak* to flight". (4) In view of the state of Radlov's Kirgiz texts, an emendation **kačırdık* for *čakırdık* is reasonable. See further footnote 169, below.

arbağı atka minip ald'elä:
arbaktı kozgop⁴⁴ taštadık . . ."

("The asp⁴⁵ shook from its roots, the sea surged from its depths. The⁴⁶ place⁴⁷ where the unbowed⁴⁸ aspen stands is this place; the place where all the hojas and mułlahs were born is this place. A short time past⁴⁹ we put the *arbak* of the living and the dead to flight. The *arbak* of the living and the dead mounted their steeds, we have greatly perturbed⁴⁴ the *arbak*."')

This rather obscure passage in which Semetey states his dream and then embroiders on it, clearly links perturbation of the *tüp* ("roots", "origins") with the perturbation of the *arbak*, who after all are the roots of the family-tree. Further light is thrown on to the dream by Ai-čürök's handling of it when the Three prepare to ride to Manas's tomb:

- 927 "tündö bir jatıp tüš körsöj
tündögü tüšün opkon tüš,
jürögüm baši kopkon tüš –
930 men tüšünnü aıtain!
ošo jerdän kaitain!
'Teräk tüptön terbäldi,
terjis tüptön čaipaldı' –
töröm, bu nemäni boluču?
935 ölük-minän tiriktin
arbağı atka minip kalıptır,
arbaktın ünči ketiptir,
kökkö uçkan sarı ilait,
köp jašagan karı ilait,
940 asmandagı čar⁵⁰ ilait,
altı jašar bala ilait:
men tüšünön čočuimun!

⁴⁴ R: *kongop*, authenticated by neither Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, nor by Radlov, *Opyt'*. **kordop* "outraged" would give a good sense, but (1) **kazgop* renews the theme of perturbation, and (2) **kordop* requires changing not one but two letters.

⁴⁵ *terek* = "poplar", or generically "tree"; but 888 *bai täräk* makes it an asp.

⁴⁶ Lit. "thy place".

⁴⁷ Or: "land", thus throughout this passage.

⁴⁸ R: "die Pappel die nicht schwankt".

⁴⁹ This would seem to be indicated by 892 *kečä* "yesterday", "time past", and 893 *emi* "now". Or *kečä ölük*: "the recently dead"?

⁵⁰ Radlov: *zar*. R. translates "Weint am Himmel selbst die Sorge". This is a stylistic solecism of the first order. The Kirgiz heroic manner eschews such high-flown personifications. Radlov failed to recognize 938 *sarı* as "kite", translating "Weint zum Himmel aufgeflog'nes Gelbes"[!], an old shortcoming on his part, see *BSOAS*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 545 ff.; and so he missed the parallel structure of *sarı* ("kite"): *čar* ("rook"), which is well attested by Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, sub *čar IV: talaasında sarı bar, tokoyunda čarı bar* "on the steppe there are kites, in the forest there are rooks".

ošo sapar koisoñcu!
kinči sapar barsañçı!

- 945 aišgi altın tü kördüm,
altı san alaš kol kördüm . . ."

("When you saw a dream last night in your sleep your dream was a quaking[?] (or breath-catching[?])⁵¹ dream, a dream at which my heart heaved – I will tell your dream! I will [then] go back! 'The asp shook from its roots, the sea surged from its depths' – my lord what does this mean? The *arbak* of the living and the dead were mounted on horseback, the peace of the *arbak* has gone away. Flying in the sky, kites will lament; ripe in years, old men will lament; in the heavens, rooks will lament; six-year-old children will lament: I dread your dream! – forego this journey! Make another journey later!⁵² I saw a golden half-moon standard, I saw a six myriad . . . [?]⁵³ army . . .")

Ai-čürök has evidently shared Semetey's dream, because Semetey refers to it as hers at 968, and Kanıkey similarly at 997 f., repeating Ai-čürök's formulation at 928 f. Ai-čürök offers to "tell", i.e. "narrate" the dream, rather than "interpret" it.⁵⁴ She even asks Semetey what the shaking asp and the surging sea portend. Nevertheless her statement is more explicit in one important respect than Semetey's: the significance of the *arbak* on horseback is partly explained to the effect that the peace of the *arbak* has gone away (937). Moreover, whether in her dream or in a vision, as befits a prophetic swan-battle-maiden⁵⁵ Ai-čürök has "seen" the six-myriad-strong

⁵¹ *opkon* is not attested by Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, nor by Radlov, *Opyt'*. *opkun* (South Kirgiz) = "quagmire" (Yud., *Slov.*) cf. Nogay *opkun* "marsh", "quagmire" (N. A. Baskakov, *Nogaysko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1963); Telet *opkun* "whirlpool" (Radl., *Opyt'*, I, 1155a), evidently from an old root *op-* "to suck in", "gulp down" (B. M. Nadelyaev, D. M. Nasilov, E. P. Tenishev, A. M. Shcherbak, *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad, 1969, p. 364b; cf. Sir G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p. 4b "o:p". With regard to *opkon*, it occurs twice in S (928: 997) and also at I 3) 2211. It is supported on both occasions by the rhyming *kopkon* in the next lines. Participles in adjectival function frequently survive their parent verbs, and although it is always a serious matter when Yudakhin does not cite a word, it is possible that he overlooked a genuine *op-kon* "breath-catching", cf. Kirgiz *op* "a sucking-in of breath". A "breath-catching" dream is well matched in the following line by a "heart-heaving" dream. If on the other hand we are to read *opkun*, the quaking implied goes with the shaking of the Asp, the surging of the Sea and the heaving of Ai-čürök's heart. Radlov, translation 928 "gewalt'ger Traum" suggests that *opkin* "great strength" was in his mind.

⁵² This is the required sense = Radlov; no doubt 944 *kinči* is an adjectival derivation from *kiyin* "after", "subsequently", but it is not supported by Yudakhin, nor does *kiyinki* offer the required sense for 996 *kiñgi*.

⁵³ The formula *alaš kol* varies with *ala kol* (e.g., 471) and requires elucidation.

⁵⁴ "To interpret a dream" is *tüš jor-*. Radlov goes too far at 930 with "deuten" and at 968 with "Traumesdeutung".

⁵⁵ Swan-battle-maidens are compounded chiefly of three elements: martial spirit, prophecy and beauty. Like their sisters the swan-maidens they belong to the archaic

army of Er Kiyaz, who will destroy Semetey soon after his ill-starred sacrifice to Manas (945 f.; cf. 1057 ff.). She tells Semetey to go to his "uncle" Ümütöy, take Tay-buurul in exchange for the mare intended for the sacrifice⁵⁶ and then go on his journey, otherwise it will prove disastrous. Semetey gives her the lash for presuming to detain him,⁵⁷ as Manas had done with Kanıkey.⁵⁸ Kanıkey now rides after Semetey, and when she can at last get a hearing offers this advice:

1015 "čip koigon mečin⁵⁹ bar,

kuptan okup algaisın,
ak bos⁶⁰ bāni čalgaisın,
atākāñnin arbagın
azır tayıp algaisın!

1020 asıp koigon kazan bar,

salıp koigon tulga bar,
birin eti salgaisın,
birin otun algaisın
birin ottu jakkaisın!

1025 kazannı tes kainatıp algaisın,

kazanın či köbüktöp kainasa,
kan atākāñ tirilgāni boluču,
kara kočkul kan čiksa,
kan atākāñ bir ölgönü boluču!

1030 sol böirögün⁶¹ tayanıp,

'Soltonum ākām!' dep ökür!
oñ böirögün⁶¹ tayanıp,
'Oironum ākām!' dep ökür!

—Continued from previous page

stratum of Eurasian folklore. An outstanding example is Scáthach, who teaches the Old Irish hero Cú Chulainn to use weapons, bears the epithet "Foam-white, daughter of Loud-shriek" (standing for "Whooper Swan", on whose West Scottish migration-route she lives) and foretells the great Cattle Raid of Cooley in the *Verba Scáthaige* (Prophetic utterances of Scáthach): see A. T. Hatto, "On the excellence of the *Hildebrandslied*", *Modern Language Review*, LXVIII, 1973, pp. 831 f.

⁵⁶ I assume that the unexpressed object of *mingisip* (952) is Ümütöy, the "tai" of the following line. As to *baital moınun kara-* (951; 959), not attested by Yudakhin, *Slovar*, it seems to mean "ride" (= Radlov) by way of a circumlocution "to look at the neck of (a horse)".

⁵⁷ 973 ff.

⁵⁸ *Köz-kaman* 185 ff.

⁵⁹ Not attested by Yudakhin, *Slovar*. It also occurs in the parallel passage at 1039, and Radlov "attests" it (without further citation) in his *Opyt*, IV, 2106 as "Kkir. mogil'nyy pamyatnik, mogil'naya chasovnya — das Grabmal, die Grabkapelle" — the sense which he gives it in his translation of *S.* 1039 f. has *mečingä* . . . *salıp kirip berdiš*: and so a building (tomb) is required. In view of Radlov's long acquaintance with *mečit* ("mosque") it is scarcely to be supposed that *mečin* stands in error for *mečit*. *meken* "sanctuary" is hazardous on both semantic and phonological grounds.

⁶⁰ Radlov: *bös*.

⁶¹ Radlov: *börögün*.

1035 ainalain jangısım,

üidü köstöi salgaisın!"

("There is a tomb[?]⁶² with writing on it⁶²: read the evening prayer; sacrifice the light-grey mare, perform a sacrifice to your father's *arbak*! There is a cauldron hanging there, a trivet [R: 'Helm'] has been set there: let one of you lay in the flesh; let a second gather firewood; let a third kindle the fire! Bring the cauldron quickly to the boil: if it boils over, foaming from the cauldron, the Khan your father has come to life again; but if blood wells out, cherry-dark, the Khan your father has died for ever! Then stemming yourself on your left flank, sorrowfully bellow 'My protector, my father!' and stemming yourself on your right flank, sorrowfully bellow⁶³ 'My ruined one[?],⁶⁴ my father!' Mount your horse, my beloved Only-one, and make for home!")

Semetey and his two Companions ride off to the tomb and carry out Kanıkey's instructions. The verdict we must read from the cherry-dark blood welling out (1048) is that Manas is dead forever. At least to Semetey. Then Er Kiyaz is upon him.

The two passages which have been considered at length here (7 ff. and 886 ff. *passim*) bristle with obscurities and points of interest. I have refrained from translating *arbak* so that it may be treated integrally, as it requires. The other related matter on which I shall try to throw some light is the Aspen or Poplar in the dream.

It is unfortunate that there is no detailed study of the *arwāh* in Central Asia. What follows here is of necessity largely confined to the Kirghiz heroic texts.⁶⁵

⁶² *čıyp koy-* "write down": Radlov: "bunt". The so-called "Tomb of Manas" has Arabic calligraphy on it. Quoting A. N. Bernshtam, *Mazar Manasa* (Frunze, 1946), pp. 7-10 (inaccessible to me), V. M. Zhirmunskiy reports that an ancient mausoleum *S* of old Talas/Talaz, later Aulie-ata, now Dzhambul in the Talas Valley, has been linked in legend with the name of Manas. This mausoleum was built in the first half of the fourteenth century, and an Arabic inscription on the portal records that it was built to the memory of one Kenizek-Khatun, daughter of the Emir Abuk ("Vvedenie v izuchenie éposa 'Manas'", *Kirgizskiy geroicheskiy épos MANAS*, Moscow, 1961, p. 107).

⁶³ *ökür* — (1) "bellow (of a bull)"; (2) (of a man) "to lament loudly, swaying from side to side as one approaches a house or yurt where there is or recently was someone who has died" (Yudakhin, *Slovar* sub vb.). Thus, although Manas died before Semetey was born, the latter is to adopt the ritual prescribed for one recently dead.

⁶⁴ *oyron* "destroyed", "killed", customarily used by young widows or other young women mourning a dead man (Yudakhin, *Slovar* sub vb.). The widowed Kanıkey is thus putting her own words into her son's mouth. Cf. Radlov: "erhab'ner Vater", but *Opyt*, I, 980 (1) "Vernichtung" . . . (2) "furchtbar".

⁶⁵ I. Paulson, *Die primitiven Seelenvorstellungen der nordeurasischen Völker*, Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Monograph Series No. 5 (Stockholm, 1958), does not come so far south as the Kazakh and Kirgiz and in any case focuses attention on "See-lenglauben" rather than "Totenglauben". J.-P. Roux, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits*, Paris, 1963, naturally concerns himself with earlier centuries in the chapter entitled "Le culte des morts et l'ancestralité" (pp. 117 ff.).

Writing in 1862–3, Ch. Ch. Valikhanov made an observation of fundamental importance on the subject. In illustration of the superficial influence of Islam on illiterate peoples of Central Asia, whereby Islamic terms served merely as a cover for continuing heathen practices, Valikhanov wrote: "They took to calling the ongon 'arvakh', kuktangri 'Allah' or 'Khudai', the spirit of the earth 'Shaitan'."⁶⁶ Whilst noting that with the extraneous Mongol word "ongon" (*onyon*) Valikhanov was exhibiting his antiquarian knowledge, we can accept the general thesis that in allowing the Arabic *arwāḥ* ("breath of life; spirits; souls; ghosts"; sg. *rūḥ*)⁶⁷ to oust their own terms for "ancestor-spirits", the Turkic tribes at least initially were not changing the semantic content, whether or not they had a positive or negative attitude towards the spirits subsequently.

The broad semantic range implied by the primary meaning of Kirg. *arbak* – "spirits of the saints", or "of the revered ancestors"⁶⁸ – is amply borne out in the passages under consideration, with the interesting extension that heroes of the last generation like Manas and his Forty seem to be candidates for the status of "ancestors".

When Kankey tells Semetey to sacrifice the light grey mare to Manas's ancestor-spirit(s) there is some verbal ambiguity:

1017 ak bos bāni čalgaisın,
atākāñnin arbagin
azır tayıp algaisın . . .

This could be read as meaning that the sacrifice was to Manas's ancestors; or it could be read as meaning that Manas himself was already one of the ancestors. On this problem the divinatory aspect of the sacrifice throws some light, since the blood of sacrifice will show by the manner of its boiling whether Manas will return to life or prove "dead forever" (1029 *bir ölgönü*). As we know, Manas proved dead forever, and this agrees with the interpretation of the series of disasters which overtook Semetey immediately afterwards as due to the disfavour of the ancestral spirits, whom Semetey's indignant father has now joined. General confirmation of this is found in a phrase cited by Yudakhin sub *ıyık*: "*ata arbağı ıyık*" – "the spirit of a

⁶⁶ *Sobranie sochineniy*, I, 1961, p. 470.

⁶⁷ Turkmen *arvakh* "evil spirit", "demon", "spectre"; Uzb. *arvakh* "soul of dead", "apparition", "ancestor-spirit"; Kaz. *aruakh, arvakh* "ancestor-spirit" (not noticed in N. B. Shnitnikov's *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, London-The Hague-Paris, 1966); Kirg. *arbak* (1) "spirits of the saints" or "of revered ancestors" who have to aid those that summon them, or chastise their enemies; (2) "fame"; (3) "felicity" (Yudakhin, *Slovar*). I was glad to have Sir Gerard Clauson's agreement that Kirg. *arbak* has probably been contaminated by way of folk-etymology with the O.T. *arva*: "to make magic, cast spells" (Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p. 199a), Kirg. *arba*- III "bewitch", "conjure". In a letter of 1.7.72 the late lamented Sir Gerard supplied "an unrecorded but perfectly normal deverbal noun **arva:ğ* **arbağ*".

⁶⁸ Yudakhin, *Slovar*, sub vb.

[deceased] father is sacred". Support from an unspecified twentieth century version is also given by Yudakhin sub *tayı* – "to sacrifice": *taybasak Manastı, arbağı bizdi urbaybı!* – "if we do not sacrifice to Manas, will not his spirit punish us?"

With one so capable of resuscitation as Manas, any further light that can be thrown on the changing states of his soul is of value. In I, 3), the episode in which Manas was fatally poisoned by Kōkčökös and Kamañ Kös,⁶⁹ his soul (*Jan* 1739) left his breast, and "fly-like soul" (*čimundai jan* 1790) "Went away to its true home"; his body was placed "in a white sarai, in a blue sarai"; there was a slaughter of cattle, a distribution of food and costly clothes – all very similar to the ritual at Kōkötöy's funeral repast.⁷⁰ In the laments and commiserations with his father, Manas is repeatedly said to have died – *öldü*. The only hint that he might not die forever – if it was a hint – was Manas's expression before he died: "while I sleep" (1758 *uktasam*). After a long time, because of the inconsolable grief of his horse, hound and falcon, Manas is resuscitated by an angel from heaven treading on his tomb: "Returning to life, Manas stood up" (2188). However, we are left with the strong feeling that this is not a return to the harsh life of the Nogai but to a strangely idealized, paradisaical existence.⁷¹ Returning to *S*, the question whether Manas was "dead forever" is thus seen to have point.

Is the situation of Manas between living men and dead ancestors in *S* perhaps to be related to a formulation of M. Roux's: "nous savons maintenant que le culte des morts et le culte des ancêtres sont deux, justement par ce que le culte des morts est destiné à transformer le défunt en ancêtre"?⁷² Did Semetey, as Manas's son and heir, do his duty by staging the obligatory great funeral repast, as Bok Murun did for Kōkötöy in memorable fashion?⁷³ There is no sign that Semetey did so. In his approaches to Manas's Forty, plunder and feasting, not the satisfaction of his father's spirit, are the theme. It is true that as an infant Semetey could not arrange for the great repast at the proper time. And it is not to be expected that Abeke and Kōböš, the destroyers of Manas's smoke-vent, will have performed the correct rites for his spirit. One would have thought, then, that on growing up to young manhood Semetey would not only regain his heritage, as he did,⁷⁴ but also take extra care to honour his father's memory. Instead he slaughtered his father's ageing Companions on insufficient provocation; and he gave away his inherited steed, Tay-buurul, and armour

⁶⁹ See *Köz-kaman* II, p. 243 ff. The episode I 3 is the least well-knit of all of those recorded by Radlov under V, I ('Manas'), and no suitable short title has been found for it.

⁷⁰ See note 36, above.

⁷¹ I, 3, pp. 2649 ff.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁷³ See note 36, above.

⁷⁴ See Part I, pp. 165.

to Ümütöy in repayment of *kahy* for his ill-gotten bride. The importance of Tay-buurul is hinted at in connexion with the sacrifice to Manas; for Ai-čürök, warned by their dream, says to Semetey:

951 "bir baital moinun karaba!
bir baitaldı mingisip
tai ekängä čaptırıp
Tai-büruldu alıñıs!
Tai-büruldu mingän soñ,
ošo sapar barıñıs!
tai ekängä barbasañ,
Tai-büruldu albasañ,
bir baital moinun karasañ,
jaman bolor saparıñ!"

("Do not ride that mare!⁷⁵ Have someone [else]⁷⁶ ride the mare and gallop her to your uncle [Ümütöy],⁷⁷ and you take Tay-buurul! When you have mounted Tay-buurul, go on this journey! If you do not go to your uncle, if you do not take Tay-buurul, if you ride this mare, your journey will turn out ill.")

Semetey is told that he must regain Tay-buurul from Ümütöy, apparently in exchange for the ritually pure mare whose qualities are lauded at 901–908. On the other hand, Ai-čürök lays very great stress on Semetey's not mounting and riding the mare to the sacrifice, or even riding it to Ümütöy, though as she addresses him, he is in fact mounted on the mare (919 ff.).

Was there a tabu on riding a sacrificial horse to the sacrifice? – Among the qualities of the light grey mare listed in her eulogy is the one that no serving-man has thrust the pole-lassoo (*kuruk*=*ukuruk*) over her, no hired man has ridden her bareback (904 f.). Delivering her to Semetey, his two Companions of course led her at the saddle-bow (916 *bir bāni koštop aldı*). By not recovering his father's horse Tay-buurul after giving it away in a bad cause, and by riding a sacrificial mare to the sacrifice, has Semetey committed a double crime against his father? Manas's favourite steed Ak-kula⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Semetey and the bard call the sacrificial animal "bəə", i.e. "mare that has foaled": Ai-čürök calls her "*baytal*", which in the south = "mare (generic)", the sense which accords with *bəə*, though elsewhere *baytal* is "filly". It seems, then, that not to have foaled was not a requirement of a sacrificial mare among the Kirgiz.

⁷⁶ It seems best to give the factitive *mingisip* and *čaptırıp* the same object, which is left unexpressed. Since Semetey is to go to Ümütöy in person, the unexpressed object of the two modals is not "a messenger". There is thus heavy emphasis on Semetey's not riding the filly. (Radlov makes "him" anticipating "your uncle" the object of *mingisip* and, by implication, a horse the object of *čaptırıp*.)

⁷⁷ See p. 3, above.

⁷⁸ See Part I, p. 166. In *KK* at 2305 ff. in Altın-ai's interpretation of a dream of Kanıkey's she prophesies that when Manas has seen his as yet unborn son, he will slaughter Ak-kula at a feast. The fact that Ak-kula is ageing with Manas at the beginning of *BS*, suggests a different bard.

must now be presumed dead: Semetey's unfulfilled duty in respect of Ak-kula is perhaps indicated by a report that among the Kirgiz tribe of the Sayak, neighbours of Radlov's Bugu across Lake Issyk, it was the custom to erect a high pole above the tomb of a dead man with the tail of his favourite horse attached to it.⁷⁹

Manas and the *arbak* seem to strike at Semetey through his steed, his *alter ego*. Whereas Kök-čebič, the steed of the blameless and magnanimous Kül-čoro, thrice falters against overwhelming odds and triumphs twice before the end,⁸⁰ Semetey is twice failed by his mount, once for no apparent reason by the famous Tay-buurul, whom he is soon to bestow on his present enemy Ümütöy,⁸¹ and once by a horse which, technically, ought to be the spare mount to the mare sacrificed to Manas, but whose points are largely identical with the mare's.⁸² Semetey's resources are said to have completely "dried up":⁸³ he is saved temporarily only by Kül-čoro who takes him up with him on to the back of Kök-čebič now presented as a *tulpar*⁸⁴ – a heavenly winged steed – for this, his aristeia. Semetey is no longer master of his own fate. He is doomed, and his ashes will soon be scattered on the wind.

It is often difficult to derive clear religious notions from epic poems for the simple reason that their truth differs from that of religious treatises. Ai-čürök tells Semetey not to ride to Manas's tomb on a sacrificial mare; Kanıkey confirms Ai-čürök's reading of the dream but perforce accepts his riding the mare and gives directions for the sacrifice. On one interpretation Kanıkey implies that Manas has joined the ancestors, but she names signs by which Semetey can tell whether Manas will return to life or is dead forever. Despite these logical inconsistencies and some unanswered questions of my own it emerges that in the end the spirit of Manas, though unpropitiated, has joined the *arbak*; but that because it was unpropitiated it has turned the *arbak* against Semetey.

As to the status of Manas's Forty Companions, there is a striking parallel between their flight⁸⁵ and a later reference to the *arbak*. Awakening from his dream, Semetey tells Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro that a short space before "we put the *arbak* of the living and the dead to flight" and "the *arbak* of the living and the dead rode on horseback".⁸⁶ Then Ai-čürök adds the information that the *arbak* had mounted their horses and their

⁷⁹ *Narody Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana (Narody mira)*. Moscow, 1963. II, 180. Further: an insult to a tomb among the Kirgiz carried the death penalty; by one's misdemeanours one could forfeit the good will of the *arbak* and one's prosperity (*ibid.*).

⁸⁰ 369 ff.; 1187 ff.; 1377 ff.

⁸¹ 703 ff.

⁸² 1134 ff.; cf. 902 ff.

⁸³ 1148 *amals jaman tügöndü*.

⁸⁴ 1158.

⁸⁵ 141 ff.

⁸⁶ 935 f.; see p. 10, above.

peace (*tinč*) had “gone away”. Although Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro were only about to be born when their fathers and the other Companions felt an urge to mount “their steeds bequeathed by the dead” and “don their burial shrouds” and rode away, one senses a connexion between the two flights on horseback that tends to undermine the recency of *kečä* (892 “yesterday”) and *emi* (893 “now”). Does Semetey’s loss of favour with the *arbak* go back to a time in his early youth when the Forty saw that however strongly Semetey empowered himself of his father’s accoutrements he did not honour Manas’s memory as ritual prescribed, and so, merging with the *arbak*, old men that they were, rode away deathwards?

The question is not so far-fetched as it may seem. I have several times drawn attention to the parallel between Manas’s Forty Companions (*čoro*), whom he summons ecstatically at moments of great need or excitement, and the helping spirits of a shaman.⁸⁷ Of especial interest is the passage at *KK* 978 where in one of a cluster of epithets Manas is said to lead Forty Chilten as though he were a bakhshi – whose helping spirits according to a belief widespread in Central Asia were precisely Forty Chilten. The shamanistic inspiration of Manas’s *arbak* comes out strongly in *AK* when Er Kōkčō’s angels (*berištä*) prove too weak to avail Almambet in battle and, prophetically, Manas’s *arbak* enter Almambet’s mouth, and the latter shouts the war-cry “Manas!” though he has never met the bearer of that name, with the result that he gives the cry of a myriad men and his steed makes the trampling of a myriad horses:

AK 426 Manastıñ arbağı bir ösina kirdi deit,
Manastap urān saldı deit,
san erdin kıkragın
Alman Bet batır saldı deit,
san attın dübürtün
Kıljırān budan saldı deit . . .

For the most part the *arbak*, the *čilten* and the *čoro* are distinct: but there are moments, as at the beginning of *S*, where they tend to merge. Another instance where the *čoro* show a tendency to fade out for the survivors after Manas has died, is in *I* 3) (presumably by a different bard). Jakıp twice expresses his sense of being “parted” from the *čoro*,⁸⁸ and when he implores Almambet and Aǰı-bay (in *S*, the future sires of Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro) to enter Manas’s tomb and stand beside him they give no heed:

I 3) 2367 dūnōñü šıpšabait⁸⁹

⁸⁷ *Shamanism and epic poetry*, pp. 17 f. and note 82; *Kōz-kaman II*, p. 266 and notes 169 and 170.

⁸⁸ 2303 *Kırk čoro mendān bölüngön*; 2312.

⁸⁹ An unresolved crux. R. “Dachten nicht an diese Welt” would be an acceptable sense: but *špša-* in this sense is not attested by Yudakhin, *Slovar*, nor by Radlov, *Opyt*. According to Yudakhin, *špša-* = “clean (a tree of its branches), bare”.

birdäi biri tıñšabait . . .
“kırk čoronun barıstn kattadım,
Manastın mänısın baş koiboit,
arbagına aš koiboit,
barın unutup koyuptur.”

(“ . . .⁸⁹ neither of them listens . . . ‘I went to all the Forty Companions,’ [says Jakıp], ‘they do not honour Manas’s thoughts, they do not set a feast for his *arbak*, they have forgotten everything.’”)

Another suggestive trait is that the Forty wish to mount their *keräs at* and ride away on an arduous journey. The normal application of *keräs at* (mod. orthog. *keräzät*) is to objects of legacies.⁹⁰ A *keräs at*, then, ought to mean a horse bestowed by a dying man, or one inherited from a dead man, in this case horses left by Manas to his faithful retainers as a parting gift. Such, however are not mentioned in the death-bed scene in *BS*, or elsewhere. The only *keräs at* in this sense of which we have textual knowledge is Semetey’s Tay-buurul. Semetey tells Kankey that when Abeke and Kōböš relinquished his father’s Tay-buurul and armour they had said “This is your father’s legacy” (*keräs*, *BS* 936). The Companions’ urge to mount their *keräs at* (*S* 79) is clearly parallel to their urge to don their burial shrouds (*kemin ton*)⁹¹ in the next line, and is thus a preparation for death. Radlov saw this and yielded to his sense of German balladry with

“Woll’n des Todes Pferd⁹² besteigen . . .”

Did he then imagine all Forty to mount one Horse-of-death, a Central Asian cousin of Sleipnir,⁹³ who would carry them forthwith to the Underworld? A plurality of horses – and of burial shrouds – would be more acceptable. But since as far as I know the collocation “*keräs at*” in the required sense is a hapax legomenon, its precise meaning in this intriguing context must remain undefined.

While Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro grow up, sharing in Semetey’s felicity, we are to understand that as yet Semetey suffers no detriment for having slaughtered the Forty, though this folly must have made him vulnerable:

243 berištäliñ janında
birdä turdu bu čoro;
abıraktū janında
airılbai turdu bu čoro.

(These Companions lived together with him who was blessed by the

⁹⁰ See Part I, pp. 168 and 180.

⁹¹ in *BS* at 30 f. *keräs (kep)* and *kemin ton* (Manas’s shroud) are again linked by alliteration [R: *kemān*].

⁹² Radlov’s printer actually set: “des Todes Pfad”.

⁹³ Funerary horses with eight legs are of course well known in Siberia, so that the North Germanic Sleipnir is to be viewed as one of several Eurasian sub-shamanistic traits occurring peripherally in Old Norse.

angels; these Companions lived inseparably from him who was blessed by the ancestor-spirits.⁹⁴)

His fortunes actually enter on their downward course, then, after his disposal of his father's steed and armour. The slaughter of the Forty – expended forces of the older generation – was indeed a squandering of his heritage, only of the same order as the loss of inherited silver, with which it is linked formulaically:

89 “Ak tengä bulun čačtı”, deit,
 “atamnan kalgan murapı;
 kırk čorom emdi kašti” deit
 “atamnan kalgan murapı . . .”

(“They⁹⁵ scattered the treasure of silver coin, the legacy left by my father”, it is said: “And now the Forty Companions have fled, the legacy left by my father . . .”)

Are we to see some vital distinction in the silver and the Forty being *murapı*, but Tay-buurul and the armour *keräs*? *keräs* was certainly the more ancient and ritual word of the two.

In the formula at *S* 243 ff. quoted above, *berıştälü* and *abraktü* show a syncretism between native heathen and Islamic elements which is typical of the time.⁹⁶ Besides the angels, other Islamic elements absorbed into the native complex are the popular saints in the shape of *hojas* (*kojo*) such as the whitebeard who disappears after naming Semetey (*BS* 557 ff.), or Ai-kojo who descends from heaven to name Seytek (*S* 1491 ff.). The former not only invokes the protection of the native and heathen Red Willow,⁹⁷ but also calls on the aid of “Kojo Kıdır”, that is, Al-khidr of popular Muslim piety.⁹⁸ Another especially auspicious warrior Almambet is under the protection of angels,⁹⁹ and “Kojo Kıdır” is his aid:¹⁰⁰ but he is not supported by his own *arbak*, since he has turned against his Oirat people in order to become a Muslim, and has slain many of his fellow princes. It was seen above how he was suddenly possessed by the *arbak* of Manas his future lord.¹⁰¹

Further syncretism of this sort occurs in *S* at 1304 f., where Kül-čoro decides to go to Ai-čürök, who “is protected by his lord's protective spirit” –

⁹⁴ *abrak(tuu)* I = *arbak(tuu)*, by metathesis, under influence of *abraktuu* II “courteous”, “understanding”. R “des Liebenswürdig'en” shows that despite the parallelism with 243 *berıştälü* he understood the latter sense.

⁹⁵ Presumably Abeke and Kōbōš, who at *BS* 243 ff. took the treasure (*üptör*) and coin (*buldar*) left by Manas.

⁹⁶ See p. 14, above.

⁹⁷ See Part I, pp. 176 ff.

⁹⁸ Also known among the Kirgiz as “Kıdır-ata”, see *Narody Sredney Azii* (in: *Narody Mira*) II, Moscow, 1963, p. 181. See Part I, p. 176, and n. 94.

⁹⁹ *AK* 1072 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *AK* 1091.

¹⁰¹ p. 18.

*törömnün kojosonu*¹⁰² *koldogon*. Kül-čoro's aim is to get Ai-čürök to revive Semetey from the dead.¹⁰³

To turn to the shared dream:¹⁰⁴ Semetey and Ai-čürök see an Aspen that shakes from its roots, a Sea that surges from its depths. In the heroic poetry of this period, both Aspen (Poplar) and Sea are stock images, and they tend to be linked.

As to the tree, it is a Poplar (*terek*), but appropriately an Aspen (*bay terek*) when shaken. In Kirgiz symbolic language the Poplar stood for a Protector,¹⁰⁵ its shaking portended danger to one's lord. Similarly the Sea (*teyiz*) stood for a magnanimous lord,¹⁰⁶ its surging also portended danger to one's lord. *terek* and *teyiz* were destined by alliteration to make a formulaic couplet: compare, in addition to *S* 886 f. and 932 f., *Ĵoloi-kan* (*Ĵ*)¹⁰⁷ 2523 ff.:

“teräk tüptön tejšäldi,¹⁰⁸
 ol ne bolot, kanišım.”
 tejš tüptön čaipaldı,
 ol ne bolot, kanišım.”

(“The poplar swayed from its roots, what does this mean, noble lady?
 The sea surged from its depths, what does this mean, noble lady?”)

Er Čečen, one of Khan Ĵoloy's companions, has had a waking dream¹⁰⁹ and rides to Ĵoloy's wife, Ak-saykal. At this time the gargantuan Ĵoloy has been seized in his cups, thrown into a pit, and weighed down with iron shackles, while the Kalmak Khan Karača, marches up to destroy him. Er Čečen has “seen” Ĵoloy's eyes half-closed, his arms dangling, his legs sprawling – and then the “poplar” swaying and the “sea” surging. These visual images all cohere: but if it were not obvious that the poplar stands for Ĵoloy we should know it from the lament of the most recent of several of his brides, Kızıl-kız in which she reproaches the fallen glutton with having given her very little joy:

2436 “tüptü kara teräğim, töröm,
 ĵapragı ĵası teräğim, töröm . . .
 šö teräk öčüp küi boldı, töröm,
 išängän kišım kim bold'ai, töröm?”

¹⁰² I.e., *kojosanu*. Yudakhin, *Slovar'* sub *kojo* 3, has (epic) *kojo san=kojosan*. He cites further “*kojosannı koldosım!*” and *kojo atay*, the latter implying that a man's deceased father can be a protective-spirit.

¹⁰³ See p. 30. below.

¹⁰⁴ See pp. 9 ff., above.

¹⁰⁵ Yudakhin, *Slovar'* sub *terek* 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, sub *dejšiz*, *tejšiz*. Like *ay-köl* (“Moon-lake”), *tejšiz* was above all an epithet for Manas. The debate on “oceanic” titles for Turko-Mongol rulers (e.g., the postulated derivation “Chinggis” < *tejšiz*) seems not to be concluded: thus it would be premature to try to assess the Kirgiz examples.

¹⁰⁷ Radlov, *Obraztsy* V, II.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *S* 886 *terbäldi*, arising from two different schools of bards.

¹⁰⁹ There is no mention of sleep, or of dreaming.

("My black poplar, rich in roots¹¹⁰, my lord, my broad-leaved poplar, my lord . . . This poplar, being extinguished, turned to ashes, my lord in whom I can I put my trust, my lord?")

Her support and refuge gone, where can Kızıl-kız find shelter? Ak-Saykal's interpretation of Er Čečen's vision also makes it clear that the swaying poplar and surging sea portend the advance of the ruthless Kalmak on the helpless Joloy.¹¹¹

In the straggling episode from *Manas* already referred to,¹¹² Kanikey has a dream in which the poplar symbol ramifies most interestingly into a Cosmic Tree.¹¹³ The dream is a dream of good omen and indeed contrary in meaning to that at *S* 885 ff., under discussion, since it points to Manas's having come to life again. Kanikey dreams of a moonless night on which the moon rises, of a sunless day on which the sun rises; whereupon a fine poplar¹¹⁴ grows out from the hearth, that is, from the very heart of the yurt. One of the poplar's branches encompasses the eye¹¹⁵ of the Moon, another the eye of the sun, and, as the day grows hot, Kanikey seeks the shade – add "of the Poplar". A third branch of the tree encompasses the eye of heaven and Ĵakıp seeks its¹¹⁶ shade; a fourth branch encompasses the face of the earth, and as the earth grows cold, old Bagdı Dölöt warms herself beneath it. Kanikey ends her account of the dream with "Is not Manas my Padishah restored to life?" In answer, Ĵakıp sends a messenger to inform the Forty in a symmetrical passage which again links *terek* with *teriz*:

2241 "ala tödai Manasıñ
tirilip kelä tuganı;¹¹⁷
agin sudai Manasıñ
tolkup kelä tuganı;¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ R: "Pappel mit der schwarzen Wurzel".

¹¹¹ 2527 ff., especially 2540 ff.

¹¹² *Obrasty* V, I 3).

¹¹³ 2203–2288. Ĵakıp's comments: 2239–2250.

¹¹⁴ I 3) 2218 *kolomtodon bir teräk | koltoi teräk žigiptir*. Radlov tenders *koltoi* as "hohe", but *koltoi* is authenticated neither by Yudakhin, *Slovar*, nor by Radlov's own *Opyt*. *joltoi* ("propitious") would suit well for sense but the alliteration *kolomtodon*: **koltoi* is against it. *koldoi* (modal of *koldo*- 2. "protect") thus seems the likeliest emendation, cf. *Ĵ* 370 *koldoi körgön Ak Kudai* "The White god appearing as a protector".

¹¹⁵ The parallel with 2284 *jerdin jüsün* ("the face of the earth") suggests that *köz* at 2221, 2223 and 2229 should retain some of its meaning as a part of the body. Radlov "Glanz" and "Fläche" seem too specific. *köz al-* and *jüz al-* are not given as collocations by Yudakhin. *al-* here must be interpreted literally as "take", "catch", which together with *kairılıp* gives "encompasses", cf. Radlov "verdeckt", "bedeckt". At *Ĵ* 4569, where a fragment of the total Poplar-symbol is activated (*butagi jer alamdı alıptır*), *kairılıp* does not occur, but Radlov from context rightly guesses "umfingen", see p. 23, below. For *köz* in the sense of "(sun)-ray" see I 3) 1806 *üstünü kündön kösün tigispai* "not letting a ray from the sun above reach it", not noticed by Yudakhin, *Slovar*.

¹¹⁶ Only here (2231) and at 2236 with *d* (*aga*) is it made explicit that shade is sought under the Poplar: but this was obvious.

¹¹⁷ *tuganı* is a fast form of *turgam*.

teräktäi senin Manasıñ
terbänip¹¹⁸ kelä tuganı;
täñistäi senin Manasıñ
čayıp ala tuganı."¹¹⁷

("Your Manas, huge as the Ala-tau, is coming, restored to life;¹¹⁹ your Manas, like the torrent, is coming, rippling his waves;¹¹⁹ your Manas like the poplar, is coming, tossing to-and-fro; your Manas, like the sea, is laving [the shore]!")

A Poplar-dream from *Ĵ* throws further light on the dream at *S* 885 ff. In a context of great danger to himself and his dependents, old Köčpös-bay dreams "an ancient dream" (4552 *bayagi tüšüm*) in which two aspens (4557 *bai teräk*) grow all-trembling from before his seat of honour and then out through the smoke-vent where their crowns become intertwined. Their twigs and leaf-buds are of gold and silver. Then from the place of honour at the hearth, ten poplars¹²⁰ grow up, at the centre of which a young "činar" graceful as a switch thrusts up and reaches the sky:

4569 "butagi jer alamdı alıptır."

("Its branches embrace the whole Universe.")¹²¹

Köčpös-bay's wife interprets the two aspens with intertwined crowns as Köčpös-bay and herself, the ten poplars around the hearth as their children, and the young "činar" as Bolot, son of Joloy.¹²² The young "činar" is difficult to pin down. The word was taken into the Central Asian dialects from the Persian in the sense of "plane-tree"; but in Kirgiz it can also mean "mountain poplar" or "high leafy tree" in general. *terek* itself is also used in the generic sense of "tree"¹²³; and it is significant that in the idealized landscape of Medina described towards the end of *Ĵ*, a White Pavilion stands at the foot of a *činar terek*.¹²⁴ Again, in *Er Töšük*¹²⁵ the great tree at the centre of the earth, that is, the World Tree, with the Serpent at its roots and the

¹¹⁸ Radlov *terbändüi*, clearly attracted in error to *teräktäi* and *täñistäi* above and below it. *terben-* is the Kazakh equivalent of Kirg. *terbel-* (cf. *S* 886/932 *terbaldı*). Signs of dialect transitional towards Kazakh occur not infrequently in our texts.

¹¹⁹ "ala tödai" is a stock epithet. Cf. I 3) 2263; 2269, where it applies to Ĵakıp. Nevertheless, since the imagery in this memorized "purple patch" is so well-considered we may be invited to see the Ala-tau Mountains "coming back to life" in spring. And similarly with the torrent, frozen in winter.

¹²⁰ 4564 and 4583 *teräk*.

¹²¹ See note 115, above.

¹²² 4573ff. As so often in dreams in oral poetry, the details of the interpretation do not always agree. Here the interpretation takes "reaching the sky" from the "činar" and gives it to the ten poplars, no doubt inadvertently.

¹²³ The Poplar in Kirgiz shares the traits with the Linden in Germanic that it is (i) a protector; (ii) a generic tree *par excellence*: see my "The lime-tree and early German, Goliard and English lyric poetry", *Modern Language Review*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 196; 198.

¹²⁴ Yudakhin, *Slovar*, sub *terek* renders *činar terek* as "(derevo) chinar", strictly speaking a plane-tree.

¹²⁵ Radlov, *Obrasty*, V, III.

Eagle's nest in its crown, is referred to as both *čnar* (1779; 1781) and *teräk* (1793). Lastly, if we turn to the same northern source as for the Red Willow in Part I,¹²⁶ we find that the Poplar is handled in the same way: in the Koybal poem *Sugjul Mergän*,¹²⁷ the sister who has the responsibility of preserving the life of her only brother so that he may avenge them on their father's slayer, takes him to the seventh layer of the Underworld to live under the parental protection of a gold and silver poplar with golden leaves and silver bark, standing at the centre of the white steppe:

794 "ak jazının ortazında
altın teräk, kümüs teräk
altın pürüg, kümüs kastıraktıg . . ."

If they pass through its door they will enter another world like this world with sun and moon.

Examination of these related passages shows that the Poplar-symbol has several aspects. It can stand for a Protector¹²⁸ affording shade¹²⁹ or even shelter inside its trunk;¹³⁰ it can reflect the World Tree as it touches the sky;¹³¹ it encompasses the sun, moon, heaven and earth with its branches;¹³² or it shines with gold and silver bark or leaves,¹³³ as it stands at the centre of the earth;¹³⁴ it can in the truest sense be a Family Tree,¹³⁵ growing from the centre of family life, the hearth of the yurt.¹³⁶ And of course these three aspects overlap inextricably, especially where the Protector is a Khan, a ruler with universal aspirations. This comes out with great clarity in Kankey's dream of Manas returning to life. The Poplar grows from the hearth (which had been 'extinguished'),¹³⁷ curving round its branches to "catch" or "take" the universe. Compare the same idiom applied to the young *čnar* that stands for Khan Joloy's heir Bolot:

3568 "başı kökkö tüptir,
butağı jer alamdı alıptır . . ."

¹²⁶ P. 178, and n. 109.

¹²⁷ Radlov, *Obrazny II*, St. Petersburg, 1868, XII, lines 770 ff.

¹²⁸ Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, *terek* 3. § 2436.

¹²⁹ Radlov, V, 3), 2225 etc.

¹³⁰ *Sugjul Mergän* 798 ff. and 903 ff.

¹³¹ § 4566 ff., if the *čnar* is a mountain poplar and not a plane-tree.

¹³² V, 3) 2220 ff.

¹³³ § 4562; *Sugjul Mergän* 795 ff. and 897 ff.

¹³⁴ *Er Töstük* 1788; possibly § 5223 f. ('a great lake in the middle of Medina's desert'); *Sugjul Mergän* 794 and 898 "in the middle of the white steppe"; possibly *S* ("this is the place where the khojas and mullahs were born", see above pp. 9 f.).

¹³⁵ The Tree is of course a widespread symbol of clan-descent. For a reflection of this in Siberian folk art see the illustrations of clan-trees from the wedding-dresses of Nanai (Gold) maidens, with the trees covering the bride's thighs, in: S. V. Ivanov, *Materialy po izobrazitel'nomy iskusstvu narodov Sibiri XIX - nach. XXv.*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1954, ris. 107-111 (pp. 237 ff.).

¹³⁶ V, 3) 2218 (*kolomtodon*); § 4556 *at törümdün astında* and 4563 *otumundun başında*.

¹³⁷ In *BS*, Abeke and Köböš had burnt the lattice of Semetey's smoke-vent in an attempt to "put out his fire", see Part I, p. 163.

("Its head touches the heavens, its branches embrace the entire Universe . . .")

In the *Manas* of the bard Sagymbay Orozbekov (1867-1930) Manas's mother Čıyırđı dreams that she will carry a dragon (*azhidar*) in her womb, who drawing breath in his anger will suck in the Universe:

Ačuulanıp op tartsa
Ay aalamdı soruptur . . .¹³⁸

Bolot and Manas are thus of the same imperial mettle.

It is now possible to see how in Semetey's dream the Poplar (Aspen) which shook from its roots (*S teräk tüptön terbaldı*) but was [as yet] unbowed (888 *jaırmagan*), symbolized the threat to the clan of Manas from its roots or ancestral origins (*tüp*),¹³⁹ all its members - Jakıp, Manas, Abeke, Köböš, bar Semetey - being dead.¹⁴⁰ The Poplar stands for both the Clan of Khans and their sole survivor, Semetey: the threat to the life of Semetey is a threat to the continuing life of the clan.

The Sea-symbol (*teñiz*) has fewer aspects than the Poplar but they agree with those of that tree. The association of *teñiz* with khans was noticed.¹⁴¹ The surging of the Sea from its depth (again: *tüp*) is parallel to the shaking of the Poplar from its roots. As an image of destruction "to make billow like Lake Issyk'" (cf. *OK 404 Issık-köldei tolkıttı*)¹⁴² is part of a threat of what Bok Murun will do to heroes who absent themselves from Kökötöy's funeral repast, that is, part of a threat to destroy them.¹⁴³

The sequel to Semetey's dream at *S* 885 ff. suggests the possibility of a return to life by Manas as in *I* 3): but Semetey's unheeding behaviour stifles that possibility and seals his own fate, leaving only the child in Ai-čürök's womb. Semetey cannot read his warning dream: his womenfolk can, yet Semetey will not heed them.

The bare salvation of Manas's line in Seytek is a cyclic repetition of its salvation in Semetey, with the precariousness much enhanced. In *BS*, Manas the father dies at a time when peace prevails. His wife Kankey is seven months gone with child and is able legally to avoid the levirate, first till it is seen whether her issue be male or female, second because in the event the issue is male.¹⁴⁴ Manas's line becomes threatened only because his father Jakıp treacherously allies himself with Abeke and Köböš, two sons

¹³⁸ *Manastın balalık äagi*. (Manas seriyaları). Sagymbay Orozbekovtun ayтуusu boyunça. Frunze, 1940. Pp. 7 f.

¹³⁹ Yudakhin, *Slovar'*, sub *tüp* I, 2.

¹⁴⁰ See Part I, pp. 155 f.

¹⁴¹ P. 21, above, and n. 106.

¹⁴² Cf. *I* 3) 2243 *agin sudai . . . tolkup*, quoted above, reviving the paired Manas-epithets *ala tödai: agin sudai* at *I*, 3) 1219: 1221.

¹⁴³ Cf. my '*Kukotay* and *Bok Murun*': a comparison of two related poems of the Kirgiz', *I*, *BSOAS*, XXXII, 1969, p. 352.

¹⁴⁴ See Part I, pp. 172.

by another wife. In *S*, Semetey, the father, is killed in a battle wantonly provoked by himself,¹⁴⁵ in a situation in which all the ancestor-spirits including the spirit of Manas have turned against him; his wife Ai-čürök is six months gone with child and falls as booty to Semetey's slayer, Er Kiyaz, without legal rights.

The life of Seytek thus hangs on a far slenderer thread than Semetey's had done, and is saved by mixed threat and persuasion. The persuasion turns on a point of steppe lore. The gestation of Seytek is an heroic gestation of twelve months: to the six months she spent with Semetey, Ai-čürök has now added a further six with Er Kiyaz. These six months, she tells him, give him an equal right in the child.¹⁴⁶ That this is not just a woman's clever fetch to delude a slow-witted warrior, but is on the contrary firm folk-belief, is shown in the scene in which Ai-čürök secretly informs the mutilated Kül-čoro that she will rear Seytek to vengeance:

1632 "aisadan¹⁴⁷ kalğan jelaği,
ertägin¹⁴⁸ ötkön jangısı,
alt'ai kılğan belägi . . ."¹⁴⁹

("Pennant [= 'hope'] left from the Spear, the Only One of him who died in earlier days,¹⁴⁸ his Gift made during six months . . .")

kalğan "made" suggests a clue. Er Kiyaz was thought to be "making" Seytek for the remaining six months. But Ai-čürök having urged these six months in order to save Seytek, chooses to disregard them henceforth, the better to pursue vengeance for the great ruling clan into which she has married.

The onset of the victorious Er Kiyaz immediately after Semetey's sacrifice suggests that the *arbak*, who of course go back far beyond Manas, may have decided to give power to another line of the Nogoy. A passage in *J*, in which Joloy (satirically?) is featured as a Nogoy,¹⁵⁰ clearly authenticates the notion of collective Nogoy *arbak*. In danger of being overwhelmed by the great army of Ak-kan, Joloy prays to God¹⁵¹ for help. The response from on high is this:

Ɔ 369 kötörö körgön Nogoi-bai,
koldoi körgön Ak Kudai:
aiçigi altın tū kaštı . . .

¹⁴⁵ Semetey sees the approach of Er Kiyaz on his brown and aims his matchlock at him without challenge.

¹⁴⁶ 1472 f. At 1503 Er Kiyaz in an exchange with the holy Ai-kojo claims the boy as his own, and abides by it until Ai-čürök undeceives him.

¹⁴⁷ *aisa* = *naisa* / *naiza*.

¹⁴⁸ Presumably a variant of *orteki* = "former", "past".

¹⁴⁹ R: *bilägi*.

¹⁵⁰ *J* begins: *Joloidun atası Nogoi ekän*. But otherwise in the corpus of Kirgiz heroic poetry, Joloy is a Sino-Kalmak or otherwise alien antagonist of the Nogoy.

¹⁵¹ To whom Joloy gives the heroic honorific "er" (363 *er Kudai*).

(Nogoy-bay held him up, the White God protected him: the golden half-moon banners fled . . .)

Nogoy-bay is a supernatural being – who else can he be but the eponymous progenitor of the Nogoy tribe and the embodiment of its collective *arbak*? Valikhanov reports that a sacrifice to the ancestor-spirits was preceded by the ritual formula: "Arbak, take me by the hand and support me under my arms!"¹⁵² From this we see just how Nogoy-bay "held up" Joloy in answer to his prayer. There were *arbak* of the Nogoy, then, and they could have decided to transfer their blessings to a line other than that of Manas. How was Er Kiyaz placed among tribes and heroes in this respect?

S frequently has the formula *Jedigärdin Er Kiyas*,¹⁵³ cf. *BM* 113 *Jedigärdin Er Bagış* and *KO* 654 *Jedigerdin Er Bagış*. For what it is worth,¹⁵⁴ the Harmonized Version of the *Manas* trilogy has *Jedigerdin er Kiyaz*,¹⁵⁵ cf. *Jedigerdin Toltoy*,¹⁵⁶ that is, in all cases the name of a hero preceded by a name in the genitive. But whether the name in the genitive indicates a hero, a tribe or a tribal ancestor is not immediately apparent. Close study, however, suggests that in the genetical combination the first name is more likely to indicate a tribe;¹⁵⁷ whereas in another formulaic pattern a name plus *-dan tuugan* ("born from, out of") followed by a hero's name indicates descent from a progenitor, probably just a father.¹⁵⁸ The Jediger were one of the established tribes of the Kirgiz "Right Wing", partly on the same level as the better-known Bugu, Sayak, Solto, Bagış and Sari-bagış tribes.¹⁵⁹ The Harmonized Version of *Manas* situates the Jediger in a Jetti-özön region

¹⁵² *Op. cit.* I, 113, 1: "podderzhivayte pod myshki".

¹⁵³ *E.g.*, 1184; 1203; 1330; 1334.

¹⁵⁴ It is not worth much for scholarly purposes since it is a conflated version. Nor is there as yet any guarantee that twentieth-century bards were not acquainted with our mid-nineteenth-century texts, either directly or indirectly.

¹⁵⁵ *Semetey* (Frunze, 1959), p. 309a; 310b.

¹⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 150a.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. I 3) 53 *Kitaidın kır murundı Koşur Bai* (more frequently with the plural: I 3) 392 *Kitaidardın* etc.; *BM* 153 *Kitaidardın Koşur Bai*; *KK* 611 *Orustun Oruk*; with the plural I 3) 435 *Nogoiordun er Jambırıt* (Kazakh form corresponding to Kirgiz *Jangırıt*). I have failed to find a fully parallel formula with (sing.) tribal progenitor, which tends to confirm the suspicion that *S* 1184 *Jedigärdin Er Kiyas* and *BM* 113 *Jedigärdin Er Bagış* are archaic formulae.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *KO* 640 *İkiden tuugan İdige*; *BM* 1487 *Ejämädän tuğan Jänim*.

¹⁵⁹ See the general table (Ris. 1) on p. 5 of S. M. Abramzon, "Étnicheskiy sostav kirgizskogo naseleniya severnoy Kirgizii" *Trudy kirgizskoy arkhologo-étnograficheskoy ekspeditsii*, Moscow, IV, 1960. The complementary study by Ya. R. Vinnikov, "Rodoplemennoy sostav i rasselenie kirgizov na territorii yuzhnoy Kirgizii" *op. cit.* I, 1956, general table (Ris. I) on p. 138 sets the Jediger (together with the Solto, Sari-bagış and Bugu) one stage of development later than the Bagış, Sayak and other tribes. This very special subject is only at its beginnings. It is to be noted that neither of the two specialists posits a genetical relationship between Jediger and Bagış; and that one of them sets Bagış genetically earlier than Jediger. See p. 28, below.

towards Bukhara, preserving the alliteration of the doubtless earlier *Ĵeti-suu* (Semirech'e) of *KO*.¹⁶⁰

Ĵediger as a tribal progenitor-cum-tribe lay well back in time from *Manas*, but had his being in that same *Ĵeti-suu* region which was later (in epic time) to be disputed by *Manas*. *Ĵediger* had a son or descendant *Er Bağıš* who was invited to *Kökötöy's* funeral repast and was therefore contemporary with *Manas*: and he had two further descendants, *Er Kiyaz* and *Er Toltoy* who were not only contemporaries of *Semetey* but also came to blows with him. The bard of *S* cleverly justifies *Er Kiyaz's* victory over *Semetey* in advance through *Kan-čoro's* mouth by referring to an occasion when *Semetey* thrust "Toltoy of *Ĵediger*" from his horse¹⁶¹ whilst raiding his herds. The twentieth-century Harmonized Version makes *Toltoy* and *Er Kiyaz* brothers, with *Toltoy* as the elder, and sons either of *Bağıš*¹⁶² or of *Ağıš*¹⁶³ – with great detriment to harmony.

In making *Er Bağıš* descend from *Ĵediger*, the excellent mid-nineteenth century *Bugu* sources *BM* and *KO* (excerpted in *OK*)¹⁶⁴ suggest a sequence in Kirgiz tribal history which, even if it is rejected, requires at least to be mentioned by the ethnographers, namely that the *Bağıš* tribe was an offshoot of the *Ĵediger*.¹⁶⁵

The upshot of this digression is that the line of the eponymous *Ĵediger* may have been counted as an alternative line of the *Nogoy* but that proof is lacking.¹⁶⁶ Yet according to notions of fatherhood prevalent in *S*, young *Seytek* seems in any case to share *Nogoy* and *Ĵediger* [= *Nogoy?*] paternity. With the impious *Semetey* destroyed and the women of the family triumphant, the slate is clean. The episode ends with *Seytek*, grandson of *Manas*,

¹⁶⁰ *Ĵeti-suunu jerlegen* . . .

¹⁶¹ 1228 *Ulu Bastın tösinde, | urdap jılka alganda, | Ĵedigärdin Er Toltoi | küginga čığıp kelgändä, | Semätäddäi bu čünak | ırgıta koyup salganda | kul jirändäi küllügün | koştop alp čikkanda* . . . "When we were raiding the herds on Mt. Ulu Bas, and *Er Toltoy* came out after us, and this damned wretch *Semetey* thrust him headlong and went out and seized his chestnut racer and let it away . . ." Radlov makes the unexpressed object of the factitive *ırgıta* *Semetey's* horse: "Als er kam hinzugesprungen"; but before one can lead the mount of a formidable warrior away (1235 *koştop*), he must be knocked out or off. Whether or not *Semetey* killed *Toltoy* does not emerge from this passage: but when *Er Kiyaz* rides up after the sacrifice he may well be bent on blood-revenge for *Toltoy*. (In *Sayakbay's* version, *Toltoy* is killed by *Kül-čoro* prior to *Er Kiyaz's* onslaught.)

¹⁶² In *Semetey*, e.g., p. 302a; 313a.

¹⁶³ In *Seytek*, e.g., p. 59a (twice); 65a. For *Ağıš*, ultimately a historical personage, etymologized and mythologized in Kirgiz epic, see *Köz-kaman* II, p. 278, and note 226. In the light of mid-nineteenth-century tradition, the twentieth-century *Seytek* seems at fault in having *Ağıš* instead of *Bağıš* as father to *Er Kiyaz*.

¹⁶⁴ See p. 5, above, n. 21.

¹⁶⁵ See footnote 159, p. 27, above.

¹⁶⁶ *Er Kiyaz's*, gigantic build is noted by *S* (at 1062) and the Harmonized Version: but this would not in itself disqualify him from being a *Nogoy*, for *Ĵakup* and *Manas* are "täday" ("mountainous"), too.

in peaceful possession of power. He has a fresh start. The *arbak*, presumably, are with him.

Turning briefly to the characters, enough has been said on young *Semetey's* rashness¹⁶⁷ and aggressiveness,¹⁶⁸ one might say his *hybris*, which soon culminates in his sending his *arbak* away at the gallop.¹⁶⁹ The bard does not philosophize on this, but throws out hints that will have sufficed for a Kirgiz audience. If we think that such a character is the natural outcome of an attempt to destroy the hero from birth onwards, of exile, of a struggle to regain his heritage, and of the duty of vengeance, we shall not go far wrong: but the bard does not say as much. In the eyes of the twentieth-century bards, *Semetey's* better nature was revealed in his nostalgia, to which they give a patriotic, even nationalistic twist. A Kirgiz scholar writing in 1961 could not, as an ethical Soviet person, reconcile herself entirely even to the idealized twentieth-century *Semetey*, despite her love for the national heritage,¹⁷⁰ as to our mid-nineteenth century *Semetey*, she does not mention him at all.

The heroic nature of the swan-battle-maiden *Ai-čürök*, the essential female and mother who brings her offspring through when her mate has failed, has also emerged powerfully. Her strong will was already in evidence as a maiden when she set aside her regular betrothal to *Ümütöy* and allied herself to *Semetey* in a runaway love-match. She is indeed a remarkable young woman who combines feminine qualities with the heroic. On the one hand report has it:

272 "oimoktūdan usta ekän,
ailga čikpas nastū¹⁷¹ ekän.
keksäligi bard'ekän,
kerätigi bard'ekän . . ."

("Among those who ply the thimble she is an artist, she is no gadabout but modest{?}¹⁷¹ . . . she is possessed of sagacity¹⁷², is possessed of second sight . . .")

¹⁶⁷ See pp. 6 ff., above.

¹⁶⁸ See p. 6, above.

¹⁶⁹ The ancestor-spirits of horsemen are of course horsemen. *Manas's* *arbak* possessed themselves of *Almambet* on horseback (see p. 18, above), just as in the legend of *Keldibek* the spirits of *Manas* and his Companions on horseback possessed themselves of that bard when he sang of *Manas* (*Shamanism and Epic Poetry*, p. 17). See footnote 87, above.

¹⁷⁰ B. Kerimzhanova, B. *Semetey i Seytek* (Frunze), p. 15: "No, vmeste s tem, takie otgoloski reakcionnoy ideologii proshlogo v obraze Semeteja, kak rodovaya mest', yavlyayutsja chuzhdymi sovetskomu čeloveku, vyzyvayut ego protest i, estestvenno, snizhayut vospitatel'noe znachenie obraza."

¹⁷¹ Not authenticated by *Yudakhin, Slovar'*: Radlov, *Opyt'* III, 658 "Kkir. tselomudrennyy – keusch", probably based on our passage only: "Keusch ist sie . . ." Possibly *namustuu* "well-principled": or, more probably, negated by *-pas* in *čikpas*, **nazduu* (not authenticated by *Yudakhin*) "coquettish" < *naz* ("whims").

¹⁷² *kekselik* applies in the first instance to old men. *Ai-čürök* is thus wise beyond her years.

Compare in Old Irish the report of Emer, Cú Chulainn's future regular wife, when he sees her (like Ai-čürök) on the playground amid her companions: Emer is expert in embroidery and other manual arts and pre-eminent for beauty, voice, shrewdness and modesty.¹⁷³ On the other hand like Cú Chulainn's battle-instructress Scáthach, Ai-čürök is a swan-battle-maiden endowed with the gift of prophecy.¹⁷⁴ She is thus an Emer and a Scáthach in one: and as if this were not enough, she has a third quality possessed by the Norse Hild, wife of Heðin,¹⁷⁵ since

277 "öčkön ottu tamisat . . .
ölgön jandı tirgizät . . ."

("She will [re-]kindle a fire¹⁷⁶ that has been put out . . . she will revive a life that has died . . .")

This is a quality which Ai-čürök might well use in so threatened a family as Semetey's, and it is only treachery within the group that forestalls her: for Kan-čoro warns Er Kiyaz that he must consume Semetey's corpse with fire and scatter the ashes.

In her qualities Ai-čürök is the Complete Wife for a Hero. In addition she is mistress of herself. Except for the sake of her son and future avenger, she was not the woman to submit to the embraces of an Er Kiyaz; and when Semetey had lashed her with his whip, though she did not smile like a Kantkey, she did not curse him like an Akilai.¹⁷⁷

Ai-čürök is twice mentioned as leading a game.¹⁷⁸ Unfortunately, owing to textual obscurities it is not possible to say how maidenly or amazonian her sport was on what proved to be her wedding-day. The general impression, however, is that it was less gentle than Nausikaa's and more appropriate to her epiphany as a swan-battle-maiden in days to come:¹⁷⁹

315 "Akındın kısı Ai Čürök
otus kıstı köščü alıp,
kırk jigitti başçı alıp,
Akındın kısı Ai Čürök
oin baştap čıkkandır,
jigači barıp kalgandır,
beräsä kip belsänip,
berı urğandai teñsälip,

¹⁷³ *Tochmarc Emire* ("The Wooing of Emir") as reported by R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, Halle, 1921, p. 384.

¹⁷⁴ See footnote 55, above.

¹⁷⁵ *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Skáldskaparmál*. §62. To the Christian Snorri, Hild's power to wake the dead is no better than *fjölkyngi* "black magic".

¹⁷⁶ See Part I, pp. 157 ff.

¹⁷⁷ See p. 12, above.

¹⁷⁸ By report at 315 ff.; narrated 388 ff.

¹⁷⁹ See footnote 55, above.

küdörüdöi¹⁸⁰ bıkıldap,
küčügüttöi¹⁸¹ čınkıldap,
Ai Čürök bir oindo jürgöndür."

("Akın's daughter Ai-čürök, taking thirty maidens as companions, taking forty youths as leaders,¹⁸² Akın's daughter Ai-čürök came out to start the sports, she came out as a victor[?],¹⁸³ Donning her battle-apron[?]¹⁸⁴, preparing for the fray, swaying as though to strike on this side, wagging like a musk-deer,¹⁸⁰ squealing like a puppy,¹⁸¹ Ai-čürök took part in the sport.")

¹⁸⁰ *küdörü*: "Chamois (leather)", Yudakhin, *Slovar*; "Thier etwas grösser als ein Fuchs" Radlov, translation and footnote; *küdörü* "ein wildes Thier etwas grösser als der Karsak (ein Fuchs)", Radlov, *Opyt* II, 1487, cf. *küdörü* "Glanz-leder", *ibid.*; *küdörüdöy bıkıldap* (of a beauty) "to walk lightly", i.e., softly as chamois leather Yudakhin, *Slovar*. I am indebted to Sir Gerard Clauson (letter of 28.9.72) for the solution of this crux: *küdörü* at S 323 corresponds to Mongol *küderi* "kabarga, musk-deer" (Kowalewski, J. E. *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Kazan, 1844-9, p. 2594, to which I can now add from the travels of Marco Polo: "en celle contree a maintes bestes que font le mouscre et s'appellant en lor langajes gudderi". Chap. CXVI (Ci dit de la provence de Tebet), 53 (p. 112). L. G. Benedetto, *Marco Polo Il Milione*. Prima edizione integrale. Florence, 1828.

The second term in the parallel passage *AK* 496 *küdörüdöi bıkıldap*: 498 *sülösündöi kerilip* "she sways/waggles like a musk-deer": "wantoning like a forest lynx" clinches the matter. There is a repeated animal simile, and in either case the atmosphere is seductive. The lines *AK* 501 *küümönsö jpar jttanat* (R: *jttanam*), *bulgari jttü Budai Bek* . . . "when she moves she emits a fragrance, Buudaybek fragrant as aromatic yuft . . ." suggest that when Buudaybek sways or waggles like the musk-deer she emits an alluring scent of musk, cf. Geser's favourite wife Rogmo in a Jarut-Mongol song: "L'odeur de sa sueur est pareille au musc de kabarga", Kara G., *Chants d'un barde mongol* (Budapest, 1970, p. 119), to which the Glossary on p. 311 gives *huder* ("cerf à kabarga", Mong. *küderi*). One wonders whether Kirg. *küdörü* "chamois (leather)" does not derive from *küdörü* "musk-deer" via aromatic yuft, even though yuft is normally prepared with (aromatic) birch-oil.

¹⁸¹ Radlov: *küčübüttöi* - (zwisehernd) wie ein Kütschübüt (Vogel). Cf. *AK* 1035 *küčü ittäi čınkıldap*, and *KK* 784 *küčügüttöi kerilip*; 1006 *k. kerilät*; see *Köz-kaman* II, p. 282 and notes 239; 248.

¹⁸² R: Zum Schutze.

¹⁸³ R: wie ein Ringer. This may be correct; but it is not supported by Yudakhin, *Slovar*. R probably arrived at "Ringer" by the same route as I at "victor", namely through *jık* - "knock down, overturn, overthrow" + *-a*-modal + *-č* "habitual", "specialist". But Yudakhin gives not a single wrestling context, nor is it clear in our passage what type of sport *oin* (*oyun*) stands for. If it is the favourite game of *ordo* it will be skittles (knuckle-bones) that will be knocked down, not men. 322 "swaying as though to strike" would be compatible with *ordo*: but *at-*, not *ur-*, is the technical term, cf. Harm. *Manas* II, pp. 134 ff. The donning of a [battle?]-apron would be compatible with either sport or combat. See the next footnote.

¹⁸⁴ I have allowed R *beräsä* ("Oberkleid") to stand though it is hard to reconcile with *beręji*, a southern form of *beręji*, which overlaps in meaning with *beldemči*, Kaz. *beldemše*. *beręji* (< Pers.) stands for (1) a fabric; (2) an apron or stomacher, either as a normal item of clothing or as a piece of (mail) armour. Further to Yudakhin, see K. I. Antipina, *Osobennosti material'noy kultury i prikladnogo iskusstva yuzhnykh Kirgizov*, Frunze, 1962, p. 248, where it is stated that the *beręji* belonged to the dowry as wedding attire, so that the element *jiga* in the problematic *jigači* in l. 320 might be *jiga* "call

The supreme moment of Ai-čürök's life, however, was when she saved the new-born Seytek:

1469 "Ĵedigärdin Er Kıyas, töröm,
akıl bolso soñ kelät, töröm,
ačū bolso bat kelät, töröm.
altı ayı anıkı,
altı ayı seniki,
čarainada bu bala
kai šarıñdı bustu deit?
bu balamı öltürbö!
bu balamı öltürsöñ,
ak ku kebim kibäsäm,
Akın kanga barbasam,
öčtöböi öčüm albasam,
kektäbäi keğim albasam -
Ai Čürök atım kurusun!"

("Er Kıyaz [son?] of Ĵediger, my lord, as to reason it comes tardily, my lord, as to anger its onset is swift, my lord! Six months belong to him [Semetey]: six months belong to you. Which cities of yours did this babe, clad in his corselet, destroy? Do not kill my child! If you kill my child, I swear - if I do not don my white swan-mask, do not fly to Akınkan, take fierce revenge and wreak cruel vengeance, let my name 'Ai-čürök' wither!")

Ai-čürök's overpowering gesture is taken from the stance of the irate pen defending her nest. The swan-mask - *kuu kep* (*kep*=total external shape of a bird or beast) - recurs, as is to be expected of so archaic a motif, in the identical locution far to the north in Siberia among the Sagay, e.g., in the hero-tale of Ai Tolızı: *iki kis ku kebin kezib-aldı* (the two maidens donned their swan-masks. *Obraztsy* II, VIII, 1136).

Kanıkey, as ever, is adequate to her rôle, in *S* that of the widow of a great khan and mother of an intemperate son. She supports her daughter-in-law in the interpretation of the dream but she, too, fails to restrain Semetey, though she manages to get some advice into his head. Losing him, she thirsts for revenge with a ferocity that recalls Kriemhild. We are intended to think of her as too old even for a slave's bed,¹⁸⁵ for Kan-čoro has consigned her to

—Continued from previous page

bridal cap", since Ai-čürök is betrothed and is soon to marry. Cf. Nausikaa's ball-game with her maidens on what she thought would be her wedding-day (*Odyssey* VI, 98 ff.). The *beldemse* illustrated in I. V. Zakharova and R. D. Khodzhaeva, *Kazakhskaya natsional'naya odezhdä XIX - nach. XX veka*, Alma-Ata, 1964, p. 100 are aprons for the lower part of a woman's body and might be thought appropriate for an amazon performing feats. The warrior-woman Orongo at *BM* 1342 ff. seems recklessly to have dispensed with one.

¹⁸⁵ At the end she has the epithets *kurup halgan* and *aldıgatkan*, see p. 34, below.

shepherding. When her enemy is at last down she leaves her sheep and appears as though from nowhere to demand a spoonful of traitor's blood.

The antithetical relationship of Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro emerged from the bare plot. Whereas *S* has Kül-čoro as the son of Aĵı-bay, whose epithets he inherits, and Kan-čoro as son of Almambet, the modern Harmonized Version has their paternity reversed, and one sees the reason why. If Kül-čoro inherits his father Aĵı-bay's gentle and conciliatory nature, ought not Kan-čoro to inherit Almambet's outstanding loyalty to his lord? With the paternities reversed, one asks similarly: how could Aĵı-bay's son prove a traitor? The practical lesson either way is that in extremes like Semetey's the loyalty of some men breaks down, of others not. If in *S*, Almambet remains loyal to Manas as *arbak* beyond the grave, he too will 'strike' Semetey through his own flesh and blood, Kan-čoro. True to character, Aĵı-bay on the other hand would not be so vengeful. Thus it seems that the arrangement in *S* is superior to that of the modern *Semetey* as the more deeply founded in popular belief. When tempting Kül-čoro to betray Semetey in *S*,¹⁸⁶ Kan-čoro urges Semetey's slaying of their fathers as ground. He might have added that when they were made milk-brothers to Semetey as new-born babes they were not free agents. Ai-čürök acted on similar principles when she saved Seytek as in part Er Kıyaz' son and then reared Seytek for vengeance. Yet there is no doubt where the bard's and his audience's sympathies must lie in either case.

The bard's management of Kül-čoro's and Kan-čoro's epithet is altogether of interest. Kül-čoro has his father Aĵı-bay's epithet *ĵatik tildü širin söz* ("gently persuasive, of honeyed speech"),¹⁸⁷ but not the rarer *ĵatkan koidu kozdurbas* ("who would not rouse a resting sheep") which alliterates with it;¹⁸⁸ he further has the alliterating continuation *ĵakşı tügan* ("well-born").¹⁸⁹ Whether the latter is given to Kül-čoro merely by the mechanics of alliteration or is deliberately denied to Kan-čoro as a traitor despite his princely origin is a moot point.¹⁹⁰ Another epithet given to Kül-čoro in post-position but not to Kan-čoro is *baikuš* ("poor wretch" lit. "owl").¹⁹¹ Otherwise for the first five hundred or so lines before serious trouble assails the Three, the bard uses *kurup halgan* ("used-up", i.e., in devoted service to their lord) and *aldıgatkan* ("worn-out", similarly) indiscriminately of Kül-čoro and Kan-čoro. When addressing them Semetey also uses the synonyms *ainalain*,¹⁹² *kagılain*¹⁹³ "dearest" indiscriminately before their

¹⁸⁶ 1216 ff.

¹⁸⁷ 777; 802.

¹⁸⁸ R: *kodurbas*. Cf. *BM* 1468 *ĵatkan koidu turguspas*, suggesting a different school of bards.

¹⁸⁹ 331 etc. also of Aĵı-bay at 1887.

¹⁹⁰ Almambet was the son of an Oirat Khan, *AK* 5 ff.

¹⁹¹ E.g., 586.

¹⁹² E.g., Kül-čoro 883; Kan-čoro 263.

¹⁹³ E.g., Kül-čoro 265; Kan-čoro 884.

names. When Kan-čoro perpetrates his treachery, however, these positive epithets cease, and we have *kara tumšuk*¹⁹⁴ ("ill-starred"), *kudai bargan* (Radlov: "der Gottverlass'ne"¹⁹⁵) and *kudaidan tapkan* (Radlov: "der Gottverlass'ne").¹⁹⁶ The bard did not apply his epithets automatically, but consciously and with precision. At the end, *kurup kalgan*¹⁹⁷ and *aldıgatkan*¹⁹⁸ are applied with telling effect to old Kanıkey. Rhetorical high points in Kül-čoro's career are his lyrical exchanges with Semetey when he invites him to escape with him two-up on Kök-čebič, and with Kan-čoro when rejecting treachery.¹⁹⁹ There is a third exchange expressive of his joy in his new lord the young Seytek.²⁰⁰ It is wholly characteristic of him, so devoted is he to Semetey, that we only learn that he has a wife Čač-ike when Kan-čoro tempts him to treachery and then receives her from Er Kıyaz as his price.²⁰¹

Kan-čoro's "death" on a raid with Kül-čoro and then his return to life²⁰² remain an unresolved mystery to me. An interesting feature of it is that Semetey knows of it by telepathy. At a guess Kan-čoro's "death" may mark the point at which he "dies" to Semetey, that is, is turned against Semetey by the *arbak*: he shares the epithet *kurup kalgan* with Kül-čoro at 750 ff. for the last time when the Three last stand together.²⁰³ Kan-čoro alleged to Kül-čoro as a second ground for his treachery and with poor diplomacy that Semetey had always favoured Kül-čoro: the only case narrated is when Semetey chose Kül-čoro to be his match-maker, if that was a favour; but a more likely motive will have been Kül-čoro's honeyed speech to which the bard refers immediately before Semetey sends him wooing, admittedly addressing him with a unique epithet – *kün jarıgı*²⁰⁴ "Light of the Sun" – as who would not address his match-maker?

Er Kıyaz is a gigantic warrior classed as second-rate for intelligence by his possession of a heavenly steed more sagacious than he, who does his thinking for him at least on the battlefield. Had he consulted this beast, one feels, he would not have made his fatal blunder of sparing the seed of his enemy. He knows the formula which must prevail on the steppe:

¹⁹⁴ 1216.

¹⁹⁵ 1336. Not authenticated by Yudakhin, *Slovar'*; but cf. "*kudai bardır!*" (a curse), Harm. Vers. *Seytek*, p. 59, line 1.

¹⁹⁶ 1874. Not authenticated by Yudakhin.

¹⁹⁷ 1900.

¹⁹⁸ 1875.

¹⁹⁹ 1155 ff.; 1255 ff.

²⁰⁰ 1775 ff.

²⁰¹ 1238 ff.; 1314 ff.

²⁰² See pp. 2 f., above.

²⁰³ 734-755.

²⁰⁴ 310.

1436 "Ünin tübü ü bolot,
künin tübü kü bolot . . ."²⁰⁵

("Venom in the end must and will be venom, perfidy be perfidy . . .")

yet quelled by Ai-čürök's superior will and intelligence, he fails to apply it, just as he had proved incapable without Kan-čoro's help of finishing off the supine Semetey whose refulgence he could not bear.²⁰⁶ He was no Chinggis or Manas; and this he shows again when he breaks the rule neither to accept nor to reward a traitor.²⁰⁷

The cyclic extension of *Manas* to deal with the fates of the hero's son and grandson in *BS* and *S* might have been expected to introduce more modern elements of interest to a younger generation, and the late Professor V. M. Zhirmunskiy assured us that this has been the case in the present century.²⁰⁸ It was clear, for example, that the love-match of Semetey and Ai-čürök was destined to be romanticized as Persian culture, through the book, and then European culture, through the book and eventually broadcasting, hit the Kirgiz bards and their audiences. It was also clear that Semetey's nostalgia after flight from members of his own family should take on a new tone after a lost war of independence. This all came later. The surprising fact about *BS* and *S* is that they hark back to events typical of tribal and clan structure, so that the nearest analogies to elements of their plots are to be found in Siberian heroic narrative and the earlier parts of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. All that could be urged as appealing to a younger generation would be the self-will and rebellion of Semetey as a young khan and of Semetey and Ai-čürök as lovers: but *S* quite clearly shows where this ends – from the point of view of the elder generation. The episode concludes with the implicit hope that having recovered Manas's seat of power, Seytek will turn out more like his grandfather. There is no means of telling when the *Semetey* and *Seytek* episodes were added to the cycle. All that is safe to say is that (1) there is no proof in the mid-nineteenth century material that the figure of Seytek was particularly early or not fairly recent; (2) that if *Semetey* was evolved not long before 1850 or 1800, it will nevertheless have been based upon an already well-formed plot of widespread

²⁰⁵ Cf. the formulation of the same thought in the Harmonized Version: (Kıyaz) *Akıri duşman züinde, | Jaktılık kılbas tübüdü* "In the end he is an enemy by his very nature, never doing any good by his very origins" (*Seytek*, p. 52a).

²⁰⁶ 1209 ff., cf. 670 ff. The same is said of Manas, (I 3) 73 ff. Young Temujin's "lustre" saved him in another way when Sorgan-shira espied him hiding face-upwards in the R. Onan and refrained from giving him away (*Secret History* §82). In Kirgiz heroic poetry a hero's "heat" is too great for a lesser man to abide (cf. J 374 *ıssıgına batalbai*), but sometimes also his "cold" (I 2) 1812 (*ıskarına Lidabai*), in the latter case no doubt because the hero in question, Almambet, is a weather-shaman, cf. Hatto, *Shamanism and Epic Poetry*, p. 18.

²⁰⁷ P. 4, above.

²⁰⁸ "Vvedenie v izuchenie éposa 'Manas'", *Manas*, Moscow, 1961, p. 168.

type. That this plot dealt essentially with a son's vengeance for the slaying of his father is reasonably certain, despite the natural death of Manas in *BS*.²⁰⁹

The style of *BS* and *S* is much more fleeting than that of *AK*, *BM* and *KK*, and this not only because of the comparatively rare clusters of epithets. There are passages in which the tale is told trippingly, with the use of conventions more appropriate to the folk-tale.²¹⁰ Another marked feature of the two episodes is the stylization of a statement by means of a negative question requiring the answer "Yes".²¹¹ One's impression that *BS* and *S* must have originated with a bard or school of bards different from those of *AK*, *BM* and *KK* is reinforced by discrepancies in the detail of epithets etc., noticed in passing.²¹² The geography, too, is somewhat different.²¹³

If such impressions are upheld, one can only wonder at Radlov's perspicacity, coupled with good fortune, in securing the services of a number of highly competent bards among the Bugu for the admirable and timeless recordings in *AK*, *BM*, *KK* and, not least, *BS* and *S*.

²⁰⁹ See Part I, pp. 163 f.

²¹⁰ One of the more telling examples is the flight into exile of Kankey and Čakan with the infant Semetey *BS* 247 ff.

²¹¹ *E.g.*, 495 ff.

²¹² See footnotes 15, 24, 78 and 188. The style of *BS* and *S* deserves an article to itself.

²¹³ The geography of *BS* and *S* also deserves detailed treatment.