

SEMETEY

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PART I

Under the title "Semetey" I have subsumed those two of Radlov's recordings from the Kirgiz heroic cycle of *Manas* which treat of Manas's only son Semetey and which Radlov entitled "The Birth of Semetey" (*BS*) and "Semetey" (*S*).¹ Of these, the former deals with the death of Manas when his wife Kankey is seven months gone with child, with the birth of Semetey, and with his mother's and grandmother's vengeance on his grandfather Jakıp and his half-brothers Abeke and Köböš, who sought to eliminate Semetey and marry Kankey to Abeke by force. The second episode, which is more complex in structure, deals with the growing-up of Semetey, with Semetey's slaughter of his father's companions, with the birth of two of these companions' sons Kan-čoro and Kül-čoro, Semetey's marriage to Ai-čürök, his fatal betrayal by Kan-čoro, and finally Seytek's, Kankey's, and Ai-čürök's vengeance for the death of Semetey.

These two episodes with Semetey and his son Seytek thus prolong and renew the major theme of the precarious life of Manas, only son of a khan who was left by his only brother. They reveal the terrible power of the wives and mothers Čakan, Kankey, and the swan-battle-maiden Ai-čürök to preserve their race and exact vengeance when there are no able-bodied men left to do so. *Semetey* further presents a fascinating and problematic contrast between the two young warriors Kan-čoro and Kül-čoro, who had equal cause to avenge their fathers' deaths on Semetey but who chose the paths of betrayal on the one hand and self-sacrifice on the other.

The magnificent climax of the whole action and one that deserves its place beside the most famous scenes of heroic epic poetry, is when Ai-čürök, with Semetey dead and the infant Seytek at the mercy of her new husband Er-kıyas, crows the latter with the threat to don her swan-mask and summon her father Akin-kan with his army to make an end of him.²

¹ V. V. Radlov, *Narechtiya tyurkshikh plemen zhiuvshchikh v Yuzhnoy Sibiri i Dzungarskoy Stepi. Obraztsy narodnoy literatury severnykh tyurkshikh plemen V*, 1885, *Karakyrghyz*, I (6) and (7).

² *S* 1460 ff. Ai-čürök also uses the argument, so strong in the logic of the steppes, that the child was in her womb six months for Semetey, but also six months for Er-kıyas. One recalls that Chinggis-khan made no difference between Djochi, whom Borte conceived from Chilger while in Merkit captivity, and his own sons by Borte, though these sons would gladly have diminished Djochi's standing had their father permitted it, *Secret History of the Mongols* 254; cf. E. Haenisch's note, *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1948, p. 164.

Semetey grows out of the *Birth of Semetey* and pre-supposes it. Nevertheless the two pieces are well-rounded episodes with recognizable, even formalized beginnings and ends. *BS* begins out of the blue with a statement about Manas's steed Ak-kula, but the next and parallel line with its vigorous folk-logic brings us rapidly nearer to the matter in hand:

BS 1 Ak-kula arıgan ekän,

Manas-kan karıgan ekän . . .

(Ak-kula had grown weary: Manas-kan had grown old . . .)

Semetey ends on a note of relief and thanksgiving by Čakan for vengeance taken, its finality expressively conveyed in a parallelistic³ quatrain:

BS 1075 "Em kökrögüm südu' dep,

men kudaıga razımın:

'Bir üškürüp koidu' dep,

men kudaıga razımın."

("Thinking 'Now [the passion in] my breast has cooled', I am reconciled with God: thinking 'He [Jakıp] has gasped out his last', I am reconciled with God.")

Like the *Birth of Semetey*, *Semetey* begins with a chiming formula, though a weaker one, in which *ol* "that" refers back to the prior episode:

S 1 Ol Semätai jaš boldu,

ol akıldan boš boldu . . .

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

After vengeance has been exacted, *S* ends hopefully with Seytek pitching his khan's yurt in the Talas Valley, where his grandfather Manas used to pitch his, and establishing his sway from there to Tashkent.

S 1926 "ayagı Talas baş Taškän,

akım tüšüp jattı" deit.

On aesthetic grounds, therefore, it will be better to treat the two episodes as entities in the first place and only later view them together as a second- and third-generation extension of the *Manas*-cycle.

(i) *The Birth of Semetey* can be analysed thus:

1-45 Manas, having grown old, summons his companions, makes his behest and dies.

46-77 Funeral rites. The lament of Manas's widow Kankey seven months gone with child. The burial of Manas in the Talas Valley.⁴

³ As elsewhere, Radlov has disregarded the parallelism and mis-edits and mistranslates thus: "Em kökrögüm südu dep, men kudaıga razımın" etc, "Jetzt ist meine Brust beruhigt, Gott dem Herzen sage Dank ich." Spie ihm darauf noch in's Antlitz. 'Gott dem Herren sage Dank ich'. Had Radlov given 1077 *dep* its value in the parallelistic structure instead of ignoring it, he might have avoided this absurdity.

⁴ For more precise localization, see Part II.

- 78-94 When Kankey is in her ninth month, Manas's father Jakıp, reminding her of the levirate, enjoins marriage with either of Manas's younger [half]⁵ brothers, Abeke and Kōböš.
- 95-176 In hopes of a son, Kankey refuses, as is her legal right. Abeke marries Manas's other widow Akılay, and the two plan to kill Kankey's child at birth.
- 177-238 In the tenth month Kankey bears a man-child. Manas's sixty-year-old mother Čakan (alias Bagdıdöölöt)⁶ and Kankey flee with the child from Abeke, Kōböš and Jakıp, who have assembled an army in order to kill the babe. Foiled, they destroy the smoke-vent of Kankey's yurt⁷ and plunder her goods.
- 239-468 Kankey and Čakan seek refuge in vain with Karım-bay, Kankey's godfather, but successfully with old Bakay, mentor and companion of Manas. Bakay shows them the way to Kankey's father Kara-kan.⁸
- 469-554 They meet Solton-kul, Kankey's elder brother, who takes them home. Kara-kan takes charge of the boy and gives a naming-feast at which none can name him.
- 555-591 A white-bearded figure rides up, takes the boy, names him "Khan Semetey" and foretells that he will grow preternaturally fast to heroic stature and slay his paternal grandfather,⁹ with which the white-beard vanishes.
- 592-663 Semetey grows up as the son of Kara-kan, who gives him his first horse and Sarı-taz to lead him. Semetey snatches the halter from Sarı-taz's hand. Kara-kan, his wives and Solton-kul all fail to hold him, but Kankey succeeds.
- 664-704 Semetey tells his mother of his longing to join his people and gain possession of his father's steed and armour. Kankey points to his tender age, but obtains Kara-kan's steed and armour for him.
- 705-780 Kankey sends Semetey to Bakay on the Talas with a gift and bids him follow Bakay's counsels. Bakay receives Semetey well and rides off to report Semetey's arrival to Jakıp.

⁵ For discussion of Abeke's and Kōböš's relationship to Manas, see p. 165, below.
⁶ See A. T. Hatto, "The Birth of Manas", *Asia Major*, N.S. XIV, 1969, pp. 221 ff., for detailed discussion of the three names of Jakıp's senior wife.

⁷ For discussion of this symbolic act see pp. 158 f., below.

⁸ The name varies according to the bard or school of bards, see n. 69, below.

⁹ *BS* 580 *Łoy atasın öltürsün*, i.e. Jakıp. The death-blow is actually given by Jakıp's wife Čakan (Bagdı-döölöt) (*BS* 2063 ff.). Radlov: "Tödten soll er seine Aelter-Väter" is thus very inaccurate.

- 781-944 Jakıp commands Bakay to fetch Semetey. Bakay listens outside the yurt and hears Jakıp, Abeke and Kōböš plotting to poison Semetey and so extinguish Manas's line. Forewarned, Semetey foils the plot on arriving at Jakıp's. At Abeke and Kōböš's yurt Semetey seizes his father's accoutrements¹⁰ and rides to Kankey, who obtains treasure and a white pavilion¹¹ from Kara-kan for Semetey.
- 945-978 Semetey then rides with Kankey and Čakan through Bakay's lands to the Talas and pitches his pavilion on the site of Manas's pavilion.
- 979-1025 Abeke and Kōböš set out with a great army to capture Semetey. Semetey's steed Tay-buurul limps because a nail from Manas's smoke-vent has entered his foot. Semetey removes the nail and asks Kankey to explain its meaning, but her only reply is to say that she will not let him fight single-handed. She then mounts her horse. Semetey thereupon ties her and Čakan to the yurt-trellis.
- 1026-1040 In the ensuing battle Semetey defeats and captures Jakıp, Abeke and Kōböš. He then takes Kankey and Čakan to his three prisoners in the forest.
- 1041-1078 Reproaching them with their plot to extinguish Manas's line, first Kankey mutilates and kills Abeke and Kōböš, then Čakan does likewise to her husband Jakıp.

The plot of *BS* is a classic version of a type of revenge-action well known from Siberia. In it, the antagonists do their utmost to "put out a man's fire"¹² as the Samoyed used to say,¹³ or as we say "extinguish a man's race or line". It belongs to this type of plot that when the masculine element of the threatened family has been eliminated but for one helpless boy, the womenfolk bring him through to manhood and to vengeance.¹⁴ In *BS* this

¹⁰ For discussion of these see pp. 165 ff., below.

¹¹ For the significance of a khan's white pavilion see A. T. Hatto, "Kukotay and Bok Murun: a comparison of two related heroic poems of the Kirgiz"— I, *BSOAS*, 1969, pp. 365 f.

¹² i.e. "camp-fire", the family fire of yurt or chum, see p. 159, below.

¹³ See Z. N. Kuprianova, *Épicheskiye pesni nentsev*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 32; 87; 142. Cf. A. T. Hatto, *Shamanism and Epic Poetry in Northern Asia*. Foundation Day Lecture of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1970, p. 9.

¹⁴ In Samoyed heroic poetry the feminine saviour of the family is often the young hero's elder sister (e.g. Kuprianova, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff., "Syn Khozyaina Yabta Salya"). Cf. the role of Mother Ho'elun and old Kho'akhchin in the *Secret History of the Mongols* in saving the young men from the related Taichi'ut and the Merkit. In our second episode, *Semetey*, the pattern of *BS* is largely repeated, but with another complication, see Part II.

simple plot is complicated by the situation of the enemies within the intended victim's clan, though their treachery may come from without through a Kalmak wife and mother;¹⁵ for although the Kalmak element in *BS* is not explicit as in *Köz-Kaman*¹⁶ we cannot fail to suspect it as a source of treachery with poison.

It was just stated that the plot of *BS* is a classic version of a type of revenge-story widespread in Siberia. Ruthless enemies attempt to "put out the fire" of a kindred, but the no less determined women of this kindred thwart them at a time when the last male survivor of their line is still a boy and rear him to vengeance. Normally in such plots the son avenges the slaying of his father. In *BS*, however, the father is the great Manas, man of various "deaths" – "deaths" suited to the kind of episode in which he is featured and from which he is revived.¹⁷ In *BS* Manas dies a natural death for good and all; but since he is far younger than his father Jakıp and is nevertheless outlived by him and his sixty-year-old mother Čakan,¹⁸ we imagine him worn out rather than senile.¹⁹ His son and heir Semetey thus wreaks vengeance on the malefactors, not for the slaying of his father but for their attempt to extinguish his father's line, which also involved maltreatment of Semetey's mother and grandmother – an adequate though scarcely the original motive for revenge.²⁰

The archaic images of this widespread and therefore ancient Siberian plot are preserved in *BS* together with the appropriate terminology.

Standing outside the yurt, Semetey's loyal old mentor Bakay hears Jakıp conspire with Abeke and Kōböš in these terms:

791 "Ak kurjunda ūlardı
anı beri alıñar,
čını čöčök tübünö
ā sīpai koyuñar,
bu Manastın balasın,
Semätäidi öltürüp,
jakkın otun öčürüp."

("Bring me the poison in the white saddlebag, smear it on the bottom of the porcelain cup and so kill Semetey, son of that accursed Manas, and put out their kindled fire!")

¹⁵ In *BS*, Abeke and Kōböš are introduced without explanation as Manas's younger brothers, see p. 160, below. But in the twentieth century bard Sayakbay's version they are the sons of Jakıp's second wife, a Kalmak. See p. 165, below.

¹⁶ See A. T. Hatto, "Köz-kaman", *Central Asiatic Journal*, XV, 1971, p. 250 and p. 260. The Kalmakized son Kökčögöz of the exiled Köz-kaman, paternal uncle to Manas, puts poison into Manas's arak.

¹⁷ For the shamanistic affinities of Manas's "deaths" and revivals, see A. T. Hatto, *Köz-kaman* I, *Central Asiatic Journal*, XV, 1971, p. 81.

¹⁸ See p. 164, below.

¹⁹ See p. 164, below.

²⁰ See p. 164, below.

The expression *otun öčür-* "put out his or their fire" in the transferred sense of "extinguish his or their line" is not noticed by K. K. Yudakhin in his *Slovar*.²¹ Interestingly enough, nevertheless, he cites a phrase probably from epic poetry, the first half of which is identical with line 797 above: *jakkın otun öčürüp, tuš-tušuna köčürdü*, rendering it as "he did not let him live in peace, he chased him from one land to another".²² This is obviously a correct rendering in its context, just as "extinguish his line" is obviously correct, after 796 *öltürüp* "killing" in our context. The idiom "put out a man's fire" = "extinguish his race or line", "extirpate", occurs among tribes as widely separated as the Yurak-Samoyed of the region of the lower reaches of the Ob, and the Oroch living near the Sea of Japan on the Tumnin, Amur, and Koppi, and is above question a widespread Siberian idiom.²³ Its meaning, too, is palpably clear, and the link between *BS* 797 *otun öčürüp* and the occurrence of the identical phrase in Yudakhin's citation is self-evident. The "fire" referred to is the camp-fire of the nomadic hunter or herder²⁴ as head of a family or clan, the manpower of which was estimated as so many "smokes", i.e. yurts or tents with hearths. Although at the next nomadizing the hearth was abandoned, the means of making a new one were transported, so that symbolically the fire never went out, from generation to generation. The equation of "family-fire" and "life-flame of a family" is also obvious enough to need no elaboration. What does need emphasizing, however, is that it was the archaic nomadic existence of the Kirgiz which preserved this ancient Siberian expression as part of the epic vocabulary so far to the south.

The theme of "putting out a man's fire" occurs in quintessential form in *OK*. As at *BM* 333 ff. so in *OK*, Manas and his forty are about to put Bok Murun's herald Jaš-aydar²⁵ to a cruel death; but, diverging from *BM*, *OK* has Manas spare the herald's life. This is arrived at as follows. Jaš Aydar submits to Manas abjectly and with flattery (*OK* 812 ff.). He then adds:

825 "Bir uyadan tak edim,
Zhumırtkadan ak edim."

("I was the lone one from the nest, I was whiter than an egg.")

– a variant of the topos of which Manas and Almambet are the prime

²¹ *Kirgizko-russkiy slovar*, Moscow, 1965.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 583b sub *ot*.

²³ See n. 13, above, and 27, 28, and 29, below.

²⁴ *Köčürdü* in Yudakhin's citation, rendered by him as "razognal" (chased), means literally "caused to migrate", from *köčür-*, factitive of *köč-* "migrate", "move to another pasture".

²⁵ In *BM*, Jaš-aydar is referred to as "Jaıma Kökül jaš ul" (285; 315; 480), but access to *OK* reveals that *jaıma kekil* ("of the flowing forelock") is his epithet, not his name (*OK* 9). For *OK* (A. Margulan's kazakhizing excerpt from the Kirgiz original *KO* of Valikhanov's *Kukotay*) see p. 167 and notes 55 and 56 below.

bearers.²⁶ It was well calculated of Jaš Aydar to plead for his life in these terms, since Manas tells his companions:

835 "Jaŋızdık baska keldi, Soram,
Jaŋızdıŋ öltire körme özderin,
Öšire körme ottarın."

("The situation of being an only son occurred to me, my companions - do not kill only sons, do not put out their fires!")

In the Oroch heroic narrative of "Stone-hero", when surprised by his enemies the father had saved his son's life by hiding him under an iron cauldron. Grown to manhood, the son corners his father's slayer and is met with the stylized threat: "If you wish to extinguish your father's smoke, strike me with your fist!"²⁷ In the parallel Oroch narrative of "Flint-hero", in which the young avenger grows up entirely alone, his enemy asks him: "Why have you come to put out your father's fire? Had you not appeared you could have kindled your camp-fire in the place of your father(s) . . . Go and kindle your father's fire!" This naturally angers the young man, and he replies: "If my father lived without a hearth, I shall live without a hearth. Kill me as you killed my father!" These studied provocations over, the warriors agree to fight.²⁸ The Yurak-Samoyed heroic song "The Son of Lord Yabta Sale" tells of a sister who saves her brother for vengeance on their father Yabta Sale's slayers. In the final battle, when only two of the enemy are left, these plead for their lives: "Do not put out our fire," they beg. "we are good, our fathers were bad . . ." In keeping with the generous ethos of Samoyed heroic poetry, the son of Yabta Sale spares them.²⁹ In a second Yurak-Samoyed heroic song with similar plot, "Siv Noyetsya", the young hero is reared to vengeance by an old aunt. Here the future avenger comes to the scene of the battle in which his father was slain and the clan all but wiped out. He sees iron armour and a bow of iron, for which he exchanges the willow-bow made for him by his aunt. It is of course his father's, and he will do great execution with it in his battle of vengeance.³⁰ Archaeologists inform us that many fortified sites are known in northwest Siberia which must have been the scenes of just such battles of extirpation, with the weapons littered about almost at the surface.

²⁶ *Köz-kaman* 493 *jumurtkadan ak eläm, bir enädän tak eläm, jaŋıs edim kuyadan, jaŋıs edim uyadan*; cf. more poetically, *Almambet, Er Kökëö and Ak Erkeč* 235 *Arkar jürbös kuyadan, atadan jalgıs uyadan, ečkilär jürbös kuyadan, enädän jalgıs uyadan, jumurtkadan ak edi, bir jatından tak edi*.

²⁷ V. A. Avrorin and E. P. Lebedeva, *Orochskie skazki i mifi*, Novosibirsk, 1966, No. 18, pp. 151 ff.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, No. 19, pp. 160 ff.

²⁹ Kuprianova, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.

These last traits also find an echo in *BS*. The young Semetey has first to recover his father's weapons and steed and then return to the site of his father's yurt, where, although according to the narrative data of this episode Manas had died and was not slain, his smoke-vent was nevertheless hacked down and burned, and his only son's life was threatened.

Semetey's return to his father's hearth is linked dramatically with the annihilation of Manas's smoke-vent: for as he rides over the site, his steed Tay-buurul begins to limp:

991 Tai Būrul nedän aksadı?
Kan balası Kanıkai,
üidön čigip aldı deit,
Tai Būrul mingän atının
kolun bögüp karadı,
Manas kandin čoŋ tündük,
čoŋ tündükün kadö
butuna ketip kriptir
Iskāk-minän tartıp aldı.
anda aittıŋ Semätai:
"Enäkä bu nemänä deit?"³¹

(Why was Tay-buurul limping? The Khan's daughter Kanıkey came out of the yurt, and folding back the foreleg of Tay-buurul, whom Semetey was riding, inspected it - a nail from the great *tündük*³² of Manas-kan had run into his foot! After pulling it out with a pair of tongs, o Semetey, you asked "What does this mean, mother?")

Kanıkey replies in a passage the rhetorical structure of which stamps it as the emotional climax of the episode, justifying and making possible the bare, swift, ruthless march of events to final vengeance. It is no accident that these words are spoken by Kanıkey, the woman who has brought Semetey through:

³¹ There is some doubt in my mind whether the eighth syllable *deit* belongs to *bu nemänä*, or, as so often, is extra-metrical, meaning "it [the tale] says".

³² Upper wooden hoop of the yurt-frame. Oddly, Yudakhin does not once mention the connexion of the *tündük* with the smoke-vent. On the other hand, B. N. Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, London, The Hague, Paris, 1966, glosses *tündük* as "felt, covering the smoke-opening of the felt hut" (p. 215b). The latter in Kirgiz, however, is *tündük jabuu*, and it is interesting that under *jabuu*, Yudakhin glosses this collocation as "felt for closing the smoke-vent of the yurt", whereas under *tündük* he glosses the same collocation as "piece of felt serving to close the *tündük*". It may be remembered that in *Köz-kaman*, Almambet tugged at the *tündük jabuu* either in order to obtain a charge for his pipe, or draw it to, the better to be able to smoke out the Kaimak in Altın-ai's yurt: *KK 1970 tündük jabın tarttı* (R. zog dann zu die Rauchlochdecke). See A. T. Hatto, "Köz-kaman - II", *Central Asiatic Journal*, XV, 1971, pp. 265. In *BS* at 239; 294, 514; 1002 Radlov regularly renders *čamgarak* as "Rauchloch" and also 996 f. *tündük* as "Rauchloch", whilst omitting to translate *tündük* at 1006.

- 1002 "Çamgaragım çakkan jer,
 çagıp otko jakkan jer,
 kerägämdi keskän jer,
 kesip otko jakkan jer,
 çoñ tündüktün kadö kalğan jer,
 Manas kandın ölgön jer,
 maral atkan mailü jer,
 kuran atkan kuttü jer,
 1010 Kanıkäi karañ kalğan jer,
 Čakanı beipay bolgon jer,³³
 Semätäi čunak³⁴ bolgon jer."

("This is the place where my *čamgarak*³⁵ was split, the place where, when they split it, it was fed to the fire; this is the place where they hacked through my yurt-lattice, the place where, when they hacked it, it was fed to the fire; this is the place where the nail from the great *tündük* lay; this is the place where Manas died; this is the place rich in fat of the maral-deer he shot, the place rich in *kut* of the roe-buck³⁶ he shot; this is the place where Kanıkey was slighted, where Čakan was afflicted, where Semetey was made an outcast!")

Semetey and Tay-buurul have in fact been halted above Manas's hearth. When the yurt was burned down, its upper part containing the smoke-vent had provided fuel, the hearth itself had provided fire. The spirit of Manas lingering there had entered into the nail from his great *tündük* and pierced Tay-buurul's foot as a reminder. The smoke-vent, according to Siberian tradition, was not only the front door to the world of spirits, but was also concretely one of the apertures through which successful hunters might drop their game into the yurt so as to avoid the normal entrance used by women,³⁷ hence *BS* 1008 f.: "this is the place rich in fat of the maral-deer he shot, the place rich in *kut* for the roe-buck he shot" where *kut* is pregnant with meaning. For taking its meanings in the order in which Yudakhin lists them, *kut* signifies: (1) a piece of jelly-like substance dark-red in colour thought to fall through the *tündük* on to the *kolomto* – the part of the yurt where the hearth is laid out – and bring luck to whoever can seize it; (2) a talisman to protect cattle and man; (3) (in epic poetry)

³³ Radlov: *bei-pay*.

³⁴ *čunak bolgon*: Radlov "ward . . . geboren". But the basic meaning of *čunak* is "crop-eared", therefore "a wretch", the only one of the meanings offered by Yudakhin that suits in the mouth of a loving mother. The bard himself, however, is far from wholly approving of young Semetey, who squandered his *arbak* (see Part II).

³⁵ Small bent batons set criss-cross into the *tündük*, see n. 32, above.

³⁶ Or *dxheyran* = *Gazella subgutturosa*.

³⁷ Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, FF Communications No. 125, Helsinki, 1938, pp. 414 ff. (Die Jagdriten: das Weib und das Wild.)

small images such as the idolatrous Kalmak worship; (4) life-force, spirit, soul; (5) prosperity, success, bliss. We are reminded by 1008 *mailü jer* and 1009 *kuttü jer*, of Almambet's promise in *Almambet*, *Er Kökčö* and *Ak-erkeč* (*AK*) at 467 ff. (fulfilled at 769 ff.) that he would bring prosperity to Kökčö's people:

"Ĵabıgıñ mai kılam, dosum!
 Ĵamı jurtuñ bai kılam, dosum!
 tündügüñdön mai kılam, dosum!
 tügöldöi³⁸ bir jurtuñ bai kılam, dosum!"

("I shall make your *Ĵabık*³⁹ fatty, my friend! I shall make all your people rich, my friend! I shall put fat through your *tündük*,⁴⁰ my friend! I shall make your whole people rich, my friend!")

tündük tüşür-, literally "bring down the *tündük*" means to "crush", "destroy", "annihilate". In destroying the smoke-vent of Manas by fire – according to Siberian belief the most effective means – Ĵakıp, Abeke and Köböš symbolically expressed their intention of extinguishing Manas's stirps in favour of Ĵakıp's line through a junior wife, absent from *BS* and otherwise unknown in the mid-nineteenth-century material, mother of Abeke and Köböš.⁴¹

This situation, with the grandfather seeking to wipe out his own grandson by his eldest son, is an extreme form of blood-feud within the clan. Semetey on the one side and Ĵakıp, Abeke, and Köböš on the other are what *BS* elsewhere (401) calls *sök östü kişi*, i.e. "men having an ancestral or family feud on their hands", from *sök* "bone" = "kindred" and *öč* I "feud". Such was the relationship, Bakay warned Kanıkey, between Semetey's father Manas and Ĵamgırçı of the Kara Nogoy, who, did Kanıkey but give him the chance, would kill the lone son of Manas.

With the primitive Siberian plot before us on the one part and with *Köz-kaman* on the other, we see and are amazed at the capacity of the wild Kirgiz bards of the nineteenth century and earlier to perfect actions of heroic episodes which offer at one and the same time extreme, complex, yet exemplary and crystal-clear formulations of life-and-death issues on the steppe. In this, against a very different background and with as different a technique of composition, those bards achieved something that bears comparison with what Germanic bards had achieved in their heroic lays.

From the foregoing examination of the central theme of vengeance within a family feud, it is possibly to glean an insight into the antecedents of *BS* and thereby into the process of cyclization of the *Manas*-epic. In

³⁸ Radlov *tügölböi*.

³⁹ Cavities in the upper part of the yurt where things are kept.

⁴⁰ Or possibly hang fat from your *tündük*.

⁴¹ See below, p. 165 and p. 169.

another place⁴² I have drawn attention to the convenience for cyclic ramification of a shamanistic tradition in which a hero is "knocked out" rather than killed, to be revived for his activities in other exciting episodes. Against the background of the Siberian revenge-story to which *BS* belongs, it is clear that at some antecedent stage the "Semetey"-figure must have avenged the slaying of the father whose spirit reminded him of his duty by piercing his steed's foot with a nail from the shattered smoke-vent. In such a crucial utterance as that of Kankey's, above (1002-12), in which each line is intended to bring home the depravity of the enemy, the weakest line would have been 1007 *Manas kandin ölgön jer*, had it meant "this is the place where Manas-kan died a natural death". On the other hand, it would have been as strong as the other lines had it referred to Manas' having been slain there by his kinsmen.

Further support for this suggestion is found in another rhetorical set-piece. As she faces Jakıp before hacking him to pieces,⁴³ Čakan asks him:

1069 "menin bir ülum Manas-kan, Jakıp,
al tozokko salabı, Jakıp?"

("Would you send my only son Manas-kan to Hell, Jakıp?")

Manas, of course, had "passed from this world" (45 *alāmdan*⁴⁴ *emdi öttü*) before Akılay began her action against Kankey's unborn child. This couplet may therefore well descend from a version in which Manas was killed by the antagonists. It seems that in these two passages, *BS* 1007 *Manas-kandin ölgön jer* and 1069 f., we have memorized "purple patches" before us in which necessary adjustments to a new version have not been made – a well-known phenomenon of oral and sub-oral epic poetry.

To the best of my knowledge, *BS* is the only episode of the *Manas*-cycle either of the nineteenth or the twentieth century in which the great warrior dies unwarriorlike in his bed. We are forced to conclude that the bard of *BS*, or a predecessor, merely wanted Manas dead in order to launch into the events of this fine revenge-story, and so let him die an early natural death. For such a natural death of a great Nogay Khan, as I shall show, the death of the aged Kōkötöy-kan was ready to hand as a model.⁴⁵

That this was so is finally suggested by these considerations. Traditionally, Jakıp, though feckless enough, was not of the stuff to murder so formidable a son as Manas. By nineteenth-century tradition, Manas was "alone from the nest" – this is what made him so vulnerable to his long-lost cousins in *Köz-kaman*. If he was so pleased to find cousins from the Kalmak land, how is it that we hear nothing of his younger half-brothers at home,

⁴² See n. 17, above.

⁴³ Is this a precise allusion for hacking the smoke-vent – symbolizing the "life" of Manas's line – to pieces?

⁴⁴ Thus Radlov. Correct would be *ālamdan*, mod. Kirg. *aalamdan*.

⁴⁵ See pp. 167 f., below.

Abeke and Kōböš?⁴⁶ Like Manas's natural death, like the new personality of his father Jakıp as an *aram kul*, a downright "filthy villain" (established by the bard in a masterful way as early as Jakıp's first appearance at line 82), Abeke and Kōböš, sons of an unmentioned mother, are there solely for the "extreme" episode of the *Birth of Semetey*. Only the systematizing and rather bookish bards of the twentieth century account for them as sons of Jakıp's junior wife, "Bagdıdöölöt"⁴⁷ – a Kalmak, and thus an adequate source of such evil.

As in the basic Siberian plot referred to and in similar heroic poems elsewhere, Semetey in *BS* has to gain possession of his father's accoutrements before he can wreak vengeance. Growing up rapidly from babyhood to young manhood in the land of Kankey's father Kara-kan, Semetey claims and is given first a horse; but he is dissatisfied, and so his mother begs and obtains for him Kara-kan's white winged steed (701 *ak tulpar*) and white surcoat serving as or covering his armour (702 *ak olupok ton*). Thus armed, Semetey rides to his native land on and about the River Talas. After foiling Jakıp's attempt to poison him, Semetey visits Abeke and Kōböš who get drunk on their own entertainment. Bakay then spies Manas's white surcoat, saddle, purse and dagger, and his pair of steeds, Tay-buurul and Ak-kula. These had no doubt all been purloined when the three villains had burned Manas's yurt. Now Semetey simply takes them. The hour of his revenge is at hand.

In printed editions of the work of twentieth-century bards, the personal accoutrements and steeds of leading heroes have their names capitalized as proper names: thus Ak-olpok, Ak-kula, Ak-albars (sword). This may be as well justified as the similar treatment of the accoutrements of European epic heroes, as for example "Durendal" and "Balmunc". Yet it is to be observed that in Kirgiz such names are descriptive in origin. As was seen, both Kara-kan and Manas had an *ak olupok*. With regard to steeds, however, the Kirgiz distinguish so many different coats, ages, and breeds that each leading hero can have a distinctive mount with descriptive name. Thus Manas always rode an or the *ak-kula* ("light bay"), Almambet a or the *sar(t) ala* ("skewbald-chestnut"). Particularity and type-description overlap here, so that editors may do as they please. It is to be noted that the sequence Manas

⁴⁶ Cf. *Köz-kaman* 497 (Manas speaking) "*bir tüganım jök edi, ğorom*": "I have no near kinsman." Cf. *Köz-kaman* II, pp 268 f.

⁴⁷ "Bagdıdöölöt" was one of three names by which Jakıp's senior wife (*baybiče*) was known in nineteenth-century tradition, the other two being "Čakan" and "Čiyirči/Čiyirdi". "Bagdıdöölöt" = "good fortune", "bliss" can scarcely have been the traditional name of a Kalmak wife whose sons tried to poison Manas's only son. Yet in the twentieth-century version of Sagymbay Orozbekov it has been detached from Čakan and attached to Jakıp's junior wife, see A. T. Hatto, "The Birth of Manas", *Asia Major*, N.S., XIV, 1969, p. 223. In *BS* Jakıp's sole named wife bears the names of "Čakan" and "Bagdıdöölöt".

- Semetey is reflected in the sequence Ak-kula - Tay-buurul. Semetey gains possession of both, but as the opening lines of *BS* inform us, reflecting the state of his master:

Ak-kula arıgan ekän,
(Ak-kula had grown weary . . .)

"Tay-buurul" means "one-year-old roan". It is this colt, not old Ak-kula, which the colt-hero Semetey is destined to ride, and it is Tay-buurul's, not Ak-kula's, foot that is pierced by the nail.

After Kanıkey's tirade on the significance of the spot where she and her son stand, vengeance comes swiftly.

Just as the action is initiated by a woman so it is ended by women. Čooruk's daughter Akılay, according to *Köz-Kaman* one of Manas's two or three⁴⁸ junior wives or concubines, all of them childless and therefore having good cause to envy Kanıkey, accepts Abeke as a second husband after Kanıkey has refused him and tells him she will assist at the birth of Kanıkey's child and stifle it (*BS* 169 ff.). At the end, Kanıkey mutilates and kills the would-be murderers of her son, Abeke and Köböš, and Čakan does likewise with her husband Jakıp, asking him as she sits on his head:

1066 "Bir etägim jel aştı, Jakıp,
bir etägim sen aştıñ, Jakıp,
kai jerim sen kem taptıñ, Jakıp?
menin bir ülum Manas Kan, Jakıp,
ai tozokko salabı, Jakıp?
Abäkä Köböš aramdı, Jakıp,
beiškä türtüp, salabı, Jakıp?"

("A breeze once lifted my skirt, Jakıp, you once lifted my skirt, Jakıp: what defect did you find in me, Jakıp? Would you⁴⁹ send my only son Manas-kan to Hell, Jakıp? Would you thrust filthy Abäkä and Köböš into Paradise, Jakıp?")

After which, the old lady makes an end of him. But before women's vengeance for deeds initiated by a woman is exacted, the masculine principle asserts itself in masterly fashion in order to correct an excess of mannishness of which Kanıkey makes herself guilty in her consuming thirst for vengeance. Immediately after her vital utterance over Manas's hearth (1002-12), as though fired to heroism by her own eloquence and reliving the days when she had had the spirit to stab Manas on the bridal couch,⁵⁰ Kanıkey mounts her wizened horse⁵¹ with the words:

⁴⁸ See *Köz-kaman* II, pp. 272 ff.

⁴⁹ The question is put impersonally in the Kirgiz.

⁵⁰ *BS* alludes to this at 18: *ač biläktän saidırgan, čorom, cf. I, 3) 1327 Abalak saptı bu bičogın kınınan sürüp aldı, Kanıkü siltäp idi deit, alača baltr ak biläk airıp berip ketti* 1327 varies 1318 *abalak saptı ak tintä*, see p. 180 and n. 123, below.

⁵¹ The precise connotation of 1014 *kak telki at* is not clear to me. Does *telki* "female of the roe-deer" refer to the coat?

1015 "Kan Semätäi balamdı
uruška jañıs čıgarbaım,
özüm bir jağımdan kirip
kattü uruś salaım" deit.⁵²

("I shall not let Khan Semetey my only⁵³ son go forth to battle. I alone entering the fray⁵⁴ on my own will give battle fiercely!")

The poem does not say that Semetey smiled. He merely lifts his mother from her horse and ties her to the lattice of the yurt, and does likewise with his grandmother. Only when he has defeated and bound the villains does he let his women loose on them. For one brief moment does Kanıkey remind her victims of their crime: "You burned my smoke-vent" (1055 ff.). She then destroys them, to be swiftly followed by Čakan, in whose sudden calm this episode at length reposes.

It was surmised above that the natural death of Manas may have been occasioned by incorporation of the subject-matter of *BS* in the *Manas*-cycle, and that the well-established "Death of Kökötöy-kan" could have served as model. Whether this be true or not, a comparison of the two deathbed scenes is rewarding.

The death of Kökötöy occurs in two mid nineteenth-century versions, the one recorded in 1856 by the Russified Kazakh princeling Chokan Valikhanov (*KO*, excerpted in *OK*), the other in 1862 by Radlov (*BM*).⁵⁵ I shall try to interpret the deathbed scene in *BS* in their light and will refer to either as convenient.

The opening of this passage, which is also the opening of the episode, is masterly: "Ak-kula had grown weary". The same, then, must be true of his rider: *BS* 2: *Manas kan karıgan ekän* "Manas-kan had grown old". Cf. *BM* 2: *kartha kirip saldı* "He became an old man".⁵⁶ At *BS* line 7, we are told: *Örıp jatkan Er Manas* - "Er Manas lay ailing", cf. *BM* 1: *Kan Kökötöi öridi* - "Khan Kökötöy was ailing." Manas summons his forty companions (*BS* 8) and his people (*BS* 11), cf. *BM* 5 f., where Kökötöy summons his adoptive son, Bok Murun, and his people; and *OK* 11 ff., where Kökötöy sends his herald to assemble his Nogay "teeming-black as the shades of night". Manas then makes his dying behest (*BS* 9-43), as

⁵² Radlov: *salaım deit*. *deit* is either Kanıkey's *inquit*, or that of "the tale".

⁵³ 1016 *jañıs*, in view of all that is made of Semetey being an only son, is best referred to *balamdı*. Cf. Radlov: ". . . Semätäi lass allein zum Kampf nicht ziehn ich". Further Radlov: "Will an seiner Seite bleiben".

⁵⁴ *kir-* is idiomatic for to "enter the fray" - cf. Radlov "bleiben", previous note.

⁵⁵ See "Kukotay and Bok Murun", pp. 344 ff. = I, pp. 541 ff. = II; and "The Kirgiz Original of Kukotay found", *BSOAS*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 379 ff.

⁵⁶ According to *OK*, Kökötöy is 190 years old: *52 jüz toksan jil jasadm* (Valikhanov, *K* 289, 31 "199 let"). Publication of *KO* (*50 jüz toksan toguz*) justifies Valikhanov. (Addendum).

Kökötöy does in *OK* (48-163).⁵⁷ The solemn behests of the two dying khans, Manas and Kökötöy, are concerned partly with the welfare of their heirs Semetey and Bok Murun, the one as yet unborn (*BS* 22 ff.), the other not yet grown to manhood (*OK* 115 ff.; 263 ff.). The two khans also give personal directions for the funeral rites (*BS* 31 ff.),⁵⁸ *OK* (54 ff.). In *BS* the term for dying behest is *keräs* (mod. Kirgiz *keräz, keräs*) *kep* (line 30); and in *OK*, at least in this rather kazakhified transcription of the preliminary edition,⁵⁹ it is *kereñ säz* (39, 44, 55) always linked with *kereñ as* (i.e. *aš*, funeral repast) (38, 43, 54). It is significant that the third meaning of *keräz* is "children left on somebody's hands by the deceased", since concern for the son and heir forms part of both Manas's and Kökötöy's behests. The second meaning of *keräz* "metrical laments on the subject of the deceased", reminds us that an important element of the deathbed scene, absent from *OK* and *BM*,⁶⁰ but present in *BS*, is that the widow improvises a lament in the traditional manner:

BS 50 Kan balası Kanikäi
emdi koşup ilait . . .

(Kanikey, daughter of a khan, laments, improvising in verse.⁶¹)

In *BS* by contrast, the last feast (cf. *OK* 29 ff.) and the subsequent memorial feasts with horse-race and games (*BM* 580 ff.; *OK* does not reach this point) are absent. The bloodthirsty ambition of Jakıp, Abeke and

⁵⁷ And as Kökötöy must have done in an antecedent version of *BM*, since in the latter Bok Murun does some of the things which Kökötöy in *OK* asks Bok Murun to do (*BM* 22 ff.).

⁵⁸ Manas asks if his coat of felt is ready (cf. "*Kukotay and Bok Murun*", p. 369) and, if the text is correct as it stands, says "they" have reaped his white rushes: 34 *ak hamšim oruqtur*. If the text should read *orup tur*, a command to Bakay is given, in keeping with the imperative *kamdangın* in the following line; cf. 45 f. *Bakai ak hamštı saldı* - Bakay laid on the white rushes, which suits *orup tur*. (Radlov: "abgemäht wird jetzt mein weisses Schilf" gives a future for a past, and a passive for an active.) It seems as though it was a funerary custom to lay "white" rushes on the corpse and that, as with his felt coat or shroud, Manas is asking his old friend Bakay to cut the rushes in readiness for his passing. In *OK* the nearest approach to this funerary symbolism is at 169 *öriktin basın japırdı*: 171 *almamın basın japırdı*: "they bowed the tips of apricot-trees": "they bowed the tips of apple-trees", cf. "*Kukotay and Bok Murun I*", p. 346 where Valikhanov *K* 291, 21 f. mistranslated *japırdı* at 169 as *izmyala* ("crumpled"), and at 171 as *izlomala* ("broke"), in which, not yet acquainted with the lost original, I necessarily followed him, though negligently printing *izmyal* for *izmyala*. The same line occurs in *BS* at 636 [Semetey] *öriktin basın japırdı* and (in the light of *OK* 168 ff.) must express Semetey's mourning for Manas when he tells the horse-herd Sarı-taz that Kara-kan is not his father (632). A further parallel in the instructions of the two khans is that Manas asks if some unexpressed object is ready under him (*BS* 42), cf. *OK* 61 *ak kaxanım jastatıp*, rendered by Valikhanov (*K* 290, 6) "lay a white shroud under my head".

⁵⁹ See "The Kirgiz Original of *Kukotay* found", p. 380 and n. 6.

⁶⁰ Neither *OK* nor *BM* mentions a wife of Kökötöy.

⁶¹ *kof* - means "to couple"; and indeed coupled couplets, i.e. sub-divided quatrains, form the structural principle of Kanikey's "Lament for Manas", see below, pp. 169 f.

Köböš is thus enhanced by their complete lack of outward piety towards the memory of Manas. They evidently got down to work as soon as Manas's companions had departed.

The only reference to a funeral repast for Manas is near the end, when Kanikey stands before her bound victims with her "white dagger" (*ak tinte*: 1042)⁶² and utters the ominous words:

1046 "Abäkä, Köböš aram kul,
törömnün ašin bersäñçi!"

("Abeke and Köböš, you filthy villains, give my lord's [funeral] feast [which you never gave]!")

Manas is evidently to be feasted on their blood spilt in revenge.⁶³

It appears, then, that the established Death of Kökötöy served as a general pattern for the untypical Death of Manas - unless the Death of a Khan was a topos of central Asian heroic poetry, which amounts to the same thing for the issue in hand.

Who are Abeke and Köböš, not mentioned in the nineteenth-century material apart from *BS*?

Abeke and Köböš first appear at Manas's bedside when he has prepared himself for death and told Kanikey not to disfigure herself in her grief when he is gone. Manas addresses them directly:

40 "Abäkä Köböš, eki ül, čorom,
aitkan bir kep uktañbu? čorom . . ." ⁶⁴

("Abeke and Köböš, you two lads, have you marked the words I uttered?"⁶⁵)

At 62 ff. in her lament, Kanikey regrets, as I hope to show, that Manas was an only son, having neither an elder nor a younger brother. The passage is complex, apparently drawing on a famous allegory from the legend of Oğuz-qayan, and must be examined in detail. It begins with the full poetic variant of the "only-one-from-the-nest" topos, cited for Almambet in footnote 26 above, with its reference to "whiter than an egg". Then:

61 "altundan tartkan sır jebäm, töröm,
astında⁶⁶ agañ bir bolso, töröm
kümüštön tartkan kır jebäm, töröm,

⁶² See n. 50, above, and p. 180, below.

⁶³ Compare Hagen's utterance in the *Nibelungenlied* 1960, 3: *nu trinken wir die minne und gelten's küneges wîn* - "Therefore let us now drink to the dead and so repay the King's wine!" as he begins the battle of revenge in Etzel's hall by cutting off the head of Etzel's son.

⁶⁴ *čorom* "my companions" is a sort of non-metrical refrain accompanying many of Manas's utterances. It has lost its relevance at this point and does not refer to Abeke and Köböš.

⁶⁵ i.e. Manas's [*keräz*] *kep* "dying behest".

⁶⁶ Radlov: *astında*.

kötündö küyörün bolso, töröm,

astında kuiruk bolsoçu, töröm.

arkaŋda jalıŋ bolsoçu, töröm!"

("My smooth arrow shot from a golden [bow],⁶⁷ my lord, would that you had an elder brother before you, my lord, my fluted arrow shot from a silver [bow], my lord, would that you had someone to mourn after you, my lord, if only there were a 'Tail' below you, my lord, if only there were a 'Mane' above you, my lord!")

This symmetrical or parallelistic passage, no doubt a memorized "run", intricately combined an image from archery and a variant of the "Tail-Mane" topos (which is regularly associated with the "Lone-one-from-the-nest" topos).

In view of the preoccupation of this passage with near-kinsmen, one may assume that Kanıkey's words on "arrows shot from a gold or silver bow" derive, however confusedly, from the allegory towards the end of the *Oyuz-name*. Uluy Turuk, a soothsayer at Oyuz-qayan's court, dreams of a golden bow (*bir altın ja*) and three silver arrows (*üç kümüş ok*), the former extending from sunrise to sunset, the latter appearing in the north. Out hunting, the three elder sons of Oyuz-qayan find a golden bow, the three younger sons three silver arrows. Oyuz-qayan breaks the bow in three and gives each of his elder sons a part, with the behest: "Let this be your bow. Like a bow, shoot the arrows up to heaven!" His behest to his younger sons on giving them the arrows is that they must be as arrows impelled by the bow. At the point where the ethnic and political implications of the allegory are to be made plain, the MS. breaks off.⁶⁸

If any element of the allegory survives in *BS* 61 ff. it is in the association (by the poetic logic of the parallelistic structure) of a golden bow with 62 *agaŋ* "an *aga* or elder brother of yours" (cf. *Oyuz-nâme* 39, 2 "*ai akalar ja bolsun seŋlärmüŋ*: "Elder brothers, let this be your bow"): and, less clearly, the association of a silver bow with 64 *kötündö küyörün* "someone to mourn *after* you", i.e. by symmetry and by implication of *kötündö* "an *ini* or younger brother" (cf. *Oyuz-nâme* 40, 2 "*ai inilär oklar bolsun seŋlärmüŋ*" – "Younger brothers, let these be your arrows"). A twist in the imagery may

⁶⁷ There is perhaps some ambiguity here. *jebe* = 1. arrow, 2. bow. *jebe tart-* means "to draw bow", "to loose an arrow". The adjectival *sır* "smooth" (and *kir* "edged", "fluted") normally goes with arrows and lances, e.g. *KK* 2353 *Koş kömshöi sır naise* "two-pronged smooth spear". It is possible that *altından*, *kümüştön* apply to the substance of the arrows and *tartkan* to the method of fabrication, in which case, nevertheless, the association with the allegory of Oyuz-qayan remains equally valid.

⁶⁸ W. Bang and G. R. Rachmati, "Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan", *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse XXV, Berlin, 1932, lines 312 ff. (xxxv ff.): A. M. Shcherbak, *Oguz-nâme. Mukhabbat-nâme*. Pam-yatniki drevneugurskoy i starouzbekskoy pis'mennosti, Moscow, 1959, 35, v ff. (pp. 56 ff.).

have entered through another association with "arrow": Kanıkey has lost Manas like a spent arrow, compare Almambet's father Kara-kan on the defection of his son in *AK*:

246 "ertän karmap öltür

atıp salgan ogumdu . . ."

("Seize him early and kill him, that spent arrow of mine . . .")

and Ai-čürök's incitement to her young son Seytek that if he does not ride Too-toru he will be a "spent arrow" (*S* 1740 *atıp salgan ok*).

As to the "Mane-Tail" topos, the parallel passages leave some doubt as to the precise visual imagery underlying the phrases used, for two of the four passages have "a Tail below" (scarcely "at the front"!) and "a Mane on the back" (*BS* 65 f. *astında kuiruk – arkaŋda jalıŋ*; *KK* 499 f. *arkamda jalı – astında kuiruk*), whereas the remaining two reverse the positions of mane and tail, if one gives the same sense to *ast* and *arka* (*KK* 541 f. *astında jalı – arkada kuiruk* = *KK* 723 f.). One asks oneself if this is a matter of complete indifference, or which of the two, the bard or Radlov, is the more likely to be at fault here. At *KK* 541 Radlov translates "Unter ihm ist keine Mähne" – cf. *KK* 723 "Vor mir, sieh, ist keine Mähne", showing that at least temporarily he was confused; cf. for 499 *astında kuiruk* "Habe . . . hinten keinen Schwanz." Now it is doubtful whether *ast* can ever mean "hinten", since in Kirgiz it either means "below" or "before". Reference to Yudakhin's *Slovar* is not altogether helpful, since in the transferred sense *kuyruk* means "posterity", while *jalı* is given no transferred meaning in this field except in the double expression *jal-kuyruk* "support", "defenders" ("relations and friends"). Our heroic texts of the mid-nineteenth century, however, suggest that these twentieth-century locutions are but a latter-day stereotyped product of a striking image. The full context of the last passage is (Jakip lamenting that he is "one-and-only"):

KK 721 "öidö čiksa öbökök jok (botom)

ıldı tüšsö jölök jok,

astında jalı jok eläi,

arkada kuiruk jok eläi . . ."

("If one goes up, there is no 'Help' (dear youth), if one goes down, there is no 'Aid'; before one there is no 'Mane', after one there is no 'Tail' . . .")

The sense must surely be: "If I go up my lineage, i.e. if I look for older kinsmen, I find none to help me, if I look for younger kinsmen, I find none to aid me." The thought is then restated in typical Kirgiz "heroic" style, and, moreover in equine terms: "Before me [i.e. at my fore-end] I have no 'Mane', behind me I have no 'Tail';" the sense of "progeny", as we saw, still being preserved in the twentieth century for "Tail". If we ask ourselves wherein the image resides, the answer must be that the horse-mad Kirgiz

equated those troubles of life which could not be faced without the aid of kinsmen young and old, with the flies (*čimın*) which so tormented their herds.

Kanıkey in her lament thus implies that with the obvious exception of Jakıp, Manas had no near-kinsmen, even though Abeke and Kōböš, "two lads", are directly addressed by Manas on his death-bed. Jakıp, turning to villainy, is of another opinion. He sends Meñdi-bay, a stock nasty man otherwise known from the episode of Manas's wedding,⁶⁹ to remind Kanıkey of the rule of the levirate:

85 "At ölsö söri keräs' dōčü'di,
'aga ölsö jeñä keräs' dōčü'di . . ."

("If a horse dies, he leaves his rump as legacy", people say; 'if an elder brother⁷⁰ dies, he bequeaths an elder sister-in-law',⁷¹ so people say . . .").⁷²

Faced with this, Kanıkey no longer implies that Manas stood towards Abeke and Kōböš in the relationship of *aga* to *ini*, but instead takes her stand on the well established right of a Turco-Mongol widow to rear a son in her own yurt, if she gives birth to a male child.⁷³ At 124 Meñdi-bay names Abeke and Kōböš Manas's *ini*, i.e. "younger brothers" or at least younger kinsmen. In the scene where they destroy Manas's smoke-vent, the bard himself names them 234 *Manastın eki inisi*, and at 672 Semetey, in turn, refers to them as *ek'agam* "my two senior kinsmen" and again at 891 when he addresses them directly as such. Abeke, the clever (89 *akıl-män tügen*) and Kōböš, the dim-witted (90 *kōdök tügen*) were clearly Jakıp's younger sons by a woman who neither appears nor is given a name, but whose effect on Jakıp's senior wife Čakan can perhaps be gauged from the passage quoted above: "A breeze lifted my skirt, Jakıp. You lifted my

⁶⁹ (V, I, 3), 649 f. "*Kök ala sakal Meñdi Bai buzukha tügen kul edä*". "Meñdi-bay of the grey-flecked beard was born to create trouble". Here, Meñdi-bay is in the service of Kanıkey's father "Temir-kan", in "Afghanistan", not of Jakıp on the River Talas. In *BS*, too, Kanıkey's father bears the name of "Kara-kan". This is strong indication that I 3) and *BS* were recorded from different bards.

⁷⁰ In such instances "aga" is extended to elder kinsmen.

⁷¹ *jeñe* literally = "wife of an elder brother in relation to all the kinsmen of the husband".

⁷² The citation in L. Krader, *Social organization of the Mongol-Turkic pastoral nomads*, Bloomington, The Hague, 1963, p. 248, of a variant of this proverb from the Little Kazakh Horde seems to be corrupt. The text cited stands: "*aga ulsa dženge mura/ ini ulsa kelin mura/at ulsa saury mura*". The rendering offered is "If the elder brother dies, his wife goes to the younger brother; just as when a horse dies, the hide is the property of the owner." Though I am no Kazakh scholar I suggest that the sense is rather: "If an elder brother dies, a senior sister-in-law is inherited; if a younger brother dies a junior sister-in-law is inherited; if a horse dies, his croup is inherited." (The hide no doubt is intended.)

⁷³ L. Krader, pp. 216 ff.; 246 f., A. T. Hatto, "The Birth of Manas", *Asia Major* N.S. XIV, 1969, pp. 223 f. and n. 21.

skirt, Jakıp, what defect did you find in me . . . ?"⁷⁴ Čakan had evidently been discarded in favour of a younger woman, possibly a concubine;⁷⁵ Kanıkey uses her lament to establish the priority of her unborn son and invalidate the claims of Abeke and Kōböš; she extends this to refusing Abeke and Kōböš as husbands; and Akılay, after marrying Abeke, ruthlessly seeks to legitimize her future progeny by starting the action to eliminate Manas's line.

As with *AK* and *Köz-Kaman*⁷⁶ every line of enquiry chosen has led to the heart of this poem, a poem of stark revenge. And I, at least, have marvelled both at the concealed depth and strength, and also the dramatic power of these products of the mid nineteenth-century Kirgiz bards, and have asked myself how it could all be held together through the endless weavings and unravellings of oral improvisation on known themes. This is not the place, however, in which to pursue such an enquiry. After duly noting that V. V. Radlov succeeded in recording some of the world's finest and pithiest heroic poetry, once it is understood, we must turn to but a few of the many remaining points of interest that space permits. I shall confine myself to two of the characters, Jakıp and Jamgirči, and to some significant items of custom and ritual.

For what advantage of power was this grim family feud waged – for the Khanate? Manas was a khan (*BS* 2); and the mysterious holy man who names Semetey names him prophetically "Khan Semetey" (*BS* 579 "*Kan Semätai bu bolsun!*" = 589), and *Kan Semätai* he is: especially to the cringing Abeke and Kōböš, when Semetey arrives to claim Manas's accoutrements. Then what was the status of Jakıp? Jakıp is once called "*Jakıp-kan*" (*BS* 956): otherwise he is regularly "*Jakıp-bai*", or plain "*Jakıp*". How could Jakıp be a khan, if his son were khan? Chokan Valikhanov noticed the equivocal status of Jakıp and seems to be quoting from a version of *Manas* known to him in which Jakıp himself is aware of the difficulty: "Manas by his origins does not belong to the White Bone (i.e. Chinggisids) but he is no less mighty than the khans. His father Yakub says: 'I am the father of young Manas'⁷⁷ famed from the Chu to the Talas.

⁷⁴ P. 166.

⁷⁵ The twentieth-century bard Sagymbay, who learnt his art during the last decades of the nineteenth century, makes this woman a daughter of Jakıp's Kalmak overlord Čayan. That Abeke and Kōböš's mother should be a Kalmak may well be traditional, since it would account for the yellow streak in her sons, who are not only treacherous but use poison as does Kökčögöz, reared in the Kalmak lands, in *Köz-kaman*. See A. T. Hatto, *Köz-kaman* I, pp. 81 f. and II, pp. 243 ff.

⁷⁶ See the articles in *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIII, pp. 161 ff. and XV, pp. 81 ff. and 241 ff.

⁷⁷ In *BS*, Manas several times bears the epithet *jaš* = "young", e.g. 44; 74. Thus Valikhanov's source and the bard of *BS* may have belonged to the same school, since they also both have "Kara-kan" as Kanıkey's father: Valikhanov, Ch. Ch., *Sobranie sočinieniy*. Ed. A. Margulan (Alma Ata, 1961, etc.), I, 421, 10, cf. n. 69, p. 172 above.

I am no khan, but am not less than a khan. I am Khan Yakub.'"⁷⁸ The bard of *BS*, with the intention of representing the family feud as a struggle for the Khanate, clarifies the issue by regularly naming Jakıp "Jakıp-bai" and all but avoids the equivocal "Jakıp-khan" known from other bards.⁷⁹ Was Manas, then, a self-made khan? Valikhanov's remarks on Manas not being of the White Bone strongly suggest it. (This is a point on which Valikhanov is unlikely to have been wrong, since he himself was of the White Bone.)

An enigmatic figure in *BS* and some other episodes is Jamgırçı with whom Manas is said to have stood in family blood-feud,⁸⁰ and indeed so seriously that were Kankey to take the infant Semetey to him, Jamgırçı would kill him and marry her by force (*BS* 498 ff.). This, in fact, is all we learn about him in *BS*. If we are to assume that Manas is a "Nogoy", which is never stated in *BS*, then Jamgırçı is a "Nogoy" too. In *AK*, Jamgırçı is a "Kara Nogoi", Manas a "Sarı Nogoi" (21 f.), each evidently leader and doubtless khan of his tribe. Er Kōkčō, the third of the Muslims of this group, says he "cannot turn his horse's head" with Manas on his right and Jamgırçı on his left, even though the latter has moved off via the Kurmenty-confluence to the Ili Valley (30 ff.). In the loose sequence to which Radlov gives the number I,3), Jamgırçı is mentioned several times. In the curious passage in which Manas boasts to the "White Czar" of his plans to subjugate all around him, he interpolates an account of Almambet's dealings with Kōkčō, in the course of which Almambet says he will go to Jamgırçı,⁸¹ sultan of the Nogoi (434 f.). Returning to Jakıp, Manas trumpets out his achievements, among them: 529 *Jamgırčın Jalıntıp*⁸² *kelgändä* "when I made Jamgırçı plead for mercy". In *Bok Murun*, where so many of the traditional heroes are invited to Kōkčō's funeral repast and race their horses there, Jamgırçı is not mentioned. Later in this episode, however, Manas makes a double boast: first that he will wrest Tekeči's steed from Kōkčō; second that he will take Jamgırçı's steed:

1638 "Keñ Aljan içindä
öst'ai ekän Jamgırçı,
1640 Jamgırčıga jetip ait.
altun köstü Merdiyän
Merdiyändi bersin de!⁸³
Merdiyändi berbäsä,
Jamgırčıdan başka jōm jok!

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 420, 32.

⁷⁹ e.g. V, I, 3).

⁸⁰ See p. 163, above.

⁸¹ Text: *Jamgırčın* (a Kazakh form, see p. 175, below), translation "Jamgyrtshy".

⁸² Text: *Jalındıp*, a spurious form, probably a printer's error, Radlov: "zum flehen gezwungen" requires *Jalıntıp*, factitive of *Jalın*- "implore".

⁸³ Text: *merdiyändi*; translation "Korallen", "in Gold gefasst". Yudakhin, *Slovar*; *Merdiyän*: klichka bogatyrskogo konya. See addendum below.

1645 Süt bolottu bersin de!
Kar'usta kılıp bek sokkon,
süt bolot özü jakš' elä."

("Jamgırçı grew up in broad Aljan; go and tell Jamgırçı that he is to give me his golden-eyed Merdiyän. If he will not give Merdiyän, my enemy shall be no other than Jamgırçı! Tell him to give me Milk-steel! Forging it, the smith made it strong - Milk-steel is a most excellent sword!")

However, although Manas does remember to raid Kōkčō, he forgets all about Jamgırçı. At *AK* 21 ff., Jamgırçı is loosely linked with Kōkčō, and again at I,3) 434 f. and *BM* 1638 ff. At I,3) 529, Jamgırçı is followed by Agış and Kojoš. Now Kōkčō is certainly one of the older figures of the heroic tradition;⁸⁴ and Agış and Kojoš are mythical in epic.⁸⁵ It comes as no surprise therefore that Jamgırçı, shadowy khan of a Nogoy tribe in the Kirgiz epics, has been derived from the historical Yamgurchi, a great-grandson of Idige, and father of Agysh. Yamgurchi and his brother Mursa, princes of the Nogoy horde, attacked and wiped out the last khan of the Golden Horde in 1480-1, and Agysh took Astrakhan in 1521-2.⁸⁶ The historical aspects of "Jamgırçı" and "Agış", as these figures are called in Kazakh epic, have sharper definition there; and it is from the Kazakh that the Kirgiz seem largely to have borrowed their notions of the "Nogoy".⁸⁷ At least enough was remembered, however, for us to understand that Manas and Jamgırçı were "*sök östü kişi*" (*BS* 401) and how Jamgırçı and his golden-eyed Merdiyän survived in boasts, as did Tekichi and his dapple steed.⁸⁸ The voracity of the *Manas*-cycle will have swallowed up whatever individual exploits were attributed to Jamgırçı. In Kirgiz, Jamgırçı would mean "rain-maker"; but our texts show no attempt to interpret him etymologically as a weather-shaman,⁸⁹ though Agış ("milk-white") was etymologically interpreted.⁹⁰

The function of the brief references to Jamgırçı in *BS*, then, is to show that the older generation, like the present (Semetey) and the future (Seytek), was involved in murderous strife within the ruling clan.

At the beginning of his naming and blessing of the babe Semetey, the mysterious "white-beard" (who always appears on these occasions) says:

⁸⁴ V. M. Zhirmunskiy, "Vvedenie v izuchenie éposa 'Manas'", *Kirgizskiy geroicheskiy épos MANAS*. Ed. M. I. Bogdanova, V. M. Zhirmunskiy, and A. A. Petrosyan, Moscow, 1961, pp. 144 f.

⁸⁵ A. T. Hatto, *Köz-kaman II*, pp. 278 f.

⁸⁶ Zhirmunskiy, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 f.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ A. T. Hatto, *Almambet, Er Kōkčō and Ak Erkeč*, pp. 173 ff.

⁸⁹ Power over the weather was a great asset for a Kirgiz warrior in epic at least in the twentieth century, see "Shamanism and epic poetry", p. 18.

⁹⁰ A. T. Hatto, *Köz-Kaman II*, pp. 278 f.

568 "Bel ailana berginčä,
beldäi kızıl tal büssün!
bir eşiñ⁹¹ kudai jar büssün!
üi ailana berginčä,
üidöi kızıl tal büssün!
kojo Kıdır jar büssün!"

("As we go⁹² round the mountain-side,⁹³ may red willows grow high as the mountain-side! May the one merciful God be your friend. As we go round the house, may red willows grow high as a house! May the Khoja Kıdır⁹⁴ be your friend!")

"Red willows" are clearly auspicious. In *S*, after Semetey has assumed power, he is portrayed as one protected by angels – he is *berıştälü*.⁹⁵ The blessing uttered by the holy man at the naming in *BS* is shown in fulfilment here by use of the same phrases, but in an ampler, parallelistic form with further auspicious associations:

S 243 berıştälü janında
birdä turdu bu čoro,
245 abıraktü janında
airilbai turdu bu čoro.
Bel⁹⁶ ailana berginčä
beldäi kızıl tal bütkön,
berärinä⁹⁷ kelgändä
250 beräci kudai jar bütkön;
döbölönö berginčä
döbödoi kızıl tal bütkön.
jölörünö kelgändä
jölöcü kudai jar bütkön.

(These companions⁹⁸ lived together with the auspicious man, these companions lived inseparably from the man blessed by his ancestral

⁹¹ Text: *ešäñ*, cf. *AK* 1088 *išij*.

⁹² *ailana* is impersonal: but since *aylan-* means "to circumambulate ritually", I have made it personal.

⁹³ This seems the only appropriate sense of *bel*, cf. in the parallel passage *S* 252 *döbödoi kızıl tal bütkön* with *döbö* = "hill". Radlov failed to collate: *bel* at *AK* 1086 = "Hüften"; *BS* 568 "Hügel"; *S* 247, "Hügel". *beldäi* is rendered differently on each occasion.

⁹⁴ Presumably the legendary post-Quranic al-Khidr (al-Khaḍir).

⁹⁵ Yudakhin's rationalized definition of this once pious term is amusing: "*berıştelüü kiši*: chelovek avtoritetnyy, vliyatel'nyy (ne po svoerna položheniyu, a po lichnym kachestvam)."

⁹⁶ Text: *beli*, as against *AK* 1086 and *BS* 568 *bel*.

⁹⁷ Text: *berärinä*, cf. the parallel *jölörünö* (253).

⁹⁸ *Kül-čoro* and *Kan-čoro*, whose roles will be examined in Part II of this contribution (*Semetey*).

spirits.⁹⁹ As they went round the mountain-side, red willows grew high as the mountain-side! When [the time] came for giving, bountiful God became his helpmeet; as they were heaped [with abundance], red willows grew high as a hill, when [the time] came for helping, helpful God became his helpmeet.)

The structure of this passage is *ab, ab; cdef, cdef*. The one noticeable defect of symmetry is in 247 *bel ailana*: 251 *döbölönö*. One almost suspects *döbö ailana*, originally. But in this context of auspiciousness, *döbölönö* "being heaped up, loaded down" makes good sense (*döbölön-* refl. of *döbölä-* "to heap up"). The topos of the Red Willows also occurs in *AK*, in the passage in which Ak Erkeč does her best to convince her feckless husband Kökčö of the unique auspiciousness of his friend Almambet, now falsely accused and about to leave the tribe which he has made prosperous.¹⁰⁰ If Kökčö will but see the truth and act accordingly, he will prosper yet:

AK 1084 "Jıldısıñ oñop alıptır
jıldısıñ oñ ininä¹⁰¹ salıptır
bel ailana bergänčä
beldäi kızıl tal bütkön,
bir eşiñ¹⁰² kudai jar bütkön,
üi ailana berginčä
üidöi kızıl tal bütkön
kojo Kıdır jar bütkön . . ."

("Your star would be auspicious, your star would emerge on its right side, as we go round the mountain-side, red willows will grow high as the mountain-side, the one merciful God will be your friend, as we go round the house, red willows will grow high as the house, the Khoja Kıdır will be your friend . . .")

In an interesting essay misnamed "Traces of shamanism among the Kirgiz",¹⁰³ Valikhanov reports that circumambulation was highly regarded by the Kirgiz for its magical efficacy. "To circumambulate a man means to take upon oneself all his ailments, all the evil spells that weigh on him. For this reason the most endearing word among the Kirgiz and the truest expression of love is contained in the word *aynalain* – among the central Asiatic Turks *urgulain*¹⁰⁴ – which means "I circumambulate you."¹⁰⁵ We have heard that

⁹⁹ *abırak* is a metathesized form of *arbak* "spirits of the ancestors" and the blessings that come from them.

¹⁰⁰ See p. 163, above.

¹⁰¹ *in* is "southern", "Talas" for *iyin* "shoulder" (Yudakhin).

¹⁰² Text: *išij*. cf. *BS* 570 *ešäñ*.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.* I, 469 ff.: informative on folk-beliefs, this essay has almost nothing to do with shamanism as such.

¹⁰⁴ *ürgülöyün* = *üyürlöyün*, "I would circumambulate you" = *aylanayın/aynalayın*.

¹⁰⁵ The forms cited by Valikhanov and here are first person singular optative.

in bygone days fathers, with their sashes on their necks,¹⁰⁶ galloped round their yurts where a son of theirs lay ill . . . whilst their kinsmen and others of their *aul* sought to restrain them from so ruinous an intention".¹⁰⁷

As for the "red willows", their auspicious nature is surely to be sought not in a given species¹⁰⁸ but in the reddish hue which comes over some varieties before bursting into leaf in spring. Moreover, in a land of many deserts, willows are auspicious as signposts to water. The magnificence and the function of the "Six-branched Red Willow of the golden leaves and silver bark"¹⁰⁹ beyond three heavens, in the Abakan hero-tale of *Sugjul Mergän*,¹¹⁰ must derive from the same symbolism, since in this tale an heroic horse hides some new-born children in this willow's interior to save the family from extirpation. The children, moreover, like Semetey, are all the more exposed in that they are conceived late in their parents' lives. Their protective willow, idealized and in a remote heaven, has an aspect of a shamanistic Tree of Life.¹¹¹ It seems likely that the willow-ritual at Semetey's naming ceremony in *BS* has this same close connexion with the central theme of the poem: the preservation of a threatened lineage.

Reference was made above to the levirate.¹¹² The original name of Ķakıp's senior wife (*baybiĉe*) or "old woman" (*kempir*) was "Ķakan" a name she bore when she was wife to Ķiyır, Ķakıp's paternal uncle according to Sagymbay. On Ķiyır's dying, Ķakan fell to Ķakıp. Expressive of Ķakıp's duty to "raise seed to" his uncle Ķiyır, is the new name Ķiyırđı or Ķiyırđı taken by Ķakan at her second marriage.¹¹³ In *BS*, striking confirmation of this is found in the fact that at the beginning of the episode, Ķakıp's wife bears her auspicious soubriquet "Bagđıđöölöt", i.e. "Bliss and prosperity" – that is, *her husband Ķakıp's* bliss and prosperity;¹¹⁴ but that after the attempt of Ķakıp, Abeke, and Kőböő to put out Manas's fire, driving Kanıkey and Bagđıđöölöt into penurious exile, the latter is no longer called "Bagđıđö-

¹⁰⁶ Valikhanov here translates *moyunga kur (boto) sal-/salın*, implying a gesture of submission.

¹⁰⁷ Valikhanov, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

¹⁰⁸ Yudakhin, *Slovar*, does not cite "kızıl tal".

¹⁰⁹ "altı azır sarıg sőt, altın kalkalg pol-tır, altın pürlüg pol-tır, kümüs kastıraktug pol-tır . . ."

¹¹⁰ Radlov, *Obraztsy I*, chast' II (1868), p. 310 (lines 263 ff.). The horse takes the children to safety through a golden door in the willow.

¹¹¹ The *huluppu*-tree in the Sumerian epic of "Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree", clearly reflecting the Tree of Life, is thought to be a willow. Originally it grew beside the Euphrates, but was uprooted by the South Wind. It was dying because a serpent lurked at its roots, and Lilith had built a house within – cf. the golden door to the inside of the Abakan willow (previous footnote). See A. T. Hatto, *Shamanism and Epic Poetry in Northern Asia*, p. 3.

¹¹² P. 172, above.

¹¹³ A. T. Hatto, "The Birth of Manas", *Asia Major*, N.S. XIV, pp. 221 ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the discussion of "Atalaktın ak döölöt", and "Bagđı döölöt" in *Kőz-kaman II*, pp. 275 ff.

löt" but "Ķakan".¹¹⁵ Ķakıp has chased his "luck" away: he has ended his marriage, and his former wife returns to her first name. She owes him nothing and is free to kill him for his attempt against her issue when the occasion offers.

The law of the levirate is stated in its starkest terms in the triangular struggle between Abeke, the shrewd half-brother of Manas, Kanıkey, and Manas's second wife Akılay.¹¹⁶ As we saw, Ķakıp sent Menđı-bay to Kanıkey with a hint, implied in a proverb, that Abeke should marry her through the levirate. Kanıkey refused, but Akılay accepted.¹¹⁷ Each of the two women avails herself of the law of the levirate in a manner appropriate to her status. Akılay is childless, and must therefore accept: whilst justifying her own mode of action she implicitly justifies Kanıkey's:

BS 129 Šoruktun kısı Akılay aitat:

"Balalü katın bar bolso,

Balasin er erkäit,¹¹⁸

balası jok men, baikuš,

akılmän tügan Abäkä

astırtın kelip kessin de!"

Ķooruk's daughter Akılay says: "If it is a case of a woman with a son ["she will rear her son to manhood"].¹¹⁸ [But] I, poor wretch, am childless, [so] tell clever Abeke to come [to me] up here!"¹¹⁹

Under pressure, Kanıkey had stated her position with apparently barbaric clarity. She rejected the proposal of marriage, saying that it was as unseemly of filthy Abeke and Kőböő to utter it as it was for Manas's widow to hear it (97 ff.). She was gone with child for seven months, now seven have become eight, and eight nine.

107 "Ķaza bir tayım kısı bolso,

otko salıp küigüzöm,

süga¹²⁰ salıp ağızam,

andan kın tiyämin.

Menin balam üi bolso,

tımäk turmak sibäimin."

("If for my sins¹²¹ my child is a daughter, I shall throw her on to the fire and burn her, throw her into the river to be carried away – then I

¹¹⁵ 191, 230; 359, 1024, 1039, 1063.

¹¹⁶ For Akılay's shrewish character see *Kőz-Kaman II*, pp. 279 ff.

¹¹⁷ See p. 172, above.

¹¹⁸ Thus Radlov, "Wird ihr Kind zum Mann erziehen". This is "the required sense"; but I have sought confirmation for *er erkäit* in vain.

¹¹⁹ Or: "come . . . secretly".

¹²⁰ Text: *suga*.

¹²¹ *Ķaza I* "punishment": or modal from *Ķaz* – III 3 "err", "be at fault"?

shall marry. But if my child is a son, it would not be seemly for me to marry."¹²²

This talk of burning or drowning a daughter is Kanikey's drastic way of affirming that if she gave birth to a girl she would accept it as a sign that Manas's line was to be extinguished.

In the event Kanikey's declaration did not need to be put to the test. Nor was there in any case a chance that she would marry Abeke or Kōböš: for the hand that had stabbed Manas on the nuptial couch for the liberty he had taken, and that was also to cut Abeke and Kōböš to pieces with that same *ak-tinte*,¹²³ would – we can rely on it – have made an end of them before such a marriage had been consummated. Manas's line was to be spared, but precariously. For when Kanikey takes the babe to old Bakay, the latter gallops uphill and the babe hangs down from the saddle, and when he rides down again the ill omen is repeated. All three protectors of Semetey – Kanikey, Čakan and Bakay – then weep (359 ff.). Semetey will be guarded by angels; the red willows will also play their part. But, as the following episode of *Semetey* narrates, only for a time.¹²⁴

ADDENDUM

With the appearance of Margulan, A., *Shokan jame "Manas"*. "Manas" *jiřiny Shokan jaxıp alǵan nusqası turalı zertteu*. Alma Ata, 1971, giving poor and reduced reproduction of the Kirgiz original of *Kukotay* (i.e. of *KO*), it is now possible to print a definitive reading of a crucial word discussed above: p. 168, for *OK kereñ söz*, *kereñ as* read *kerez söz*, *kerez aš* (*OK* introduces *kereñ* from Kazakh). Further it is of interest that *KO* ascribes *altınduu közdüü Madyan* ("golden-eyed Madyan," evidently the same beast as "golden-eyed Merdiyen" on pp. 174 f. above, not to Jamgırçı but to Er Koşoy. Merdiyen/Madyan is thus a second Kōk-ala (cf. *CAJ*, XIII, pp. 173 ff.).

¹²² Cf. L. Krader, *Social organization of the Mongol-Turkic pastoral nomads*, pp. 218 and 246 (Kazakh).

¹²³ As with Manas's accoutrements (see p. 165, above), one hesitates to make *ak tintä* a proper name, and for two distinct reasons: (i) at V, I, 3) 1327 the weapon is varied as *bičak* ("knife", "dagger") with the same epithet *abalak saptū* ("with hilt of curved horn") as *ak tintä* at 1318 (see n. 50, above): (ii) a quite different heroine in a very different sort of epic, *Joloi-kan*, wields an *ak tintä*: 2404 *Anda aıtın Kızıl Kız*: "Atakäm bergän ak tintä, jaš jürokkö salbasam . . ." Then, Kızıl-kız, you said: "If I do not plunge this bright dagger which my father gave me into your fierce heart . . ." Yudakhin in his *Slovar'* sub *tinte* nevertheless, following romantic twentieth century bards and editors, presents "*Ak-tinte*" as a proper name denoting Kanikey's peculiar weapon. In nineteenth-century epic *ak-tinte* seems to be a type-weapon appropriate to a spirited heroine.

¹²⁴ I hope to present an analysis of *Semetey* as Part II of this contribution.