THE EPIC OF SIBERIA

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis deals with the oral, or folk epic of the non-Slavonic peoples inhabiting Siberia, excluding the so-called Palaeosiberians. It is divided into four main parts, as follows:

I. Essay on the historicity of epics, in general terms, but with special reference to those of Siberia.

II. Discussion of the epics of the two main groups, Mongolian (Burjat) and Turkic, which latter includes the Yakut of the north. Form and construction of the epics, with remarks on their versification, mode of presentation, and content, in general.

III. Details of the content, shown in summaries of the stories of selected epics.

IV. A short account of the Soviet attitudes towards folk literature, and conclusion.

The appended bibliography lists the major works in the field, both primary and secondary, and the Glossarial Index gives excursus upon several topics and motifs regularly met with.
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PREFA

The oral literature of Siberia, like that of any large geographical area, is extremely diverse, including every type of folklore from proverb to epic. There are connections to be seen with the literature of other countries, mainly, of course, those contiguous to Siberia, such as Mongolia, Persia, and Russia. There are several studies of these "major" literatures extant, and indeed a complete bibliography of them would fill many volumes, even if it were only confined to the languages of Western Europe.

The study of the Siberian epic is but part of the larger study of the oral productions of mankind, yet it yields a picture of humanity which is surely of great interest to the ethnologist, social scientist, and littérateur.

Within the confines of a study such as this, only the barest outline is possible. The bibliography tries to be full, but no bibliography of such a wide field can hope to be exhaustive. Much work requires to be done in all this territory, and it is hoped that the following survey and bibliography will be of use to scholars, and even laymen, who wish to pursue this subject further.
Most of the sources used in this thesis are in Russian; books in Oriental languages have been kept to the minimum. It is not of course ideal that translations should be used as a basis for statements (and even conjectures) regarding the literature or folkways of a people, but at least some idea can be gathered of the vast fund of material in the "other" languages, much of it untranslated, much of it still unpublished. The majority of the critical works is also in Russian, and a summary digest of these should prove helpful to the student, and direct his steps towards those which seem most fruitful.

There are few controversial issues at stake here. My statements and theories are generally supported by quoted facts, and where I have gone so far as to make a hypothesis, it can be argued that there is evidence on both sides of the question. In literature, as in history and psychology, there is often ground for debate, but no hope of a self-evident truth to be demonstrated.

Finally, I should like to thank those colleagues, librarians and friends who have borne with me in my travail, and in particular, my sister. Naturally, none is responsible for any errors but myself.
PART I

THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF EPICS

I. INTRODUCTION

Epic poetry has long been highly regarded by the western world. Aristotle held it to be the near equal of Tragedy, for him the most exalted form of poetic art. Dryden indicated the informed opinion of his generation when he declared: "Heroic poetry, which [the illiterate, censorious, and detracting critics] condemn, has ever been esteemed, and ever will be, the greatest work of human nature." 

Two types of epic may be distinguished: the epic of art, or the literary epic, and the epic of tradition, or the folk epic. The first is exemplified by Vergil in antiquity, by Ariosto in sixteenth-century Italy (Orlando Furioso, 1516), and a hundred years later by Milton. With the exception of the remarkable epic of Poland, Adam Mickiewicz' Pan Tadeusz, and Nikos Kazantzakis' sequel to the Odyssey, this literary form appears to be dying out in the western world.

The second type, the folk, or oral, epic, seems to follow a similar course. In Britain, after two centuries of rapid social change, it can no longer be said that every village is "a nest of singing birds", although examples are
found even now of the singing of ballads, some of very ancient provenance. The "muckle sangs" of the old peasantry are dying, however, and the metrical romance is dead. The words of George Lyman Kittredge are fast coming true: "Ballad-making, as far as the English-speaking nations are concerned, is a lost art; and the same may be said for ballad-singing."5

While ballads are still sung and composed in Britain and America, they are by no means as ambitious as those in vogue among other nations. In Russia, byliny of some length have appeared, with Lenin and Stalin as their subjects in place of the legendary demigods and princes of Kiev who figure in the "classical" heroic songs of pre-revolutionary times,6 and one still finds examples of the folk epic flourishing among more primitive peoples, including those that inhabit the Soviet Union.

The native tribes of Siberia have for a long time treasured a vast store of epic songs, which have been passed from one generation to the next by oral tradition alone. Some of these peoples have only recently acquired an alphabet, and because of the preliterate nature of their society research on this material is still in its infancy. Soviet scholars have continued with increasing enthusiasm the work of such pioneers as Radlov7 and Pekarskij,8 but the western world is not yet familiar with a great deal of this literature. The oral art of the Turkic tribes has, it is true, been dealt with at some length by the Chadwicks9
and Winner; yet much still remains to be done in this sphere, as in others.

II. ACCURACY AND VARIATION

The student of oral epics is faced with the necessity of reconciling two factors in their production: absolute accuracy of repetition, which originates in a religious attitude towards the poems, and the unconscious, or at times even conscious, editing of the material.

Examples of absolute accuracy of transmission are numerous. John Whitehead, for instance, observes that "among the Celts, history was customarily passed down by word of mouth, by bards trained to meticulous accuracy in oral repetition," and as a consequence, traditional stories should not be inconsiderately rejected as a basis for a hypothesis. The bardic schools of Wales and Ireland had an extremely lengthy programme of instruction, at the end of which the file, or bard, was able to recite an enormous number of poems, in all the different styles — all from memory. In the Cycle of the Fian alone, there were one hundred and twenty prime tales which the bards could recite.

The legends of the Hebrews seem to have been cast by the priests and prophets into saga form, used in a liturgical way at such seasonal rituals as the Feast of Ingathering (Feast of Tabernacles); it was on these occasions
that the "cult myths" would be recited and Yahweh's concern with his worshippers eulogised. This was both a commemorative and a magical act, just as the ceremony of the Mass in a Catholic Christian church is intrinsically a magical rite. Such, in all probability, was also the case among the Celts, for the druid (derwydd) was priest, magistrate and historian, and constant recitation kept traditions alive into historical times.

The Burjats of Central Siberia looked upon their epics (the uligers) as holy, and because of their alleged divine origin, the words could not be changed in the slightest. There is a legend of how, when a certain uligershin (bard) was chanting the tale of Geser, a horse in full harness appeared in the sky. This was the narrator's reward for performing the Geseriad well. The horse began to descend from the sky; but the storyteller had omitted one detail in his account: he forgot that Geser had placed his whip on a stump.

Then was heard the voice of some invisible being: "The tale is well told, but the whip is missing!" The horse at that moment rose up to the sky and disappeared.

Here any change or fault in the story is resented by the gods, for the magic of the tale is decreased or entirely nullified thereby, and it is in a sense a species of blasphemy. Still less acceptable is the idea of wilful change, or censorship, of these age-old songs. Back in
the 1890's, a Russian school teacher is reported to have asked the famous reciter I. T. Rjabin in to delete certain "indecent" verses from the epic poem he was about to deliver. His answer, as the commentator says, is a wonderfully direct statement of the meaning and dignity of tradition:

But how can I help singing it? Would you take away a word of the song? Because it is an ancient one, and as the men of old used to sing it, so we must sing it. You know yourself, it was not composed by us, and it will not end with us.17

However, in many instances editing of the material has occurred due to the very nature of the transmission, (i.e. by word of mouth), and the oral origin of some epics of art may account for differences in the texts, and explain the consequent difficulties of interpretation.

There are many extant varying texts of both oral and literary epics, old and new, as well as different recensions of one and the same basic folktale.

Among the epics can be mentioned the several texts of the Nibelungen Not, the fluctuating canon of Homer,18 and the controversial exordium attributed by some to Vergil:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
Carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coëgi,
Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono;
Gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis
Arma virumque cano...19

As regards the second type of variation, the ramifi-
cations in divers versions of fabliaux and the quite remarkable spread in many different varieties of such folktales as that of Cinderella are bound to mean that extra episodes not originally present will be brought in, and in the case of treatments of historical happenings there will consequently be downright inaccuracies.

Epics as such tend to embroider until any historical underlay is well hidden; and most examples of the traditional type are so overgrown with imaginative touches that it is frequently impossible to believe that there has ever been a factual basis. Even when the incidents described are matters of historical record, this treatment may elevate them into supernatural or fantastic events, and "inaccuracies" in seemingly factual statements are legion.

For example, in the Russian byliny which are built on a larger substratum of fact, namely the cycle of Kiev, there is confusion between Vladimir Svjatoslavich and Vladimir Monomakh, Ivan III and Ivan the Dread, and to still farther obfuscate matters, Russia's perennial enemies, the Tatars, Mongols, Poles and Lithuanians are all mixed in the popular imagination.

Similarly, the Border Ballads can be extremely unhistorical, as when The Battle of Harlaw makes MacDonald of the Isles a casualty in that engagement, which error may well be the result of chauvinistic wishful thinking.
For all these drawbacks, ballads, folktales and epics are, from a historical point of view at least, a valuable record of the social, moral and spiritual consciousness of a nation, and provide interesting sidelights on the economic and social conditions and development of the peoples that produce them. Examination of the detritus that has gathered on the original kernel is at once fascinating and rewarding, though for many reasons it is fraught with difficulties, some of which seem insuperable. The fundamental layer, the starting-point, may be concealed beyond recovery, but as Sir Thomas Browne observed, many apparently insoluble problems are not entirely beyond us. Whatever the success of our researches, we may, if only by serendipity, find out much that is capable of illuminating anthropological and sociological studies.

The primitive (i.e. the unsophisticated preliterate) does not relish change, and is likely to resist it strenuously. He is by nature conservative, traditionally orientated. Yet change does occur in his society; despite the forces of opposition, a gradual shift of values, and evolution in material culture and language, can be observed.

The very gradual nature of this shift will, often enough, prevent the primitive from noticing it. "This is my grandfather's axe; my father gave it a new haft, and I have given it a new head" is a reflection of his stubborn traditionalism in the face of all civilised logic; the
eternal changelessness of things will be dogmatically in­
sisted upon, no matter how evident is the contrary.

The "primitive" may rationalise these obvious changes in his society, ignoring them and denying their existence. The bard of that society can hardly be blamed for insisting, as he does, that there have been no changes in his recita­
tion, that all is as it has ever been. He is not guilty of bad faith, for without written records he has no opportunity of "correcting" his version according to the "received text".

So while deliberate change is anathema to the reciter, unconscious modification can and will occur in his tale, although most likely it will be denied by its perpetrator. After centuries of this process of gradual alteration, the entire piece may have changed beyond recognition. However, since gradual change is seldom noticed, its cumulative effect will be accepted as "the way things have always been". Some things may still remain from the old versions, so that one finds words being used in recitation which the bard no longer understands, and historical details which are entirely unknown to the performer and his society.

Thus, in the ballad of Auld Maitland, the term spring­
alds (balistas, large mechanical cross-bows) has become in the mouth of the reciter springwalls;²⁴ in the byliny there are several references to the aurochs, long extinct, and to female heroes, poljanity, whose existence was in doubt
until archaeological research confirmed it. Likewise, details of ancient armour occur, such as the antique type of shield in Homer:

> Now Ajax came near him, carrying his shield that was like unto a tower,

and the equipage of the heroes in the *glongkho* of the Yakut, which would be totally outwith the experience of the singer.

One should not berate the lack of historical accuracy evident in most of these productions, for the perspective in which events are viewed by the reciter-composer is not the sophisticated one to which western civilisation is accustomed. Erich Auerbach observes that a procedure which creates a foreground and background, differentiating the present from the past, "is entirely foreign to the Homeric style; the Homeric style knows only a foreground, only a uniformly illuminated, uniformly objective present."

The border ballads are also set in a timeless present:

> "Rise up, rise up, now, Lord Douglas", she says,  
> "And put on your armour bright;  
> Let it never be said that a daughter of thine  
> Was married to a lord under night"

—and many ballads are told entirely in conversation.

From the point of view of a "primitive", time is foreshortened, and the events of centuries ago are as one with those of recent times; for the events happened "long ago", in that indeterminate period before living memory. Thus
events taking many years to work themselves out (as a long series of wars) may be telescoped into one major battle, as in the Norse *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*.30

It is no wonder, then, that Attila's death in 453 is associated in the *Niebelungenlied* with the Frankish victory over the Burgundians in 534, that Charlemagne is connected with the later crusades in *La Chanson de Roland*, or that Homer's heroes seem to move in a culture that is half Mycenaean, half Hellenic. The modern scholar can be grateful for the very fact that such historical germs are present; and by careful linguistic, folkloristic, and archaeological analysis he can elicit them from the surrounding accretion of material.

III. THE ELICITING OF HISTORY

This task is easier in some cases than in others. There is a historical record of the disaster at Roncevalles. Einhard, in his *Vita Caroli Magni* (820), mentions the ambush of Charlemagne's rearguard by the Basques in 778, saying that in this battle "were slain Eggihard, the Senechal, Anselm, Count of the Palace, and Hruodland, the Prefect of the Breton Marches".31 The epitaph of Eggihard gives his date of death as the eighteenth day of the Kalends of September, i.e. the fifteenth of August.32 Thus we can date with exactitude the event that gave rise to *Roland*, the flower of the *chansons de geste*; and these are
by no means the only sources. Ibn al-Athir's Arab account of the thirteenth century, which itself is based on the chronicle of al-Tabari (ninth-tenth centuries), corroborates the event, but attributes the ambush to the Moslems of Saragossa.\(^3\)

As for Troy, the labours of Schliemann and his successors have revealed the basic reliability of Homer's epic, although it must at once be said that the \textit{Iliad} cannot be regarded as history in the proper sense. Schliemann found several cities on his Troy site, one of which had been destroyed by fire; and Troy is conventionally identified with Hissarlik. The fact that Homer's Troy is more likely to have been on the Bali Dag above Bunabarshi\(^3\) does not invalidate the historical existence of that city. Vases and finds in Helladic graves have given examples of some of the accoutrements of Homer's heroes; for instance, fragments of boar's tusks, which could, it was demonstrated, have gone on the outside of a helmet like that given to Odysseus by Meriones.\(^3\)

In \textit{Beowulf}, however, there is but one outstanding historical reference which can be corroborated: the expedition of Hygelac, king of the Geats, against the Franks and Frisians. Gregory of Tours tells of the invasion of the Zuider Zee area and the neighbourhood of Cleve by "Chlochilaic", king of the Danes, in 521: \textit{Dani cum rego suo nomine Chlochilaico evecto navale per mare Gallias}
Due to the lack of evidence aent the early history of the peoples of Siberia, scholars find themselves in a similar situation to that confronting the student of Beowulf and the Eddas; they are more or less in the dark as to the historicity (or lack of it) of the activities of Er-Sogotokeh, hero of the first published olongkho, and other heroes like him.

Scholars usually differentiate between "epic songs" and "historical songs" on the basis of the fact that epic is not history, sensu stricto. This argument, however, is only partially valid. As has already been postulated, epic grows out of history. Paradise Lost, one of the truly great literary epics of the world, and a personally imaginative recension of a story accepted by most of Milton's fellow-countrymen as revealed truth, was the author's second thought regarding an epic subject. Originally he intended to celebrate the British folk-hero Arthur:

I will some day recall in song the things of my native land, and Arthur, who carried war even into fairyland. Or I shall tell of those great-hearted champions bound in the society of the Round Table, and (O may the Spirit be in me!) I shall break the Saxon phalanxes with British war.

Had it not been for his reluctance to believe in the essential historicity of Arthur, and, more tellingly,
the political controversy surrounding it at the time, this project would doubtless have been completed. Only by chance has the world missed a literary epic treatment of a traditional, national subject; and the legendary figure of Arthur has been shown in recent years to be an inventive recasting into the heroic mould of the historical role of Caractacus.

Vergil's *Aeneid* is a literary study of a similar national hero; the man Aeneas may never have lived (certainly not as the son of a goddess), but the main theme of the *Aeneid* may well be historically true: the wanderings of a tribe, represented by the eponymous hero, in search of a new home, and its struggles to settle there. This was not a genuine Roman tradition, but had some historical truth in it, for Mount Eryx in Sicily had been settled by Easterners who may well have been of the Trojan clan of the Aineidai, whom Homer knew as a ruling family there. Moreover, Rhys Carpenter has postulated a connection between *Troia* and *Etruria*, and *Tros* and *Etruscus*, making the Trojans the oral epic counterparts of the historical Etruscans.

So history may lie at the back of mythological epic, no matter how far-fetched the story may seem. As Vernadsky says:

While many historical tales tend to present, and some actually do present, an accurate description of the events, no historical tale is a straight
historical treatise. If it were, there would have been no difference between folklore and written learned literature. On the other hand, in all historical tales, at the base of even those stories which may seem fantastic and purely imaginative, there usually lies recollection of an actual event which, for some reason fired the people's imagination.\textsuperscript{43}

Vernadsky also states that in the Nart legends of the Caucasus, which are all that remain of the once extensive Nartian epos, traces may be discerned of once living characters, and definite geographical backgrounds.\textsuperscript{44} The Nartian raids did not confine themselves to the Caucasus mountains, but extended into the North Caucasian steppes, reaching the Don and Volga rivers.\textsuperscript{45} Says Vernadsky:

All this is "folktales" now ..., but some of it must have been historical actuality in the remote ages. In its essence, the Nartian epos is very old. In fact, it must have originated in the Alanic period,\textsuperscript{46}

\textit{i.e.}, before the migrations of the Alans from the Caucasus and Crimea area in the late fourth and fifth centuries, although the people for long retained their old name, applied to the ancestors of the Ossetes, at least until the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{47}

Similarly, if the epic stories collected from the Yakuts are examined, light is thrown on the old way of life of the Yakut tribes in remote times. Once the mythological trappings are shorn away, and the hyperboles of
the folktale are excluded, one is left with a substratum of possible fact, which will probably be somewhat garbled, but will be historical for all that.

Most treatments of epic try to see under the mythological or heroic veneer and arrive at a putative substratum, be it historical event or natural phenomenon, which the originators of the epic have dressed up in their fantasy.

The once popular school of the Solar Theorists, represented at its most far-reaching by such renowned scholars as the orientalist Max Müller\textsuperscript{48} had a very simple explanation for the origin of the folktale and the myth, especially in the elucidation of the Indian epics and Scandinavian Eddas: a poetical expression of a phenomenon of nature, which might well have appeared wonderful, or at least worthy of remark, to primitive man.

To early man, every day was a new experience, fraught with its own dangers and its peculiar possibilities; and the hunter might not see the dawn. Night was a bad time; where was the assurance that the safety of daylight would come? More than this, an eclipse of the sun was a terrifying thing to witness, for the giver of all life was perhaps being eaten by an evil dragon — a view held at the present time by some primitive peoples.\textsuperscript{49}
Nature seemed to die in winter, which made the return of Spring a cause for general rejoicing; and the myth of Osiris-Tammuz, the dying and regenerated god, is certainly connected with this idea. It also lies at the root of the witch-cults, which are even now not extinct.

For the above reasons, the victory of light over darkness, of good over evil, was commemorated in hundreds of poetical allegories. "St. George and the Dragon", "Cupid and Psyche", and other motifs, have thus been explained. Yet this theory, the whole "Solar Myth" of Winter being defeated by Spring, the overcoming of darkness by light, is but one possible explanation, and should not be carried too far. Finn Magnusen, for instance, gave an astronomical explanation of Scandinavian mythology with dogmatic (and tiresome) consistency, and Hapgood, in her commentary on the Russian byliny, seems to cleave too insistently to this hypothesis.

However, there are instances where it is clear that the light-dark/spring-winter symbolism has a great deal of force in the popular imagination. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the case of the Yakut ysyakh, once an important religious festival, and now merely a patriotic jamboree. It was a tribal gathering similar to those held in summer by the Yukaghir, where games were played, alliances formed, and shamanistic performances took place.
The ysyakh, with which the epic tales called olongkho generally end, is thus described by Pukhov:

The ysyakh is an ancient large spring and summer festival of the Yakut, accompanied by religious ritual, games, dancing and singing. At the present time [circa 1958] the ysyakhs have been converted into popular festivals and games after the spring labour in the fields. They are also arranged to mark the occasion of solemn jubilee dates. In the ysyakhs of Soviet times there is no longer any religious ritual. After the solemn part of the proceedings there are organised concerts of theatrical and club collectives, and other entertainments, performances by folksingers and storytellers, followed by various massed entertainments and games.55

In the old days, as Pukhov says, there were two main festivals. Czaplicka, a noted Siberian specialist, says they were held in the spring (the ajyy-ysyakh), and the autumn (abaasy-ysyakh). The former was dedicated to the good spirits in general (the ajyy), and in particular to Art-Tojon-Aga, chief of the sky gods, in whose honour a sacrifice of kumys was made.56 The autumn festival was named after the abeasylar, or black spirits, and was conducted at night by nine shamans and nine shamanesses, in honour especially of Ulutujer-Ulu-Tojon, chief of the dark spirits.57

After the games and sacrifices, a significant performance took place, representing the above-mentioned struggle between Spring and Winter. It is thus described by Czaplicka:

One man, called the aly-uola, is dressed in white and mounted on a white horse to represent spring,
while another, abassy-uola, represents winter, being dressed in black or reddish garments and mounted on a horse of corresponding colour. 58

The entire cycle of olongkho is devoted to an extended elaboration of this conflict, being an account of the struggle between heroes of the human race, the aiyv ajmag, and heroes, if such they may be called, of the abaasy ajmag, the inhuman enemies of mankind. 59

In comparison with this purely mythical treatment of a natural phenomenon, embodying the ancient principle of dualism, on which so much of primitive (and sophisticated) religion is based, 60 the Karakalpak epic poem Kyrk Kyz ("The Forty Maidens") has more obvious connections with history. The groundwork of the epic is the Amazon-like existence of Gulaim and her entourage of forty maidens in the fortified retreat of Sarkop. 61

There would appear to be at least three distinct layers of historicity in the poem; the oldest of these refers to the Pri-Aral tribes of the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., which were then on the point of emerging from a matriarchal society and embracing a patriarchal system. 62 A second layer seems to originate with the Turks of the Middle Ages, as is evidenced in the epic by many ethnological clues pertaining to that time, and the description of customs forgotten by the present-day Karakalpaks. A third bears most resemblance to history, in
that the wars of Gulaim and Aryslan reflect real events of the eighteenth century, such as the invasion of the Pri-Syr Darya territory by the Jungar Kalmucks in 1723 and the conquest of Khorezm by Nadir Shah in 1740.

Geser Khan, hero of the most famous epic of the Mongolian tribes, has had his share of interpretations, being variously identified as Alexander the Great, Kuan Yu of China, Chinggis Khan, and the Tufan prince Gosylo, who died in 1065. A. H. Francke, however, viewed the story as another solar myth, namely a spring and winter myth, with, it seems, very little grounds. Francke was attacked by other scholars, notably Berthold Laufer, for his theories, and it must be said that while there may be a certain stratum in the Geseriad which is age-old in this way, the entire story cannot be interpreted as a solar myth.

Geser, in all probability, was a historical character; but, as is often the case with such heroes, he has attracted to his story details and whole sequences of events which rightfully belong to others, and even to pure myth. One may not accept, for instance, the colloquy in heaven which precedes the birth of Geser, nor his shape-changing, nor the monsters with which he does battle; but there are indications that Geser really existed. The Sharaighol, Geser's enemies in the epic, have been identified with the Sharaikhor (Tibetan khor-ser), or Yellow Uighurs, until
recently inhabiting north-eastern Tibet.⁷⁴ According to Roerich, there allegedly exists among the Sharai Uighurs a version of the story, in which Geser is represented as a dangerous and cunning enemy.⁷⁵ This is in accord with what one would expect, and is a corroboration from the other side of the hero's authenticity.

In the case of the Tatar cycles, there is also some controversy. Radlov, the first great collector of and commentator upon these heroic poems, believed that the events therein could be attributed to a period before the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ While the heroes were mythical, the temper of the poems indicated to Radlov the state of mind of the eighteenth century Kirghiz, who would look on their Kalmuck overlords as heathens, they themselves being Mohammedan.

The third poem in the Manas cycle, as given by Radlov, deals with the hero's battle with Er Kökchö, in which Manas seeks the support of the "White Tsar" (i.e. the Russian emperor). Radlov thought that this was merely meant as a compliment to himself from the bard. The Chadwicks, on the other hand, argue that this may reflect accurately the political position of the time:

It is easy to see that Russian Turkestan and the fierce hill nomads had everything to gain by mutual aid against the powerful Uigur confederacy, backed now by Chinese, now by Tibetan support.⁷⁷

De Vries saw in this a reflection of the part taken
by the Russians in playing off one Turkish tribe against another.\textsuperscript{78}

In the Kazakh epic of \textit{Edige-batyr}, the hero is said to be the offspring of the saint Baba-Toqty-Chächt'-Azis and a water-nymph, yet he is identified as a sultan of Tok-tamysh Khan, one of the khans of the Golden Horde. Moreover, as Winner points out: "The central theme of the dżyr is not, as is usual, the heroic adventures of the batyr, but the mutual relations of the batyr and the Tokhtamyš."\textsuperscript{79} Here a historical character, whose story is socio-politi-
cal, is provided with a supernatural origin, primarily be-
cause a hero must have the attributes of a hero; and every
major hero conforms to a pattern, part of which is the
divine or mysterious origin.\textsuperscript{80}

Historical details in the \textit{olongkho} of the Yakut are
harder to isolate. The Soviet anthropologist Pukhov\textsuperscript{81}
sees these epics as reflecting the interracial relations
of centuries ago, and the break-up of the old social order.
For instance, Tungus heroes appear in many of the \textit{olongkho},
and the hero may fight with opponents of the same race as
himself. The broad outlook, however, is older; it is that
of a very primitive society, which sees its territory as
the centre of the universe. The Tribe is the only one that
matters, or is regarded as the only really human one. All
others are suspect, \textit{barbaroi}, and hostile. Clan law is
taken for granted. Just as in the \textit{byliny} of Russia one
meets survivals from primitive times in mention of female bogatyrs and the aurochs, so here one finds heroines quite as formidable as any male, and the hero Er-Sogotokh sits on a carved chair of mammoth-bone. \textsuperscript{82}

One finds the power of the tribal ancestors acknowledged, as is also that of the tribe over the individual, and the solidarity of the tribe against the perpetual hostility of another (unrelated) people. \textsuperscript{83} Marriage is exogamous, resulting in blood feuds, suitors' competitions, and the like — a feature of the Burjat epic as well. The hierarchy of the gods reflects the organisation of the tribe as a whole. \textsuperscript{84}

Pukhov rightly says that the olonkho is of great importance for the understanding of the history of the Yakut, in that the Yakut do not possess any written sources of their ancient history. Especially valuable are the descriptions of the life of the people, their domestic activity, their social relationships (family, clan and tribe), and also the rudiments of class attitudes. The depiction of the Yakut material culture is quite rich; for instance, we find descriptions of the yurta and its interior construction, outbuildings, household utensils, clothing, the heroes' weapons, and so on. \textsuperscript{85}

Similarly, in the older uligers of the Burjat one finds in some detail descriptions of the life of the
hunter and herder, both within his tribe and in its rela-
tions with others, and a recent critic of these epics, 
Sharakhshinova, is of the opinion that the majority of the 
uligers were put together during a period of primitive 
social order and intensive warfare between the separate 
tribes and clans. At this time the people were also en-
gaged in resisting foreign usurpers, who every now and 
then threatened to carry off wives, children, and possess-
ions, steal cattle, seize lands, and enslave the Burjat 
people. 86

Enough has been said above to indicate the strong 
possibility of eliciting the historical underlay which 
may be (indeed is) at the base of all epic, including 
that of Siberia. Epics exhibit general trends, which 
proves, if nothing else, that when man indulges in fan-
tasies concerning heroes mightier than himself, his mind 
runs on the same lines, no matter where his habitation 
lies; a true internationalism of the commonalty.
PART II
FORM AND GENERAL CONTENT

I. THE BURJAT-MONGOL EPIC

The Burjat Uliger. The Burjat possess one of the youngest literatures in the USSR, for there was none to speak of before 1917. Their alphabet, Old Mongol, became the official script in the seventeenth century, but was discarded for Roman in 1931. In 1940 this too was given up, and their present orthography, based on Cyrillic, adopted. The folk, however, had no need of writing to preserve their extensive traditions. In the nineteenth century the collection of folk poetry and oral chronicles began, and soon after the first attempts were made to create original literature based on this material. The extensiveness of this folklore is matched by its diversity; Tudenov\(^1\) lists fourteen different kinds of folk literature, ranging from songs and hymns (böögej durdalga) to folktales (ontokhon) and historical legends (tükhe). One of the most important genres is the uliger, or epic poem, which like many another people's epic\(^2\) includes in its make-up examples of most of the other genres.

History of their study. Uligers have been collected assiduously only since the end of the nineteenth century. Since the revolution, what was once the domain of private individuals has become the object of organised scientific
research, but the epics have as yet been little studied, either as regards content or prosodiac organisation. Much material has been collected, and some has been published, the first great collector being M.N. Khangalov, whose material began to appear in 1889, followed by Zhamtsarano's Specimens of the Popular Literature of the Mongolian Peoples (1913), by the work of Vladimirtsov in 1923, Zabanov in 1929, and not long before the war by Sanzheev (1936). A vast amount of material is still in the archives of the Burjat Combined Scientific Research Institute of the Siberian Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Eastern Studies (Institut Vostokovedenija); but much remains the unpublished property of the collectors (S. P. Baldaev, A. K. Bogdanov, D. Madason, and others) and so there is still much research and study to be done in this field. In recent years scholarly publications have begun to appear, after a lapse of time, in the Burjat Republic. Mention may be made of Dmitriev's edition of the western Burjat text of Geser Khan, another less well-known epic, Osoodor Mergen, and Baldano's Geser of 1959. Versions of uligers have appeared in literary form, for instance by Kh. N. Namsaraev, who has published versions of "Alamzha Mergen", "Kharaltuur Khan", "Sagaadaj Mergen Khúbúún", "Dzhangar", and others. These literary epics are traditional only in their themes, their style and versification being modern.

There are more than two hundred different uligers known to modern scholarship. This however does not represent the full figure, for many regions have not yet been studied; and
The examination of the epics has so far not produced any theory of cycles, as has for instance been done over the last several centuries with the tales of Troy, or the Arthurian Cycle.

The early collectors were not interested in the singers themselves, as is usually the case, for the same can be said of those who set about recording the British ballads in the eighteenth century. No information, therefore, was given as to the manner of performance, or the technique of recital. The records are of uneven value; they differ in their fidelity to the words and the idiosyncracies of the singers. The best materials, recorded with almost stenographic exactitude, are in the collection of the Institute of Eastern Studies of the Academy of Sciences. This collection, made at the beginning of the century, is also better than others because it was made at a time when the old uliger tradition was still very much alive. In these archives, and in the collections of individual researchers, there are at least 150 uligers, of which only a fraction has so far been published in transcription. The Specimens contains six Ekhirit-Bulagat epics, which are among the finest that we possess, and in comparison with these the later uligers are much inferior.

Vladimirtsov and other Orientalists have placed the origin of the uligers around the fifteenth century, and however early their origin, they were formerly composed and performed everywhere in the nation without exception. Later historical events and social changes altered this picture. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the
proponents of Yellow Hat Lamaism persecuted the uligers and the bards. From their arrival at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Lamaists fought the old religion, Shamanism, and since they regarded the uligers as an ideological weapon of the rival faith, they proscribed them with increasing severity. For instance, the superior of the Aginsk monastery punished those who listened to the Geser epic, saying that this folk hero was an enemy of Lamaism. However, the representatives of other sects were not so strict, and the work enjoyed great popularity in many areas.

It is a fact that there is enshrined in the uligers much of the old mythology, magical incantations, religious formulae, and so on, and the tengri, or "heaven-dwellers" play important parts. While the uligers are by no means the same as shamanistic hymns, there is a strong connection between the religion and the epics, and some uligershi were in fact shamans. Due to the influence of Lamaism, by the twentieth century shamanism was preserved only in parts of the country, and verse uligers were preserved only among the western Burjat and the borders of eastern Burjatia, e.g. Khara-Shibir, in Chita Oblast. Elsewhere the uliger tradition had disintegrated; for although good folksingers existed, they had to hide their talents, because of the ban on "shamanist" uligers.

The Burjat regarded the uligers not merely as one kind of poetry; they had a divine origin, and so they were
sung and heard with reverence. According to one legend, "On the blue crests of the Sajan mountains an airy voice [i.e. a spirit] was singing a wonderful uliger, and a Tungus poet heard it, remembered it, and told it to the world, including the Burjat rhapsodes." 13

**Performance.** The uligers were formerly performed not merely to delight the listeners; they were primarily designed to appease the "black" spirits (tengri and ezheny); i.e. a magical significance was attributed to them. There is much corroboration of this. The Burjat ethnographer M. N. Khangalov observes:

The Burjat say that in hard times (khatuu zhilde), when illnesses abound, it is considered very helpful to recite the tale of Abaj-Geser-Bogdo-khan, because unclean spirits, who inflict different illnesses upon the people, seem to fear this tale. Sometimes a Burjat, going out into the deserted steppe at night, feels frightened; in order to scare away the evil spirits he begins to hum the Geser epic. If, on setting out on a long journey, one happens to hear "Abaj-Geser-Bogdo-khan", this is counted a good omen; the way will be safe, and the outcome fortunate. 14

Different uligers had different applications. For instance, in the event of a forest fire, other uligers were of magical use, as "Mantani Khaan", "Bata Shukher", and "Ankhabaj Mergen", which invoked snow or rain and extinguished the fire. Uligers were also used for success in various pursuits, as fishing and hunting. 15 G. D. Sanzheev relates that the uligershi believe that in an artel, 16 without a good singer, a successful hunt is impossible; 17 such is also the case amongst the Altai Turks. Setting out on a hunt in the taiga,
the Burjat had to dress in their best clothes, for they went out not to kill wild animals, but to visit them and ask them to run up to the hunters. On arrival at the place of the hunt, they observed certain ceremonies, designed to appease the spirits of the beasts and the forests, on whom would depend the outcome of the hunt. Then, in the evening, before they slept, the singer unfolded his felt mat (unsoiled by horse's sweat) in the hut, placed on it lighted juniper twigs, and a cup of wine or milk, thrust an arrow into it, and all night, till the first rays of dawn, he sang his epic song. Without this ceremony, the hunt, in the belief of the Burjat, could not be successful. The idea of singing the epic lies in the belief that this gives pleasure to the spirit-owner of the taiga.

The uliger also served as a means of obtaining victory over the enemy. Although there is no direct evidence on this, Vladimirtsov points to Marco Polo's description of the practice of the Mongols before battle of singing songs, and submits that these songs were uligers. Polo incidentally refers to an instrument which is fairly certainly the khuur. This is a two-stringed instrument with a square sound-box, found in present-day folk orchestras, and is played with a bow (see illustration, next page). It used always to accompany the uligers, but is now being replaced by the violin. Polo says:

Moreover the Tatars have also such a custom that when they are drawn up that they may wait for the battle until the drums [nacara] begin to sound, then they sing and play their instruments of two [two MSS. say "four"] strings very sweetly, and they sing and play and make great sport, waiting always for the battle. And because of this I tell you that both these people who were drawn up and were waiting for the battle and the sounding of the drums, they sang and play[ed] so well and so sweetly that it was a wonder to hear.
Хуур — бурятский народный музыкальный инструмент.

FIGURE I. THE KHUUR
Vladimirtsov\textsuperscript{22} tells of a famous bard Parchen who in 1912 inspired the Mongols besieging the fortress of Kobdo, where a Chinese company was encamped, by performing an uliger, and in this way helped them in their struggle for independence. It may be postulated that the Burjat uligers, or the elements out of which they are composed, at one time filled the role of war chants.\textsuperscript{23} Pozdneev gives several war songs, one of which belongs to the period 1655-1690, when there were bitter disputes between the Burjats and their Mongol overlords. It consists of six quatrains, each repeating in different ways one basic idea:\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{verbatim}
Khujagajga zuzan ni
Khoirlachzhi khoirlachzhi umudujje
Khoron ijkhetu khoron ijkhetu mongol-du.
Khoishilal ugej khoishilal ugej kurujje.\textsuperscript{25}
\end{verbatim}

(Let us put on our stout coats of mail, one upon the other; against the evil, the most evil Mongols, we shall go not turning back, not turning back.)

In former times the rendition of uligers was accompanied by various ceremonies; for instance, old men have testified that on the roof of the yurta they placed a bowl of milk, lit candles and lamps, tipped over the bowl, scattered ashes and looked among them for someone's tracks. The epics could only be performed on those nights when the Pleiades (Meshed) were plainly visible. Their singing by day was not practised, and to all appearances was considered a breach of religious ordinance.\textsuperscript{26}

The uligers long ago began to lose their primary role of magical incantations and hymns, inspiring soldiers to
bravery. Nowadays they are performed merely for aesthetic enjoyment, and are exceedingly popular. When it becomes known that in some vurta an uliger will be performed by a local or itinerant singer, the people begin to flow in from all directions. So many usually wish to hear the uliger that the vurta cannot contain them, and, if the affair is held in summer, a large part of those who have gathered dispose themselves around the dwelling. Very often the performance takes place in a glade. The uligers were earlier performed; as a rule, in autumn and winter, and even now they are performed most often during the long autumn and winter evenings. At that time of year the Burjat used to be comparatively little occupied, and had a great deal of leisure.

The singing itself goes on in the following fashion: the uligershin usually sits in a wide circle of listeners, with clean water and a pipe of tobacco beside him, in order to drink and smoke from time to time. At the beginning the listeners sing to him in chorus an invocation song, called ugtalgyn zugea, usually consisting of two verses. Several variants of these have been noted, but the following is the one most frequently met with:

Aj-dun Zaj-jö! Let us search in our chests and draw therefrom ten arrows; let us begin then our tale of the eldest of the thirteen glorious khans!

Aj-dun Zaj-jö! Let us open our chests and take therefrom twenty arrows; of the twenty-three khans let us tell of the eldest one!
Not all uligers possess these invocatory stanzas. Those collected earlier frequently have them, but in the later ones they are met with more rarely, and although they may have been obligatory in the old days, with the decline of the uliger tradition they have been forgotten. The ugtalgyn zugaa are different in their structure from the uligers themselves, and presumably were also sung to different melodies; but these have not been preserved. They are also different in content, and fulfil a merely artistic function; they prepared the singer for the epic, and also prepared the audience to hear it.\(^{28}\)

After the introductory verses the singer makes a sign that he is ready, takes up a reclining position, half-closes his eyes, enters the atmosphere of his poem and begins to sing a drawling melody to the accompaniment of the khuur.\(^{29}\) (See illustration of music on following page.)

The uliger begins with an extended introduction, setting forth the time and place of the birth of the hero. As a rule, this is more or less of one type, always beginning with the words uriani urindala, or urdyn urda sagta, "Long long ago". This recalls the introductions to the Russian byliny, (zapevy and zachiny), which serve to draw the attention of the audience and also present the beginning of the heroic action.

During the singer's pauses his audience encourages him with exclamations of approval, generally a prolonged
Figure II  Uliger Music
"hee'e", with varying intonation, depending on the mood. During the longer pauses, at the conclusion of an episode, while the singer is smoking, drinking his water or merely resting, the audience sings verses in chorus, called in Burjat seg daralga, which literally means "a marking of the pause, an interruption". Many forms of seg daralga are found; when the hero is setting out on a journey, they sing "farewell" verses (dshedgelgyn); at his return, "meeting" verses (u£talgyji); at a battle, wishes for a speedy victory, and so on. However, ethnology discovered the uligers when the difference in these verses had begun to be effaced, and the seg daralga are now used indiscriminately. These verses have four or eight lines (i.e. one or two stanzas) and examples are the following:

1. "Farewell" or "Journey" verse:

   We wish him happy arrival at the place he rushes to. Let him bring back to his own camp happiness and peace!

2. The general type, used on many occasions:

   On the shore of the yellow sea fell yellow snow; which enemies have the glorious and mighty khans overcome?
   On the shore of the blue sea there are drifts of blue snow; of the vanquishing of what enemies has the uliger sung?

3. The "meeting" verse:

   The forked couch-grass has grown,
   Suppressed is the yearning of the horse for his meal,
   Turned is the forked tongue,
   Let us sing the chorus of the uliger.
4. Wishing the hero speedy victory:

Let the glad news be heard that the sea, covered with leaden mist, has been conquered, that fate has sent down victory over the fearful and cunning enemy!

5. Praise of the uliger:

How can snow stick to the white silvery barn? What unclean thing may adhere to the heavenly uliger? 
Drops of water cannot stick to the silvery roof; Unclean spirits cannot cleave to our ancient uliger.31

The singers and audience believe that the hero himself is present at the performance of the uliger, checking the truth of the tale, and errors are not tolerated. For the exact and correct transmission of the story the singer receives the gratitude of the hero; if there is a mistake, the singer is punished. With the anecdote quoted in part one above (p. 4) one may compare the following, collected by Jeremiah Curtin: there were nine stories about each of the sons and grandsons of Geser Bogdo, making eighty-one stories in all, which "had to be told in groups of nine, and the relator could neither eat, drink, nor sleep while telling them, and when each group of nine was told an unseen person said, 'Thou hast forgotten where thou placed thy Pfu!" 32

At the end of the epic, the bards customarily take leave of their heroes with a "farewell song", òdeshelgyn zugaa. This is performed first by the bard himself, and then chorussed by the audience. For instance, the eighty-year-old singer Zavin Zajakhanov in 1904 bade farewell
to his heroes in the following song:

Return to the clouds of the high white sky!
Return to the hills of the wide white steppe!
Return, cutting the huge white cliffs!
It is good to sail the silvery expanse of the seas!
Beautiful is the end of this uliger!

Following this farewell, the conclusion of the epic is sung by the bard himself. There are many different varieties of this, and the seg daralga is often used. One typical example is:

Let us catch the quick-legged yellow foxes, overtaking them!
Let us finish the longest uligers, telling and singing!

The above refers to the uligers of the western Burjat, who have preserved them better than elsewhere.33

In many eastern uligers traces may be seen of a rich past, but at present the invocations, seg daralga, and so forth, typical of the western uligers, would appear to have been lost; all that is preserved is the weak "Long long ago". However, one concept, unknown to the western Burjat, is the monologue, sung by the hero, his wise horse, his enemies, birds and beasts. Nowadays they are mixed, in that no one has a particular monologue of his own, but formerly this was probably not the case.

These monologues (türilge, or tüüreelge) are used as a chorus by the audience, having first been sung by the bard himself.34
They consist of words (syllables and sounds) addressed by the hero to his horse, by the horse to his master, and so on, but do not appear to have any story content. At the time of their collection (the end of the last century) the eastern Burjat uligers were not sung (as in the west) but recited, except for these interspersed monologues. At present verse uligers are preserved in the east only in the Okin and Tunkin regions, where good rhapsodes are still to be found, probably because of the proximity to the western Burjat, who still keep the tradition. Even there, however, uligers are very often recited; but one can find bards who sing "in the old way". Generally speaking, uligers are only sung in this way on extremely important occasions, this style being considered an archaism.

The old tunes were not written down by the collectors, but nowadays one may find many in use, and one tune may serve several (or many) uligers. Each singer has his favourite, to which he may sing his whole repertoire. Many regions have their own tunes, peculiar to them; but the main difference is to be seen between the western and eastern Burjat.

Structural devices. The chief traits of uligers are alliteration, parallelism, and a seven- or eight-syllabled line.

1. Alliteration. The early commentators were struck by the alliteration, which was the only out-
standing feature of Burjat poetry. Pozdneev in fact could say that it would be hard to differentiate verse from prose, were it not for the alliteration, which he called "rhyme". "Observance of rhyme," he said, "would appear to be the main rule of Mongol poetry, and in purely folk material there is hardly any other rule of versification." Alliteration is one of the main devices of folk-poetry for the simple reason that it renders the realisation of a lengthy poem easier.

The Burjat term is **tolgoj kholbolgo**, i.e. "uniting of beginnings or heads", and is applied to the use at the beginnings of the lines of the same sound, consonant or vowel, as in this example of **seg daralga**:

Unahan, unahan hajkhan galdan geeshin
Uusajaa, uusajaa duureer dugshaldahaj!
Uulzahan, uulzahan, hajkhan bee geeshin
Hanaa duureer dugshuulahaj.\(^38\)

(Let the rider trot his horse with the curved crupper; let the rider with a peaceful heart gently trot along.)

In Burjat poetry this alliteration may be used throughout the stanza (a a a a), in pairs of lines (a a b b), alternately (a b a b), mixed, or internally. In the uligers, the first two of these kinds are most frequent.

Alliteration is the oldest decorative device in Mongol literature, being found in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (1240), *Altan Tobchi* (1604), and the history of Ssagan Ssetsen (1662). Internal alliteration, met with
in the old manuscripts has only recently come back into vogue, in Soviet times, and is used to embellish long lines.

2. **Parallelism.** The following examples will show how this operates. The idea is repeated in succeeding stanzas, which parallel each other very closely, using alliteration at the same time to underline the sense and to render the poem more attractive artistically:

"Urdakhi Aguula", "The Southern Mountain".

1. **Uradakhi aguulyn orojdo**
   Üjakhan eshetej zhemes le,
   Uzuuraa düüreter uragazha,
   Uragsha khojashoo najgana.
   On the summit of the southern mountain
   From side to side the cherry rocks,
   With pliant trunk, overgrown
   To its base with fruit.

2. **Nadakhi aguulyn orojdo**
   Nariikhan eshetej zhemes le,
   Nabshajaa düüreter urgazha,
   Naashaa saashaa najgana.
   On the summit of the near mountain
   Here and there rocks the cherry
   With slender trunk; it has covered
   Its leaves with fruits.

3. **Saadakhi aguulyn orojdo**
   Sagduulkhan eshetej zhemes le,
   Salaagaa duureter urgazha,
   Saashaa naashaa najgana.
   On the summit of the far mountain
   To and fro sways the cherry
   With the young trunk, having covered
   Its branches with fruit.

In the first line of each stanza the alliterating words are varied, as "southern", "near" and "far". In the second line, "from side to side", "here and there",...
"to and fro". In the third, "pliant", "slender", and "young"; and in the fourth, the fruits have overgrown "the base", and covered "the leaves" and "the branches". 

Examples from the uligers:

A. Dalan doloon tengeriin
   Dalin doron türebe,
   Jeren doloon tengeriin
   Jeber doron türebe.

(He was born under the wings of seventy-seven tengri; he was born under the feathers of ninety-seven tengri.)

B. Aryngaa barabaan deldebe,
   Arajaa zoeye gul'dkhaba,
   Eberej barabaan deldebe,
   Eberee zoeye gul'dkhaba.

(He struck the drum of the north and called together the people living in the north of his khanate; he struck the drum of the south and called together the people living in the south of his khanate.)

3. Rhythm. The length of the line varies a good deal, although one can say that the number of syllables most often encountered is seven or eight. As few as five and as many as twelve syllables are not uncommon. For instance, in example A above there are seven syllables in each line; in B, each line has nine syllables. Mixtures are frequent, as in the following:

"Eeme khūsheer turshakhuu?" 7 syllables
Erkheen khūsheer orokhuu?" gekhe 9
Erkheen khūsheer zūblezhe 7
Delüü dajdada 5
Garaldazha oshobo lo 8
Bukhajn deli khūžiildezhe, 8
Bugajn deli jagshalaldazha, 9
Elee deli elildezhe, 8
Kharabsar deli kharaldazha bajba la. 12
(Saying "Shall we try the strength of shoulder and of arm?" they went out to the spacious steppe, where they gazed at each other like owls, they flew at each other like kites, they gored like bulls, they grappled like stag-beetles.)

It will be noticed that the fourth and fifth, and eighth and ninth lines do not alliterate. However, the first of each pair has internal alliteration; and moreover, if one wished to insert a caesura into the last line, one would have the equivalent of five- and seven-syllabled lines, in complete alliterative concord.

Contemporary uligers are more compact; they are less repetitive, with fewer hackneyed epic descriptions, and the size is greatly reduced. Epic devices are preserved, such as the exordium and tailpiece; but on the other hand the special introductory verses, the ugtalga or ugtalgyn zugaa, items which always precede the performance of the old traditional uligers, are omitted. Contemporary uligers also lack the concluding stanzas, (üdeshelgyn zugaa, üdeshelge). These tailpieces are also characteristic of Russian tales, as for instance one finds in Afanas'ev: "I was at that wedding too. I drank beer and mead; they flowed down my beard but did not go into my mouth." These prologues and conclusions may be omitted from the modern political uligers because they are too inconsistent with the heroic praise of a leader, and the religious aspects of course will not appear.

The basic vocabulary of contemporary uligers is
similar to that of the Burjat conversational language. As in the traditional, so in the contemporary uligers one meets words and expressions borrowed from the Russian; but in the uligers of Soviet times this happens much more frequently. This is not to be wondered at, since the intercourse of the Burjat, and all Siberian peoples, with Russia is now more intimate and more intensive than in prerevolutionary times.  

Content. The uligers tell of the heroic exploits of bators and mergens, their sisters, wives, and even their horses. Fundamentally, these epic tales are songs of a heroic character, although their contents are much broader in scope than the mere recounting of victories and defeats. They are in fact didactic in nature. The hero is endowed with beauty, kindness, strength and courage, and he uses his talents to protect his people against the invaders, against treacherous kinsmen, and various monsters who devour people and cattle. The uliger is not a chronicle, although it bases itself of what seem to be historical events; and interwoven into its fabric are many fantastic elements and a truly primaeval cosmogony. The heroes of the uligers are champions of their people, and personify the national spirit and resolve of the people in their struggles against invaders. In this they are paralleled by the ethnic champions of many another nation, as the Central Asiatic hero Manas and the positive protagonists of the Yakut olongkho.
The uligers, like other epics, went through a series of stages in their formation. Sanzheev submits that the basic core of the uligers consists of epic songs, celebrating the exploits of heroes who defend their homeland, and that folktale motifs and war songs were incorporated. The war songs did not enter the body of the uliger in a merely passive way, in the manner of supplementary material, but actively, turning the poem into a bylina, or heroic poem:

Thus the fabulous epic is converted into a bogatyr bylina, and grows into a heroic epic. The epic of the northern Burjat well reflects both this very process of the transformation of the fabulous epic into the heroic epic, and at the same time its various stages.50

Sanzheev notices two groups of uligers,51 the Ekhirit-Bulagat and the Ungin groups, which are differentiated from each other by their form as well as their content. The Ekhirit-Bulagat group comprises the uligers of the Bokhan, Isin, Bajandaj and Ekhirit-Bulagat ajmaks. Examples of this type are "Alamzha Mergen", "Ajduraj Mergen", "Kharaaasgaj Mergen", "Ermej Bogdo Khan", "Bajan Badma Khan", "Khukhuerdej Mergen", "Gunkhabaj Mergen", "Abaj Geser", and "Shono-bator". To the Ungin group belong the uligers of the Nukut and Alar ajmaks: "Altan Shagaj", "Uzhaa Hamgan", "Dalan tabataj ubgen", "Ere Khabtas Mergen", and "Khan Sergej Mergen".52 Besides those uligers which are independent and do not repeat themselves in other groups, there exist uligers whose
subject line is general to this or that group, but are well known in all regions in various versions. Examples of this type are "Abaj Geser", "Irinsej", "Shono-bator", "Shandaabl' Mergen", among others.

The Ekhirit-Bulagat uligers are characterised by family and tribal motifs. In the other group one may find reflection of clan warfare and the rudiments of feudalism, i.e. later historical developments. The heroic elements in the Ekhirit epic are not basic, for they serve only as a means of resolving clan and tribal disputes. The epics of the Ekhirit-Bulagat type also differ from those of other Mongol tribes in their frequent use of what may be termed beast mythology, for various animals and monsters are introduced either as passive or active participants in the action. Thus, Ajduraj Mergen, in the uliger of that name, may obtain his bride from Ezhe Munkhe Khan if he obtains a certain dog for the khan; this animal is a monster called Khazadag Khara Buural, which sucks in on a strong current all living creatures. In the same uliger, various beasts help the hero in his struggle with his rivals for the bride;53 for example, the emperor of the frogs protects Ajduraj from the hard frost,54 and the emperor of the ants helps him sort out by night three kinds of millet seed.55 These examples belong to the "Helpful Animals" motif which is common to a great deal of folklore, and the "Grateful Beasts", which is even commoner; thus the separation of millet seed is paralleled by the separation of three kinds of grain by locusts in the Arabian story "The Prince of
Sind and Fatima, daughter of Amir bin Naoman", and by the same kind of aid (rendered by ants) in the Danish tale of "Svend's Exploits".56

In these epics one finds heavenly maidens, who save the hero; the gigantic dragon Abarga Shara Mogoj; the Garuda Bird, Khan Kherdeg Shubuun, thirteen quails, and other creatures.57 The introduction into the narrative of various characters and creatures, helpful or injurious, who meet the hero on his travels, is also a characteristic of the Bulagat uligers.58 In the Ekhirit uligers a large amount of space is given over to the description of natural conditions and the struggle of man against nature, the crossing of vast expanses of water, high mountains and impenetrable forests, and so on. Similar descriptions are met with in almost every uliger.

The main action in the majority of the Ekhirit-Bulagat uligers is as follows. A brother and sister live in peace, until the brother dies. The sister, learning of her brother's death from his faithful horse, buries his body in a mountain pass, then seeks means of raising her brother from the dead according to the Book of Laws. She learns that her brother may be raised by his betrothed, who possesses magic powers. The sister dresses in her brother's clothes and goes on his faithful horse to the dwelling of the betrothed. In order to receive the hand of the bride, the heroine plays the role of her brother, and
after overcoming a series of obstacles comes out the victor in a contest of suitors. The bride raises the corpse, and retribution is taken on those guilty of the brother's death. The uliger generally ends with a description of the wedding feast and the ensuing happiness of the newlyweds and their people.\textsuperscript{59}

This is the plot of "Ajduraj Mergen", in which the real hero is not Ajduraj himself, but his sister Aguu Noogon. In order to raise her brother, killed owing to the machinations of his uncles, Aguu Noogon goes in search of a maiden to revive him. She finds her after overcoming a series of obstacles. The heroine wins the day in a wrestling match with the athlete Teneg Muja Khubuun, who has the seeming advantage of being born under the fifty-five western tengri.\textsuperscript{60} Later she defeats another athlete, Gazari Gakhaj Bukhe.\textsuperscript{61} Aguu Noogon by her wisdom proves to Ezhe Munkhe Khan that she is not a woman, but the real Ajduraj Mergen, then receives the hand of the daughter of the Khan, Erkhe Suben, and leads her home.\textsuperscript{62}

The heroes of the Ekhirit-Bulagat epics do not fight in order to acquire power or find fame; their aims are not warlike; they merely wish to protect their yurta and preserve their family well-being. They fight, for example, on account of outrages perpetrated by wicked uncles, who try to gain control over the property of their young orphaned nephews.\textsuperscript{63} In these epics one often encounters
the motif of the relations of young children with their mother, who, forsaking her husband, goes off to live with the evil Mangadkhaj. Thus, for instance, in "Irinsej", the wife of that hero, Untan Duuraj Abkhaj, abandoning her husband, goes off to Mangadkhaj, who has been worsted in a skirmish with Irinsej. She revives Mangadkhaj and stays with him, forsaking her children. Mangadkhaj and Untan Duuraj prepare to kill the children of Irinsej. The hero's faithful horse, learning about this, gallops to the house where the children are staying. He breaks the window, pulls out Irinsej's son and daughter, takes them away in their cradle to a high mountain, and lays them down by a golden aspen tree, where he suckles them and raises them to the age of three.

From these examples it may be seen that, as previously stated, the fundamental motif in the majority of epics of this type is a family or tribal one, the conjugal relations of the participants being most important; all the deeds and actions of the heroes are undertaken with one aim: the attainment of a happy marriage; and so desertion and unfaithfulness are also introduced.

In the Ungin uligers, similar adventures take place, but they are but the prelude to an account of military exploits and the obtaining by the hero of an heir, who will avenge him in the event of his death. In this group of uligers one can trace the development of relationships belonging to the "feudal" stage of social evolution.
In both the Ungin and Ekhirit-Bulagat uligers one meets many folktale motifs; those in the Ungin uligers are substantially different from those in the Ekhirit-Bulagat. In the latter animals and celestial beings predominate, we find elements of fairy tales and beast mythology, while in the folktale stratum of the Ungin uligers the predominance of social motifs has been pointed out.68

Each uliger begins with information about the circumstances surrounding the birth of the hero, and we are told how his childhood and education proceed. When he grows up, the hero travels to some kingdom or other in search of his betrothed, and brings her home, having been victorious over a series of rival suitors. This ends the first part, and parallels the Ekhirit group.

The second part begins with the hero, arrived home with his bride (but sometimes without her) discovering that his property is destroyed, and the people driven away by some enemy. In "Erbed Bogdo Khan", for example, we are told how, in Erbed's absence, Hagsaha Hamgan, with the aid of his sons, steals the cattle and horses, and leads away captive the subjects of Erbed Bogdo Khan; upon discovering this, the hero sets out to rescue his people and beasts.69 In "Altan Shagaj",70 a description is given of the driving away by the enemy of all the hero's people, cattle, horses, and the seizing of his possessions. The name of the culprit is found out by means of a letter, left by one of the
subjects or kinsmen, but sometimes it happens that what has occurred in the absence of the hero is learned from a horse, by chance not captured by the enemy. A description of the encounters of the hero with his enemy takes up the remainder of the uliger.

The Ungin heroic epic differs from the Ekhirit-Bulagat in the weakening of the social elements therein. Warlike elements predominate, and one finds descriptions of the deeds and glory of the hero. Alongside the reflection of historical facts, social relationships and ways of life, just as in the epics of other peoples, one finds elements of mythology, showing the primaeval outlook of the Burjat on the surrounding world, which is controlled by "Masters", good and evil spirits. B. Ja. Vladimirtsov comments:

Like the heroic poems of other peoples, the Burjat epics depict fantastic, magic creatures, who now hinder and now help the heroes. In these epics there also occur gods, mostly of the primaeval shamanistic pantheon; sometimes they, or their sons, are the main heroes of long epics, and the action takes place not only on earth, but in the sky and the underworld.

The presence in the Burjat uligers of so many mythological elements may bear witness to the ancient origin of these epics, born when the people was creating gods and embodying in them its desires and dreams. The cosmo­gonic ideas of the Burjat are similarly given expression in many legends about the creation of the universe. These ideas are not explicit in the epics themselves, but
they inform the whole uliger complex, and their philosophy is everywhere prevalent. For instance, the world is divided into three parts: the upper world, heaven; the middle world, earth; and the lower, the underworld. While this tripartite division of the universe is not a peculiarly shamanistic concept, being found in several sophisticated religions, such as that of the Hindus, 75 it is still a characteristic of shamanism. The spirits invoked by the Yakut shaman are said to be divided into three bia: the heavenly, earthly, and subterranean, each of which is as large as three times nine usa (branches of a clan). 76 These worlds are similar in their content, as the Chukchee tale of the Scabby Shaman testifies:

"In which world is there more life, in the upper world or in the nether one?" - "Just equal!" - "In which world are there more fish in the sea, more birds in the air, more game on the earth?" - "Just equal!" - "Blades in the grass, leaves in the wood?" - "Just equal!" 77

In the uliger "Abaj Geser", that hero now goes to heaven and demands aid from the burkhany 78 and now descends to the underworld (khul tamajn ojoor) in order to regain his wife Tumen Zhargalan, who has been stolen from him by Abarga Sesen Mangadkhaj. 79

Soviet Uligers. 80 Contemporary uligers have been created around Lenin and other Soviet heroes. They are founded on the traditional system of Burjat folklore, and in them one may see the use of previous epic devices,
such as the constant epic formulae. New images are however introduced into the uligers, unknown in previous ones.

Similes are freely employed:

The khans like beasts,
the mounted police like snakes,
the evil-thinking servants
gnaw on the body of the people like wolves,
drink the people's blood like gadflies.
Like worms they eat the heart of the people,
they bend the backs of the people with labour.
They order them to work till the back creaks,
till the salt tears come to the eyes.81

The nojony82 shamans, and servants of the tsar, are depicted in these uligers as being cunning and designing, but cowardly. They fear the truth spread by the fighters for freedom, and so make a guard for themselves, "a loathsome breed" which feeds on the people's blood. They are opposed by the people, inspired by Lenin, who is from birth marked out for great things:

Born from a mighty nation,
he was marked by high destiny,
with a wonderful mind and heart,
and the vigour and the eye of an eagle.

In his youth, he asks why one lives in a broken-down yurta and another "lifts not a finger, but sleeps in a decorated house and gorges himself till he belches" on rich mutton. He decides to fight injustice, and destroy the dragon of tsardom.

Lenin's parents tell their son to maintain a firm bond with the people, because "no-one lights a bonfire with one billet", and similar advice is given young Stalin
by his parents:

Only, bator, gather forces,
strong forces gather ye for the struggle,
from the great and eternal land,
from the people - the heart of the land.

Lenin is directed to go to the summit of the "Holy Mountain", where he will find the books of two wise men, who are of course Marx and Engels. This "quest" is a commonplace of epic, and is paralleled (for one instance) by the journey of Jason and his comrades to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece.

These books show the heroes "how to overthrow the accursed nojony, ... and to strike off the three hundred heads of the three-hundred-headed snake". Lenin succeeds in his quest, after overcoming many obstacles, like a true bogatyr of the olden time:

Thus the youth on the summit of the Holy Mountain read through the wise book,
thus he searched out the secret of the brave and true struggle.

He throws in his lot with the people, and preaches revolution; his teachings, "stronger than the thunder of heaven, roared through all the land", but the rich, who hate these troublemakers, "banish them to far exile".

The evil dogs, feeding
on the kitchen leavings, the nojony,
the lackeys pointed out
where the immortal teacher was living.
And lo, he is chained in iron
and sent into distant exile
in the cold steppes of Siberia,
to a lonely and forgotten settlement.
Just as classical verse introduces the pathetic fallacy of the interest of Nature in the activities or fate of the subject, so all creatures serve Lenin, and he commands the elements:

Flying through all the universe, the eagle serves him as messenger; he brings letters to Lenin, he carries letters from him. The bear protects his sleep, the stag draws him through the taiga. The taiga renders him food, the tiger serves him as steed. The falcon through all the universe bears his words on his wings, the free winds he calls together, he summons the mighty storm.

The details of Lenin's career are followed quite accurately, if imaginatively. Some space is devoted to a description of the struggles of the workers, led by Lenin and other bators, and the whole framework resembles the traditional uligers to a marked degree, even to the employment of the same words.

In the traditional tales, the combat between the heroes is represented in mighty terms: "They rushed at each other to wrestle, and soon the ground under them became hills and valleys"; "Three days and nights did they fight. They made hills and valleys. Where there had been a hill there was a valley and where the valley had been there was a hill." In like manner the workers and bators,

Reaching to heaven with one hand, with the other leaning on the earth, flung against their enemies hundred-year-old pine trees and rocks.
And there, where hills stood,  
pits opened up,  
and there, where pits yawned darkly:  
there rose up hills.  

Just as the traditional hero meets various mythological beasts like Khazadag Khara Buural and his alter ego, Shara Nagoj ("Yellow Dog"), so Lenin fights the monster of capitalist tsardom:

For each drop of blood,  
for each drop of sweat,  
I the three-hundred-headed snake  
call forth to mortal battle.

Burjat uligers exist celebrating less famous personalities, all symbols of the people overcoming their enemies in the revolutionary struggle or the Second World War, as "Arman and Durman". They belong to what may be termed the New Stream of Siberian folklore, which includes poems and folktales on Chapaev, Voroshilov, Molotov, Ordzhonokidze, Kaganovich, and such exploits as the Schmidt expedition to the Arctic and the battle of Kazan.
II. THE TURKIC EPIC

**Introduction.** The Turks can boast of a literary history of eleven hundred years. The oldest survivals of the pre-Islamic period are the Orkhon Inscriptions, found on two large stones near Kosho Tsaidam, to the west of the river Orkhon, which is a tributary of the Selenga, entering Lake Baikal on the south. The style of these runic inscriptions is sufficiently sophisticated to show a considerable previous development of the language.¹

The eleventh-century *Dictionary of the Turkic Language* of Mahmud al-Kashgari² gives examples of folk-poetry, including some of a definitely epic nature, both in content and metric structure. The line, as in many Kazakh epics, consists of seven or eight feet, and the rhyme scheme is also similar to the later Central Asiatic epos. In a four-line stanza, the first three lines have their own rhyme, and the fourth has a recurrent rhyme, which is constant throughout the poem.³

**Studies of the Turkic epic.** The first western publication of Turco-Tatar folk literature was the work of A. Chodzko, who in 1842 brought out his *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, a collection of sagas relating to the Tatars of Astrakhan.⁴ Later, V. V. Radlov published his monumental work *Specimens of the Folk Literature of the Northern Turkic Tribes*,⁵ which has never been
superseded. Since the 1917 revolution, Soviet scholars have been increasingly busy with the collection and study of these epics, as well as those left untouched previously; but the field's being quite vast militates against any final statements for a long time to come. The interrelationships, for instance, of the Manas cycle with those concerning other heroes (as Alpamysh) deserve full study, and this is only beginning.

Manas. The most famous epic of the Central Asiatic Turks is undoubtedly Manas, which has been compared to such literary landmarks as the Kalevala and the Homeric epics. Valikhanov characterised it as "an encyclopaedic collection of all the Kirghis myths" grouped around one figure, that of the hero Manas, partaking of the nature of "an Iliad of the steppes". Its origin seems to be quite old, but the present form of the epic is probably no earlier than the eighteenth century.

The tale is a cycle concerning three generations, those of Manas, his son Semetej (which part is called by Valikhanov "the Kirghiz Odyssey"), and his grandson Sejtek. Like most of the Tatar heroic epics, it deals with the struggles of the people against the Kalmucks and Chinese, a story which is described in the Orkhon fragments.

The first account of the tale was that of Valikhanov, who translated a small part of it, that dealing with the
funeral solemnities for Kokotej Khan.\(^13\) Owing to the fact that he became acquainted with only a small portion of the epic, his statements regarding it are somewhat out of date, although they are of course of historical interest; but mostly one can only smile at his incredulous reporting of the statements of the folksingers, who told him that "three nights are insufficient time to hear Manas, and the same length is required for 'The Second Manas', the story of his son."\(^14\) Even the incomplete version of Radlov contains 9,500 lines; and the two most recently collected versions of Sagymbaj Orozbakov and Sajakbaj Karalaev fill ten volumes apiece, or about 250,000 lines.\(^15\)

In fact, one outstanding feature of the entire Siberian epic is its length. Curtin refers to the recital of eighty-one stories of Geser, to be told in groups of nine; and this would take a considerable time. Khangalov tells of an uligershin reciting the Geseriad for nine days;\(^16\) and these Mongolian epics can reach 20,000 lines, if not more.\(^17\) While Alpamysh-Batyr is not so long (under 5,000 lines of verse, plus prose passages),\(^18\) Gurguli, a variant of the Azerbaijan epic, may take a whole month to recite,\(^19\) and there is a tradition that for the completion of the full text of Manas six months are necessary.\(^20\) The vast dimensions of these epics may be gauged by comparison with Homer: Orozbakov's version of the first branch of Manas contains 40,000 lines, while the Iliad and Odyssey combined
come to a total of a mere 27,537 lines. Karalaev's version of the complete story is said to contain in all 400,000 lines, and the recording of this variant went on for six years. Bowra points out that Dzhajsan-yrchi, a warrior-bard in Karalaev's Manas, takes a whole noon to praise the trappings of a tent, and this gives some idea of Karalaev's own expansiveness.

-Manas is the result of the collective labours of many generations of manaschi. Each poet has brought to the epic new motifs and episodes, and in the course of time, being modified and embellished, the Manas cycle has, as Valikhanov says, been transformed into an encyclopaedia of the poetical ideas of the people; in it are to be found examples of many genres of Kirghiz folklore, lyric songs, ritual songs, proverbs and sayings. As an example of two treatments of the same subject, here are descriptions of the forging of Manas' armour, a century apart. The differences are as instructive as the similarities.

A. That which the craftsman of the Chinese
Painfully fashioned;
Which the craftsman of the Russians
Skilfully fashioned;
Which the craftsman of the Kalmucks
Fashioned as he muttered songs;
Which the musket never pierced,
Nor the bullet ever bored,
This, his outer white mail-coat,
This white mail-coat he drew on.
Where the charcoal was insufficient,
A patch of dense forest was stripped;
When the water was insufficient,
The river Boschat was emptied.
When the file was insufficient,
Thirty files were brought into play.
When the winter set in
Maw- and paunch-fat
He portioned with it;
When the spring set in,
It was laid on the grass,
And, that it might strike home,
It was tempered in the blood of heroes,
And plunged in poplar juice.
This sword he bound to his belt. 25

B. They cut down a multitude of woods
To smelt the sword in the furnace!
They slaughtered a multitude of oxen
And brought their skins for the sword,
To smelt a terrible sword!
Often the smith prayed,
Karataz pleaded with passion,
Saying, "Help me, God!"
For the tempering of that sword.
So hot was the steel,
They emptied cold streams,
Many a stream was dried up!
They were unable to finish it,
They dared not, they were exhausted,
The forty skilled masters
From the distant lands of Egypt.
The most renowned smith
In winter and summer hammered
Manas' sword for fights to come....
In hideous days of strain and slaughter
They beat out for him that sword;
In mirages of the blue sky
A fortune-teller tempered the sword,
Spirits put charms upon the sword,
In snake's poison was dipped the sword. 26

The first manaschi whose name has been preserved
was Kel'dybek, who was born in the fifties of the eight-
eenth century. A folk tradition says that before start-
ing to perform Manas he demanded that shepherds could
freely go into the all 27, so that the herds came home
themselves, and no-one, beast or man, could steal away
one sheep, when he sang of Manas. When Kel'dybek began
to sing, the yurta shook, a hurricane of fearful force
arose, and in the gloom and noise of the hurricane there flew unseen horsemen, the companions of Manas; from the thudding of their horses' hooves, the ground shuddered.  

Accompaniment. In the performance of the epic there is a large amount of mimicry and intonational play, and the story may be totally or partially sung. More than twenty melodies have been collected which the manaschi use. The accompaniment of Tatar heroic songs is generally by a stringed instrument, either a chatigan (a kind of zither), or a variety of lute. Radlov says that the ölönq, a recent type of lay, is accompanied, to some fourteen or fifteen melodies, by a two-stringed instrument resembling a balalaika, and this kind of accompaniment is very common all over Central Asia. The kobuz, a three-stringed violin, is much in use, being described by Radlov and A. de Levchine (among the Kazakhs).  

Metres. Radlov says that the old Turkic metres were characterised by alliteration, acrostics, and internal rhyme. Alliteration, as said above (pp. 37-9) is a very ancient device in Mongol poetry, and seems to be a characteristic of much of folk literature, as well as written early literature. One can instance its use in Germanic and Celtic verse, from the earliest times, its occurrence in the mediaeval poem Pearl, and Siberia is no different.
Valikhanov speaks of the "consonance of comparisons" in Kirghiz poetry. Comparisons are made solely in order to satisfy the demands of alliteration. For example, that part of Manas which describes the funeral banquet for Koko-tej Khan begins thus:

Altyn erden kashi ikan,
Atalyjurtnyn bashi ikan;
(He was the bow of the golden saddle,
He was the father of all the people;)

or, alternatively,

Kuk dunannyn basy bar,
Kukotaj-khannyn asy bar,
(The grey horse has a head,
For Kukotaj-khan there is a wake.)

Here the golden saddle (altyn er) and the grey horse (kok dunnan) are brought in merely as alliterating words with ataly (father) and Kukotaj-khan.37

The oldest narrative metre is called in Kazakh dzhyr, (i.e. "song"), a term Valikhanov states is used by the Kirghiz to denote byliny, or "tales of things that were."38 The other term is gysa, a loan from Arabic.39 The performer is known as yrchi, or agyn (bard), or dzhyrshy (singer of heroic songs); and the performer of the Manas epic goes by the special name of manaschi. Both verse and prose are employed, the former being used especially for the speeches of the characters.

Just as repetition and parallelism are used in the
uligera (see p. 39 above), so too the Turkic epics make
good use of these devices; and they occur as early as the
Orkhon inscriptions. 40 Whereas in western folk literature
repetition is a rhetorical figure commonly employed to in­
tensify or colour the action, 41 it is here an integral
part of the metric structure. The dzhyr line is generally
of three feet, each containing two to four syllables.
Equal lines tend to fall together; end-rhyme is prevalent,
and a fixed final rhyme often recurs for several consecu­
tive lines. A refrain line is also found. 42

Content of the epic. The epic opens with an account
of how the Kirghiz, oppressed by the Chinese, were divided
and dispersed "over the world." While Manas was still a
child (about seven years old) he led a war against the
Chinese "Khans". In the songs about the hero's childhood
one hears of his exploits in encounters with forty-five
warriors of the Chinese ruler Aziz-Khan and four hundred
Kalmucks. 43

Manas, son of Jakub (otherwise called Dzhakyp) is
variously referred to as ruler of the Nogai from Chu to
Talas, a Sart from Samarkand, 44 and a dweller in Andzhan,
a town in the Kokand khanate, in the twelfth century the
capital of Ferghana. He is not of the "White Bone" (i.e.
a descendant of Chinggis Khan); but he is as mighty as any
khan. His father, whom he sends as matchmaker to Kharan,
says "I am the father of the youth Manas, famed from Chu
to Talas; I am no khan, but am no meaner than a khan, Khan Jakub am I. Manas himself is presented as a turbulent young man, fearful in aspect even when not angry; and in wrath "his beard and moustache bristle, his eyes scatter sparks, from his mouth comes smoke, and his waist, slender as a poplar, swells like a tent." He treats his father and mother rather badly, but later redeems himself by his prowess as a hero.

When he grew to be a prince, he overthrew princely dwellings;
Sixty stallions, a hundred kunans; He drove thither from Kokand;
Eighty baitals, a thousand kymkar; He brought from Bokhara;
The Chinese settled in Kashgar
He drove away to Turfan;
The Chinese settled in Turfan
He drove yet farther to Aksu.

The most famous part of the epic, "The Great Campaign", is devoted to Manas' expedition to Beijdzhin (Peking), and celebrates the warlike might of the Kirghiz people. Thanks to the valour and solidarity of the Kirghiz and the wisdom of their leaders (Manas, Almambet and others) the first battles end with the rout of the Chinese. Manas wins an engagement on the approaches to Beijdzhin, in which he defeats the main forces of his great enemy Konurbaj, and the army makes a triumphal entry into the Chinese capital.

Alongside the numerous battle scenes, we have material connected with daily nomadic life: the description of weddings, funeral banquets, national festivals and games,
and besides the main subject line, there are inserted episodes (such as the "Tale of Almambet"), which are a hallmark of the true epic.

The Chinese heroes are depicted as dreadful and dangerous opponents, and their "khan" rules by magic. In this way the victories of Manas and his horsemen are made to seem more striking. The Chinese are frequently characterised as a mighty nation:

The Chinese are an ancient people.
The Beijdzhin campaign is difficult;

and again it is said:

The Chinese are an ancient people.
Before us is a hard campaign.52

Neither Alexander the Great, nor the Persian hero Rustum, nor any of the great warriors of the world could conquer China,53 and even the waters of the Great Flood could not destroy it. This circumstance traditionally explains the numerousness of the Chinese. The presentation of the might of China, often pointed out by Almambet to his leader, is fully in accord with the Kirghiz proverb: "If China is moved, then the whole world is lost."54

**Historical basis.** The events lying behind the first songs of Manas took place many centuries ago. The Kirghiz were formerly neighbours of the Chinese, and in the time
of the T'ang dynasty, in the eighth century, the Chinese crossed the borders of Turkestan and subjugated the Kirghiz. According to A. N. Bernshtam, the origin of the epic can be put at the middle of the ninth century. At that time, when the Kirghiz lived in the Minusinsk area on the river Yenisei, there was created for the first time in history a strong Kirghiz state, at the head of which stood the energetic leader Jaglakar-Khan, who successfully drove off the raids of enemies coming from the Mongol steppes. His forces gradually grew owing to the unification of the tribes subject to the khans. Finally, in 840 A.D., he overthrew the Uighur kingdom, seized the territories to the south of the Sajano-Altai Mountains and, pursuing the enemy, led a considerable part of the Kirghiz to Tian-Shan.  

However this may be, the investigations of S. E. Malov make it difficult to accept completely Bernshtam's hypothesis, inasmuch as the existence of this khan is in doubt from more correct reading and interpretation of the name of Jaglakar on the funeral monument.  

This does not mean, of course, that the war expansion of the Kirghiz nomads in northwest Mongolia and southern Siberia in the ninth century did not find reflection in heroic songs, which may have afterwards infused the Kirghiz epic. This remote epoch, obscured by later events in the history of the Kirghiz, has left no significant trace in Manas, although one point may be noted: as the forces of
Manas advance to China, they cross the Irtysh and Orkhon rivers; and a large part of the poem is devoted to a description of this crossing. However, the way into China over these rivers leads not from present-day Kirghizia, but from the Minusinsk steppes, indicating a memory of the Minusinsk days.

One may also note the echoes of the epic in the names of places and historical monuments, just as Arthur and Robin Hood (who may well be historical) have left their names in many places in Britain. In this connection, alongside the traditions of the Talas "Mausoleum of Manas" we must take cognisance of the town of Manas near Urumchi (to the south of the Irtysh) and the occurrence of the name on the Upper Irtysh and the Lower Amu Darya. According to the Kirghiz tradition, these names have been preserved from the time of Manas, and were given in his honour.

Folk memory has gradually modified and embellished with fantastic episodes the events lying at the foundation of these Kirghiz epic tales. In this way, the historical personality at its base gradually lost whatever reality it originally possessed and became the epic picture of a hero, receiving the name Manas. In its present form the epic seems to reflect the war of the Kirghiz with the Kalmucks, i.e. more recent historical relationships of the time of the Oirat state and the Kalmuck wars (15th-17th centuries).
The historical events of the Kalmuck wars are connected with the final disintegration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Mongol empire of Chinggis and its successors, the Golden Horde in the west and the states of Timur in the east, and the formation on their ruins of new tribal societies of the then still nomadic Turkic peoples, spread over the "Kipchak steppes" (Desht-i Kipchak) from the Volga and the Ural Mountains to Issyk-Kul and the Tian-Shan (namely the Nogai, the Kazakhs, the Karakalpaks, the Uzbeks and the Kirghiz). For all of these peoples this era saw the awakening of national consciousness, and this is reflected in their epic literature. In the heroic epic of the Central Asiatic Turks the main enemies of the heroes are the "pagans", the Kalmucks. Thus it is for instance in Manas, and also in the Kazakh heroic songs ("Koblandy-batyryr", the poems of the Nogai cycle, "Musa-khan", "Urak and Mamaj"), in the Karakalpak epic "The Forty Maidens", and in the later (Kungrat-Bajsun) version of "Alpamysh".61

In the variants of Manas which have come down to us one quite often finds episodes of a fantastic, folktale character, as for instance the sorcery of Almambet and the transformations of Konurbaj. Orozbakov realised how much of the epic was manifestly improbable. In his version of "The Great Campaign", telling of the giantess Kanyshaj, he says:
Everything in this tale you will find,
Truth and falsehood all combined;
This was all very long ago,
It is all the same, there are no eyewitnesses!
There are no witnesses to these wonders;
"Was" and "Was not" are here mingled.
These are tales of ancient years,
The ineffaceable traces of the past.
The world today believes it not. 62

Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that the majority of
the events in the epic are an echo, however distant, of real
historical events, wars and social disturbances which took
place in the past of the Central Asiatic tribes.

Kyrk Kyz. One of the most interesting of the "minor"
Turkic epics is that of the Karakalpaks, called Kyrk Kyz
("The Forty Maidens"). It was discovered during the Second
World War, in 1940, and immediately aroused great interest
among scholars. It occupies no less than 20,000 lines, a
considerable size for an epic, but as said above, length is
by no means unusual in the Central Asiatic epic.

Its theme is basically a very ancient one, 63 for the
concept of warrior-maidens occurs in many of these epics,
and in classical times the stories of the Amazons were re­
ported by such authors as Arrian, who in his Anabasis
mentions "Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasinians" who said
"that he lived on the borders of the Colchians and the
Amazon women", and offered his services as a guide should
Alexander wish to invade these territories. 64 Although
the Amazon legend has been euhemerised into traditions
of armed priestesses in Asia Minor, confused with memories of matriarchal society, it is not impossible to believe that a band of warrior-maidens did at one time exist; and Pharasmanes could well have come from the area of Khorezm.

As said above, (pp. 18-9), there are definite historical facts underlying the epic. In 1723 the Jungars, having conquered the region of the middle course of the Syr Darya and occupied Turkestan, forced out the Karakalpaks, one part of whom was driven to the north-west, another to the east, and a third up the Syr Darya into the depths of Central Asia. It is precisely in this last direction that the inhabitants of Sarkop, taken prisoner by Khan Surtajshi, are driven away in the epic, "beyond the river Chirchik". The epic has preserved in the name of the Kalmuck khan the title of the Jungar prince, taishi. The historical events are confused, as is often the case in folk traditions; it is known, for example, that Nadir Shah came with his kyzylbashi to Khorezm after the Kalmuck invasion, and not before it, as is stated in the epic.

The description of the legendary battles of Aryslan, male hero of the epic, with the Persian conqueror probably reflects the historical struggle of the Aral tribes in the northern regions of Khorezm against the domination of the Iranians. Another historical fact is the participation of the subjects of Khan Abul Khair, the Kazakhs
and Karakalpaks of the lower Syr Darya, in political events which took place in Khorezm at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion in 1740. Zhirmunskij finds evidence of late composition in two motifs, the romantic and the humorous. The first is shown in the love story of Gulaim and Aryslan, the second in the comic scenes concerning the matchmaking attempts of a shepherd with Gulaim.70

The 1940 version was recorded from the zhrau (folk-poet) Kurbanbaj Tazhibaev (born 1883), whose father, a native of Kamys-Aryk near Chimbaj, moved to Shurakhan in search of employment. Young Kurbanbaj tended herds on the summer pastures near Tamda, Kenimekh and Nurata, and there he drew from other shepherds his basic repertoire. He learned "Kyrk Kyz", at that time called "Gulaim", from Zhiemurat Bekmukhametov. The latter had got it from the zhrau Khalmurat-Kazak of Nurata. "Kyrk Kyz" was taught to Khalmurat, traditionally, by Shankaj, who got it from the zhrau Kabul; and it was transmitted to Kabul by a famous folk-poet of the eighteenth century, Zhien-zhrau, a member of the Karakalpak tribe of Mjütten, who had shared in the calamities suffered by the Karakalpaks during that turbulent period in their history.71 Here we have a direct tradition of transmission, going back six generations to the very time of the events depicted.

Ethnogenetic legends. The number of Gulaim's hand-
maidens is forty, a number that occurs with great fre-
quency in the Middle East. A very ancient tradition
of the origin of the Kirghiz concerns just this number of
maidens, although it is merely a matter of folk-etymology.
It is easy to see how Kirghiz would be related to kyrk
kyz in the popular imagination; but this relationship
is deeply embedded in the consciousness of the people.
Valikhanov states that according to the Kirghiz, their
ancestor was a red dog; and this curious circumstance is
but a Central Asiatic version of a very widespread belief
that may well have its origins in totemism. Chinese tra-
ditions relate a story of a Hun king who had two daughters
of such beauty that he did not wish to wed them to ordi-
nary mortals. He built a tower in the midst of a desert
and prayed the gods to take them. The younger princess
noticed a wolf, who for a whole year went round the tower,
and finally made his lair close by; and she gave herself
to him. From this union came the Tele people of Tufan.
The Chinese say that Batachi, ancestor of the Mongol
khans, was the son of a blue wolf (borte-chene) and a
wild white doe. Amerindians hold similar beliefs, say-
ing that they are descended from beavers and so on. The
fact that such tales are still told, even though thought
indecent, is an index of their antiquity. Valikhanov even
states that "the origin of the ninety-nine Kipchak gen-
erations is kept among the Uzbeks and Kazakhs in such in-
decent form, that it will probably never be printed."
Although the Kazakhs are related to a wolf in a satire composed by a mullah, the Kirghiz are there said to be derived from the union of some thieves and a beggar-woman. The old tradition, however, is thus related by Valikhanov:

The daughter of a certain khan was in the habit of taking long walks with her forty maidservants. Once, coming home, the princess, to her great surprise and fear, found only the ruins of her aul—all was destroyed by some enemy. They found only one living creature, a red dog [kyzyl taighan].... The princess, and after her the forty servants, became mothers, having only one male allurement, the red dog. The progeny of the forty maidens, kyrk kyz, began to call themselves after the number of their mothers the Kirghiz people.

Explanations of this legend were of course forthcoming, such as that which says that in the company of the forty maidens was a young man, dressed in women's clothes, whose function it was to massage the princess before she slept, a common enough practice in the Orient. Another version of the tale makes it impeccable from a Moslem point of view, stating that the princess and her maidens were miraculously impregnated by the foam of a lake into which a young holy man had been thrown after death. Driven out into the steppe, the maidens blamed the princess, who after miserable wanderings was found by three brothers (representing the three Hordes of the Kirghiz), one of whom married her. When he died, his children began to divide up their inheritance; and the eldest, called "Kirghiz" after the forty maidens, was rebuked by his brethren, who said that his father was a dog. He fled to Andzhan, and
from him are descended the Kirghiz people. From the forty
handmaids came the Otuz-uul Ichklik, a people inhabiting
the Kokand area. 78

In the Karakalpak epic, this tradition is not in evi-
dence, but echoes of it may still be found; for Gulaim
and her traditional entourage go for long expeditions,
and on one occasion they return to find their camp utterly
pillaged by the Kalmucks.

The Yakut Olongkho. The Yakuts are of Turkic stock,
and have been separated from the Southern Turks for many
centuries. Their language possesses many archaic Turkic
features, and their mythology is likewise much more "pri-
mitive" than that of the South, having nothing to do with
Islam, and partaking of the features of Shamanism and Ani-
mism which are common to most of Northern Siberia. 79

Their epic is called olongkho, 80 which is generally
in verse, though prose is also encountered. The length
varies from three or four thousand to as much as 25,000
lines of verse. The text is declaimed at a rapid pace,
and the monologues of the characters are sung, 81 but
there is no musical accompaniment. 82

Study of the olongkho is just over one hundred years
old, the first example being published by O. N. von Böht-
lingk in his Ueber die Sprache der Jakuten, 1851. 83 Its
title is simply "Olongkho", and its hero, Er-Sogotokh.
Subsequent publications. This first olongkho interested scholars, and fifteen years later the Russian folklorist I. A. Khudjakov, in exile in Verkhoyansk, recorded some very interesting material which he gave to the world in 1890. It contains the first full record of the 
olongkho, this one being called Khaan D'argystaj. The most important publication in pre-revolutionary times was that edited with scholarly care by E. K. Pekarskij from 1907 onwards, which to this day remains the most significant contribution in the field: Specimens of the Popular Literature of the Yakuts. In 1895 S. V. Jastremskij noted several olongkho which he published in Russian translation in 1929. Little study has as yet been done on the olongkho, the two best studies being of recent date, both by the same author, I. V. Pukhov.

Content. The main theme is the struggle between the defenders of the human race (ajiyy aimag) and the race of abaasy, evil cannibalistic monsters. The latter begin the action by making an incursion into the land of the ajiyy, and forcibly wooing the women. The suitors, or their matchmakers, act in an insolent manner, and demand the women in offensive terms, accompanying their demands by threats. They then lay the country waste, killing the people and carrying off the cattle. When they take prisoners, they incarcerate them in dungeons in their own territory (the underworld) and torture them.

At this point the hero enters the action. He is either one of the sons of the ruler of the oppressed country (as in "Unstumbling Mjuldju the Strong"), or a hero specially summoned to protect the people, in this case coming from another tribe of the aivy. Other heroes, on both sides, are introduced, and the narrative is complicated by episodes of one variety or another. In the end, of course, evil is vanquished, and the story ends with the triumphant return of the hero to his people and a description of the festivities which celebrate the victory, the traditional vayakh.89

Within the above general framework there is quite a proliferation of various motifs and episodes, some of which are common to the epics of other peoples. The hero, for instance, is (or becomes) immortal, and like Arthur will "come again" to save his people. In a like manner Itje, in the Samoyed legend, who departed beyond the great sea when Christ and his evil powers won the land, will return to unite the Samoyed and drive the foreigners out of Siberia.90

When the hero is worsted in battle, he is aided by other good forces, human and otherwise, and if he has been killed he is resuscitated by means of the Water of Life.91 In similar fashion Agu Nogon Abakha revives dead men with the Living Water she finds on the mountain-top;92 the raven brings the Water of Life to Hodoy in the Mongol tale
of "Altin Shagoj and Mungin Shagoj" and he becomes young again;\(^9^3\) Aspen-Leaf finds Life Water at a witches house with which he resuscitates several persons,\(^9^4\) and Prince Vassily likewise revives the tsar.\(^9^5\)

As antagonist of the unearthly abaasy, the hero possesses great powers, not merely the means of revival; he undergoes a "tempering" process to acquire the strength of a true bogatyry, increasing his already impressive vigour and ability.\(^9^6\) He is described as having veins which "ring like taut wires of steel; at his shout, thunder roars and mountains break in pieces; his movements raise storms which fell trees, and by a shot from his bow he cuts his way through mountains."\(^9^7\)

In these epics various manly, or rather heroic, qualities are held up for admiration, while undesirable ones are censured in no uncertain terms. Fealty to one's oath is particularly praised, as when Kyrydymyan keeps his pledge to guard the Water of Life even at the possible cost of the destruction by fire of his home.\(^9^8\) On the other hand, the abaasy monsters, and those ajyy who make alliances with them, are shown in the blackest colours.

As in several of the Burjat uligers, magic enters into the story everywhere, for the hero is thus resuscitated after his defeat; celestial powers also aid him in his tasks. With the help of such a "heavenly hero" Erbekhtej the Marksman purifies his opponent by burning him in a fire
and freeing his heart of its covering of ice, after which he is revived by magic and becomes an honourable knight on the side of justice. 99

The female knights (a mark of the age of the *olongkho*) and the enchantresses who figure in the stories are called by the same name — *d'ëge-baba*, a borrowing from Slavic of some period. 100 The intervention of celestials in the action is in the true epic tradition familiar to the west from literary (Homer, Vergil, Milton) as well as folk sources (as the Irish hero-tales).

The "social" themes of the *uligers* are paralleled in the *olongkho* also. One theme which runs through many of these epics is the quest of the hero for his bride, or the expedition of the hero and others of his kind to rescue brides who have been abducted. 101 This "quest" theme, a commonplace of the *uliger*, lies at the root of much of epic, and may be traced in such diverse examples as Odin's expedition after Suttung's mead, the search for the Grail in the Arthurian cycle, and Vainamoinen's journey to Pohjola for the magic Sampo.

A variant of the basic story of the *olongkho* is the description of the attempts of the reluctant heroine to avoid marriage with the hero. For this purpose she calls in the services of the *abaasy*, sometimes promising to wed her saviour. The hero defeats them all, and the heroine
either gives herself to him or is forced to do so by her parents or by the gods. Contrariwise, sometimes it is the hero who is reluctant, and the heroine must fight him, as in "Kulun Kullustuur".  

The age that can be put on the olongkho is quite considerable. Apart from the early social details already described, Nature is regarded as inimical, and indeed the entire groundwork of the olongkho lends itself very easily to the "Solar Myth" explanation. The aivvy, by this theory, would represent the friendly powers of nature, and the abaasy, the unfriendly; in the olongkho, the arrival of the abaasy is accompanied by great storms, famine and sickness, and as said earlier there is a certain equation of the two races with spring and winter. Bowra speaks of shamanistic poetry "in which ... magic is the main means of success" preceding that featuring a new concept of a "man-centred universe", producing "heroic poetry in which gods and men both take part. This in turn bifurcates into the poetry of gods and the poetry of men." Thus the Yakut epic may be said to lie along the line of development between shamanistic or purely magic tales, and the heroic poetry which is concerned mainly with the triumphs of mortals.
PART III

THE STORIES OF THE EPICS

I. GAR'JULAJ-MERGEN

Gar'julaj-Mergen and his brave sister Agu-Nogon-Abakha. Long ago there lived a brother, Gar'julaj-Mergen, and a sister, Agu-Nogon-Abakha. They lived very happily in a fine large four-cornered palace, as high as the sky. Their innumerable herds fed on eternally green pastures.

One day Gar'julaj-Mergen said to his sister, "I am tired of staying home and eating beef and mutton; I would like to taste the meat of wild animals. I am going to hunt!" "Go, dear brother", replied Agu-Nogon-Abakha. Gar'julaj-Mergen sounded his trumpet, and called his slender chestnut horse. The slender chestnut horse heard the call of his master, ran up to the silver tethering-post, and began to neigh with silver-sounding voice.

Gar'julaj-Mergen came out of the palace, bridled his slender chestnut horse with a silver bridle and fastened him with a red silken rein to the silver tethering-post. Then he brought a silken sweat-cloth and a silver saddle and saddled his horse. After this he
started getting ready for the journey, and dressed himself; he put on a quiver of pure silver, took his bow and arrows, and said, "I am ready, little sister!"

Then Agu-Nogon-Abakha set a table, and on it she spread various tasty dishes and drinks, and served her brother. Gar'julaj-Mergen ate till he was full, took farewell of his sister and went off to his horse. With swift steps he came up to the silver tethering-post, untied the red silken rein, leapt on to his slender chestnut horse and rode off to hunt in the mountains.

For two days he rode about the mountains, but he did not meet with a single wild animal. On the third day he came across a huge seven-headed Mangatkhaj.2 "Look — who is that beside you?" asked the Mangatkhaj, "your soul or the soul of your horse?"3 Gar'julaj-Mergen did not understand the slyness of the Mangatkhaj, and looked round; the Mangatkhaj leapt on him and swallowed him. His clothes the monster spat out, and threw away the quiver with its arrows, and the bow. Then the slender chestnut horse hurriedly gathered up his master's clothes, his quiver and bow, and fled. The Mangatkhaj gave chase, but could not catch him.

The slender chestnut horse ran to the palace and began to neigh with silver-sounding voice. The girl heard him, ran out and asked what had happened. The slender chestnut horse told her everything.
Agu-Nogon-Abakha wept for a long time. Then she dressed herself in her brother's clothes, girded herself with his belt, mounted the slender chestnut horse and hastened to the mountains, in search of the Mangatkhaj. He was still roaming the mountains, hunting wild beasts there. When she came upon him, Agu-Nogon-Abakha cried to him, "Who is that beside you, look! Is it your soul or the soul of your horse?" The Mangatkhaj looked round. Then Agu-Nogon-Abakha swiftly drew her bow and let fly an arrow at the Mangatkhaj. He cried out in a fearful voice, fell from his horse, and immediately died. His horse wished to flee, but Agu-Nogon-Abakha caught him by the rein and held him fast.

Then the slender chestnut horse said to her, "Cut off the thumb from the hand of the Mangatkhaj. There you will find the bones of your brother!" This she did, and found the bones of her brother. She wrapped them up in a black silk shawl, then killed the Mangatkhaj's horse and burned him and his master on a large bonfire; and the ashes she strewed on all sides, that they might not revive and cause more harm to people.

Agu-Nogon-Abakha went home, and carefully placed her brother's bones on a table. From three springs she collected water in a vessel. In ten taigas she gathered heather, and in sixteen taigas she gathered the bark of fir-trees. With this she washed the bones of her brother and
wrapped them up in silk of four colours.

After this she went to where her herds were grazing. There she caught a golden-yellow mare. She brought her home, took her brother's bones wrapped up in the silk of four colours, and leading the mare by its rein, rode up to the mountain Angaj. She brought forward the golden-yellow mare as a sacrifice and prayed, "Open, mountain Angaj, and take the bones of my brother Gar'julaj-Mergen!"

The mountain opened up and received the sacrifice. Agu-Nogon-Abakha placed her brother's bones inside, and the mountain once more closed. Then she returned home, turned loose the slender chestnut horse and wept for Gar'julaj-Mergen. "I am left alone!" she sobbed. "I do not have my one brother, there is no one now to shield me from enemies. Every passer-by can hurt me, destroy my palace and drive off my herds!"

Long she wept. Finally she decided to go on a far and dangerous journey: she had heard that Esege-malan had three daughters, who could bring the dead to life. She conceived the following stratagem: "The daughters of Esege-malan will not come down to earth if I ask them to. But if I come to them in the guise of a suitor and woo them, they will come with me and bring Gar'julaj-Mergen back to life. And if they are angry with me for the deception, let them do to me what they wish — as long as my brother
Gar'julaj-Mergen is brought back to life!

She came out of the palace and sounded her horn. At her call, the slender chestnut horse ran up and stopped by the silver tethering-post. Agu-Nogon-Abakha bridled him with a silver bridle, saddled him with a silver saddle and tied him to the silver tethering-post with a red silken rein. Then she entered the palace, dressed herself in her brother's best clothes, put on his black iron armour which he had worn in battle, girded herself with the quiver of silver, took up the bow, the arrows, the silver trumpet and tobacco-pouch — and looked exactly like her brother.

She leapt on the slender chestnut horse and rode off. And her heart became like flint — no danger could frighten her.

She rode for a long time, and suddenly saw a woman sitting by the roadside, boiling tea and pouring it from one pot to another. The slender chestnut horse said to Agu-Nogon-Abakha, "This woman will offer you tea, but do not drink it; she has evil in her heart; she will poison you!" They rode up to the woman, who sure enough offered tea to Agu-Nogon-Abakha, saying, "You are travelling to a far mysterious country; there you will suffer hunger and thirst. Drink at least one cup of tea!" Agu-Nogon-Abakha took the cup, but splashed the tea over the woman, who died immediately.
Agu-Nogon-Abakha rode on further and suddenly saw a huge bear digging up an anthill. The horse said to her: "Are we going to go around this bear? It were better to take him by the ears and throw him to the side!" Agu-Nogon-Abakha did so; she seized the bear by the ears and threw him to the side. The bear roared and breathed its last. They rode on a little and suddenly heard someone pursuing them. They turned round and saw the khan of the ants, who thanked them, saying: "You vanquished my most evil enemy. He has devoured my subjects and destroyed our villages. If some danger or difficulty occurs on your journey, call me, and I will help you!" Thus spoke the khan of the ants, and he went back to his estates, while Agu-Nogon-Abakha rode on further.

Soon she came to a high mountain. The height of this mountain was greater than the clouds, and at its foot lay a large number of bones, of both men and horses. Agu-Nogon-Abakha leapt down and looked at the bones; they were much longer and thicker than the bones of ordinary men and horses. Then she wept bitterly and said: "Here have perished men who were bigger and stronger than I. It seems I too must die at this mountain and leave my bones here." The slender chestnut horse said to her, "Do not grieve! I shall try to leap to the summit. Only you must hold on to me and not fall off!" The slender chestnut horse galloped back; he galloped for three days and three
nights. Then he turned round, darted forward with all his might, and coming up to the mountain, sprang up and found himself on the very summit.

Here they found a spring of Living Water. Agu-Nogon-Abakha dismounted, drank the Living Water and became three times stronger and more beautiful than before. She watered her horse, and he became thrice as strong and swift. Then she drew some of the Living Water and poured it down to the foot of the mountain, where the bones lay. The men and horses immediately came alive, and thanked Agu-Nogon-Abakha loudly. Then with a joyful noise they went off in all directions to their homes. Agu-Nogon-Abakha collected the Living Water and rode on further.

On the road she saw three youths dying from hunger and weariness. She splashed some Living Water on them, and they immediately became strong and hale. They thanked her, saying, "We are invisible bators. When we wish, no one can see us. If you have need of our aid, call us, three strong bators, and we will help you in everything!"

Agu-Nogon-Abakha bade them farewell and rode on, until she saw a yellow dog lying dying on the road. The maiden asked the dog, "Why are you dying?" The dog answered her, "On my way here, I passed a woman who was sitting by the roadside boiling tea. She was pouring it from one pot to another. She gave me some tea to drink, and I am poisoned."
Agu-Nogon-Abakha splashed some of the Living Water on the dog, who immediately revived, joyfully wagged his tail and said, "When you have need of my aid, cry 'Gunir-shara-nokhoj!' I at once will come and help you. I can be invisible, and no one but you will know that I am helping you!"

After a long and wearisome journey Agu-Nogon-Abakha came to the high palace of Esege-malan. She tethered her horse with the red silken rein to a silver tethering-post, at which there already stood two horses, and entered the palace. She greeted Esege-malan and said, "I have come to woo your daughters!"

With Esege-malan were two young men, who had also come to woo his daughters. Esege-malan asked the maiden her name, and whence she came. She replied, "I have come from the northern land, and I am called Gar'julaj-Mergen."

Esege-malan welcomed the suitors, and they stayed the night with him. In the morning he said to them, "I wish to amuse myself a little, and see which of you is the strongest. To him will I give my daughters." The suitors went out and began to wrestle. Agu-Nogon-Abakha was dismayed; she did not know how to fight them without their discovering that she was a woman. But the slender chestnut horse said to her, "Call one of the three invisible bators!" Hardly had she called for him, when a young hero mysteriously appeared and helped her to gain the victory.
in the match. Then Esege-malan said, "This is the one to whom I shall give my daughters! He is the strongest of the suitors!"

But earlier he had consulted a shamaness, to find out if he would give his daughters to a good suitor. The shamaness looked into the future and said, "This suitor is handsome and strong, only he is not a man, but a woman! Behold to what a suitor thou givest thy daughters!" Esege-malan was surprised and wished once more to test Agu-Nogon-Abakha. He ordered the suitors to shoot at a target. Then Agu-Nogon-Abakha called on the second invisible bator, and he helped her. The other two suitors missed the target entirely.

After this Esege-malan ordered them to race their horses. "If this is a maiden, not a man," he thought, "her horse will come last". Agu-Nogon-Abakha went to her slender chestnut horse and said, "What shall I do now?" The horse said, "Call the invisible yellow dog. He will help me by hindering the other horses!" Gunir-shara-nokhoj came at her call. He dodged about the feet of the other horses, and so helped the slender chestnut horse to beat them. Then Esege-malan said, "The shamaness spoke falsely! Can a woman ride a horse thus?" But the shamaness said once more, "This is not a man, but a maiden!"

Then Esege-malan thought of another trial. He said,
"I have three barns; in each of them sits a bear. Let us put all three suitors in these barns. If Gar'julaj-Mergen is a girl, then she will not get the better of the bear, for the bear will overcome her, and crush her." They put all three suitors in the barns with the bears and waited to see what would happen. Then Agu-Nogon-Abakha called for the help of the third bator. He immediately appeared, raised up a corner of the barn and thrust the bear under it. The bear at once died. In the morning Agu-Nogon-Abakha came out of the barn whole and unhurt, but the other two suitors were brought out dead.

The eldest daughter of Esege-malan spat upon the suitors and stepped over them. The second and third also spat upon them and stepped over them, and both suitors came alive.

But the shamaness still said, "Esege-malan wishes to wed his daughters to a girl!" Then Esege-malan thought of still another test. He gave each suitor a vessel, in which was mixed red and white millet, and said, "Separate by morning the white and red millet, so that in one heap there shall be only white millet, and in another, only the red."

"What will become of me?" asked Agu-Nogon-Abakha. The slender chestnut horse said, "Call on the aid of the khan of the ants!" She hearkened to the horse's words, and when the millet was brought to her she quietly called to the khan of the ants, who immediately appeared with many of
his subjects. They soon separated the millet into two heaps, but the other suitors could not separate the millet and went home with nothing.

"Will you marry the mighty Gar'julaj-Mergen?" Esegemalan asked his daughters. They said they were willing. Then their father said to them, "Take with you half my possessions." But the daughters replied, "We do not need your possessions. Give us only one silver ladle, with which we can obtain whatever food and drink we need!" They celebrated the wedding. For a long time they feasted — only on the ninth day did the guests go home. Agu-Nogon-Abakha made preparations for her return. "Long ago I left home", she said to Esegemalan. "I do not know what is going on there; someone may have driven off my herds. Whoever has a native country, must hasten home; who has a home, must look after it!" Esegemalan agreed, and let her go home. For three days he rode with them, then bade them farewell and returned home.

On the journey, the daughters of Esegemalan said to each other, "Let us see once more. Let us place fire on the breast of Gar'julaj-Mergen when he sleeps. If it is a girl, she will cry out from pain; if it is a man, he will throw off the fire and go to sleep again." This they did; but Agu-Nogon-Abakha threw off the fire and went to sleep again. The daughters were not satisfied, for their husband's voice
was very like a woman's, soft and high. On the next night they caught a snake and placed it on Agu-Nogon-Abakha's neck. But she calmly threw it off and went back to sleep. "No, it is a man, not a girl!" they said.

Finally they came to the spring of Living Water; they drank of it, and watered their horses, and they became prettier than before, and the horses became stronger and swifter. They safely leapt down from the high mountain and rode on further. Then Agu-Nogon-Abakha said to the daughters of Esege-malan, "I shall go on ahead, to set the palace in order and meet you as is fitting. You follow in my tracks. Where I draw a circle, there spend the night; where I make a line on the road, keep to it, do not turn off!" She rode on ahead, and found the palace all in order. Agu-Nogon-Abakha went to her herd, where she caught a mare that was completely white, took it by the bridle and hastened to the mountain Angaj.

She brought forward the white mare as a sacrifice and spoke to the mountain: "Open, mountain Angaj, so that I may take the bones of my brother!" The mountain opened up, and Agu-Nogon-Abakha took the bones of her brother; and the mountain closed once more. With her brother's bones she returned home, tied the slender chestnut horse to the silver tethering-post and took off the saddle and sweat-cloth. She carried them into the palace, where she spread the sweat-cloth on the right hand side of the hearth, and the
silver saddle she placed at the head of the bed. On this bed she placed the bones of Gar'julaj-Mergen. Then she wrote everything she had done on a paper, which she fastened to the mane of the slender chestnut horse, and ran off into the wood, turning herself into a hare, in order to hide from the wrath of the daughters of Esege-malan.

The three daughters of Esege-malan rode up to the palace, but their husband did not meet them, and after a while they entered the palace, where they saw human bones lying on the right side of the hearth, and no living thing in the entire building. They said, "The cunning girl has tricked us! She brought us here to a dead man, whose bones are lying there!"

Then the two eldest daughters said, "Let us go home! What is there for us here?" But the youngest daughter said, "How shall we get home from such a far country? What shall we say to our parents? Would it not be better to revive this man, since we can do so? Then we shall see what we can do." Her sisters agreed with her. The eldest sister stepped thrice over the bones of Gar'julaj-Mergen and struck him thrice with a black silken kerchief. The bones came together and were covered with flesh. The middle sister did the same, and Gar'julaj-Mergen became like a sleeping man. The three daughters fell in love with his beauty. Then the third sister stepped thrice over him and struck him thrice with a black silken ker-
chief, and Gar' julaj-Mergen came alive. He tidied himself and said: "How long and deep have I slept!" Then he arose, greeted the sisters and asked them where they were from and what they were called. The sisters said to him: "We are the three daughters of Esege-malan, and arrived here not long ago. You were dead, and we have brought you back to life."

Gar' julaj-Mergen did not believe them. He went out of the palace and saw his slender chestnut horse standing at its post. The horse saw his master and neighed in a fine silver-sounding voice. Gar' julaj-Mergen went up to him, looked him over and, groping in his mane, found the paper. He read it and understood what his sister had done. Then he asked the horse: "Tell me, where is my sister?" The slender chestnut horse replied: "Your sister has turned herself into a hare and has hidden herself in the hollows of the wood, to escape the wrath of the daughters of Esege-malan." Gar' julaj-Mergen said, "Let us go quickly and find her!" "Wait a little," said the horse. "Stay three days with the daughters of Esege-malan, otherwise they will take offence and return home. In three days we shall go in search of Agu-Nogon-Abakha. I am very tired now, and your sister has hidden herself very far away. I must gather strength to ride round the forest!"

For three days Gar' julaj-Mergen stayed with the daughters of Esege-malan, and the slender chestnut horse rested.
On the fourth day Gar' julaj-Mergen went in search of his sister. For two days he searched the forest high and low, but found nothing. On the third day once more he rode into the wood, and suddenly saw under a tree a little hare lying trembling. The slender chestnut horse said: "See, that is your sister Agu-Nogon-Abakha!" Gar' julaj-Mergen sprang from his horse, crept up to the hare and caught it. The hare tried to wriggle out of his hands, but he held it fast, and finally it turned into his sister Agu-Nogon-Abakha. They talked for a long time; she told him everything — how she had found his bones in the thumb of the Mangatkhaj, how she had brought the daughters of Esege-malan. She was unwilling to go home, because she was afraid of the three sisters. "I shall tell them everything, and they will forgive you," said Gar' julaj-Mergen.

When they returned to the palace, the sisters at once knew her and said "Here she is that came to us in guise of a man! The old shamaness spoke true, that our father would give us to a girl!" But when they learned everything, they were reconciled with Agu-Nogon-Abakha and took a liking to her. Gar' julaj-Mergen married the three daughters of Esege-malan, and for his sister built a handsome palace next to his own.

The three daughters of Esege-malan gave Agu-Nogon-Abakha the magic silver ladle, which gave whatever meat and drink was desired. And they all lived in peace and joy.
II. IRINSEJ

In olden times the old man Irinsej lived with his woman Untan Duuraj.\(^1\) They had no children, which gave them much sorrow. One day Irinsej rode off to check over his herds, and saw that a foal had gone. He decided that he had been tricked by the Yellow Mangadkhaj Danil, or his son, and rode away on a red ox to seek his foal. He found it in a distant icy country among a herd of crippled horses. Irinsej cured the horses and sent them off to his home, and then went on to find the Mangadkhaj, whom he defeated. When he arrived home, he found that his wife had given birth to a son and daughter. At a great feast the children were named Khankhan Sokto and Aguu Noogon.

One day Irinsej, at his wife's request, went out hunting. In his absence Untan Duuraj became the mistress of the defeated Mangadkhaj. Irinsej's horse warned him of this,\(^2\) but he did not believe it. When he came home, Irinsej drank some wine which his wife gave him, and became drunk. Untan Duuraj called the Mangadkhaj. The drunken Irinsej fought his enemy, but his wife scattered red millet under his feet so that he fell. The Mangadkhaj and Untan Duuraj killed the old man, and were preparing to do away with the children, but the faithful horse ran to the house and, breaking the window, saved the children and carried them away. He took them to a high mountain,
and laid their cradle down under a golden aspen tree. For three years, as they wandered, he fed them.

One day Khankhan Sokto came to a great palace, where lived the Yellow Eight-headed Mangadkhaj Zudak. Zudak beat him and shut him up in a barn. Shortly afterwards the Master of the Forests arrived as a guest, and took little Khankhan Sokto away with him; then he went after Aguun Noogon and captured her as well. When Khankhan Sokto had grown up, he prayed to the god Khukhudej Mergen, asking for a great horse. Khukhudej Mergen sent him from heaven the horse Khujlun Khukhu. Khankhan Sokto then rode to the Mangadkhaj Zudak and took ferocious revenge.

After this he killed Mangadkhaj Danil together with his own mother, Danil's mistress. Finding his father's riding-ox, Khankhan Sokto set out to find his father's remains, and for this purpose turned himself into a fish. In the sea he met another fish like himself, from whom he secured a promise of help. A cask was thrown up by the waves, and in it Khankhan Sokto found Irinsej's corpse. He bore the body home and set out to find the Water of Life, which when he found it he poured over his father, adding aspen leaves.

Irinsej came to life, and his horse reproached him for his lack of caution. Father and son rode together to the palace of the Master of the Forests. While Khan-
khan Sokto slept, the Master of the Forests, the Thirty-headed Mangadkhaj, began to dig a tunnel from out of his palace. Wakened by his sister, Khankhan Sokto fell upon the Mangadkhaj and killed him. After this they lived in peace.

III. MANAS

The epic opens with a detailed pedigree of Manas. He comes from the old khan family of Nogoj, but he himself is not a hereditary khan. After the death of Nogoj, his sons, Orozdu, Usen, Baj and Dzhakyp, pressed by the Chinese, separate, and with the Kirghiz tribes under them spread over the world. The father of Manas, Dzhakyp, settles in Altaj. His wife, Shakan, is the widow of Chijir, brother of Nogoj. In memory of her first husband she takes the name Chijirdy. Dzhakyp's second wife is called Bakdöölöt.

All three have dreams, by which it becomes known that a son will be born, a mighty hero. At his birth, Dzhakyp gives a great feast, and the guests prophesy that the child will conquer all the nations. From his early childhood Manas is marked by unusual strength and accomplishes great exploits; at the age of ten he shoots his arrow like a youth of fourteen, and he continues precociously:

Manas grew plump in Andzhan, eating soft bread and gnawing on green apples of Andzhan. At twelve he shot his bow, at thirteen, with lance in hand, he
vanquished his enemies, carried off children from the saddle, abducted beautiful maidens and made brave heroes cry in pain, at fourteen he destroyed the auls that stood in the mountain passes, and at fifteen he was the ruler of countless peoples. The tall Manas had high brows and a cold face; his blood was black; his body was white, his belly brindled, his spine was blue. Who is like unto Manas? He is like a blue-maned bristly wolf.  

Manas gets together a band of warriors, the "Forty Horsemen", with whom he goes into battle against the Chinese and Kalmuck khans, and his strength and valour make him famous. The people elect him Khan, and he woos and marries Kanykaj, whose "face is white as snow, the colour of her cheeks is like blood fallen on snow." She is fifteen years old, has hair to her heels, a scent like musk, and teeth like pearls.

Manas gradually unites the numerous Kirghiz tribes, and accomplishes a series of campaigns in Afghanistan and the Central Asiatic khanates — Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bokhara. All this is but a prelude to the great Bejdzhin campaign.

This campaign is preceded by two events: the funeral feast for Kokotej and the plot of the khans against Manas. To the feast given in memory of his henchman the Khan of Tashkent, Kokotej, Manas invites all "the khans of men and the khans of demons". This feast, which proves onerous for the people, goes on for several months. Six khans, insulted by the overbearing arrogance of Manas,
decide to make use of the discontent of the people, and enter into a conspiracy against Manas. Manas hears of the plot and orders the treacherous khans to appear before him with all their forces. His wife treats them hospitably, and then in order to frighten them and bend them to obedience, Manas demonstrates his unassailable power. He meets the khans, stern and majestic, sitting on his throne, round which a huge dragon is twined, and at the foot of the throne lie ferocious tigers. The fearful dragon is as obedient as a little puppy; he comes out and creeps away at a wave of the ruler's hand, and the tigers also obey him. The khans are humbled by their reception and declare their submission. Manas makes a speech about his intended campaign on Bejdzhin, and the preparations for the expedition are told in some detail.

Before setting out Manas consults Kanykej, his wise wife. Foreseeing the campaign, she has prepared for it, and laid up all kinds of gifts for Manas' warriors, especially clothing necessary for the journey. She tells Manas how carefully she has prepared the equipment for the heroes, saying "A seamstress helps to fight!" She prophesies the successful outcome of the expedition.

One of the central places in the epic is occupied by the Chinese Almambet, friend and fellow-champion of Manas. The son of a great Chinese khan, Almambet has come over to Manas, shown his fidelity, and been quickly
promoted; he is first among the horsemen of Manas. At the beginning of the campaign, Manas casts aside the old and honoured Kirghiz hero Bakaj, and puts Almambet in his place as leader. The fact that a Chinese is at the head of the Kirghiz forces gives rise to dissension among the soldiers, but Manas ignores this, for he values Almambet very highly, and the Chinese hero is indispensable to him. What is Almambet's secret? He is a fearless, unconquerable hero, possessing outstanding ability, miraculous knowledge, intelligence and acumen.

While still a child, Almambet learned the magic art of turning summer into winter, calling forth rain, storms and snow, freezing rivers, and so on. Besides this, he knows China well, and the roads leading to Bejdzhin. But his Chinese origin gives grounds for suspicion of insincerity, and places him in an ambiguous position: he is either a Chinese spy, or an apostate and renegade. To take away this suspicion, and rehabilitate himself in the eyes of Manas, Almambet tells the story of his life.

Almambet was conceived before his mother Altynaj became the wife of the Chinese Aziz-khan. His secret father was a Moslem spirit (hur) and Almambet came from his mother's womb a Moslem, even circumcised in true Moslem fashion. He is therefore not an apostate, and no renegade. The birth of Almambet was accompanied by several unusual natural phenomena, and in his closed palms was blood:
When I came out of the womb,  
I frightened the lamas with my cries,  
I cried out, it seems, "Islam!"  
When I was lifted up from the ground,  
A red flame flashed forth from it.  

All this meant that a mighty hero was born, chosen to play an exceptional part in the world. In his early childhood, Almambet, like Manas, possessed unusual strength and performed many feats; for instance, he entered into a duel with the Chinese Khan Konurbaj, who is an especially dangerous and crafty enemy of the Kirghiz, ruling by means of secret sorcery. In his very first encounter with Konurbaj, Almambet came out the victor. After some time Almambet demanded from his alleged father, Aziz-Khan, that he renounce Buddha and accept Islam. Aziz-Khan refused to change his faith, and Almambet, urged on by Altynaj, killed Aziz-Khan and fled from China. After long wanderings and adventures he met the old Kirghiz hero Bakaj, at whose house he met Aruke, sister of Manas' wife. Almambet subsequently takes Aruke to wife and becomes a kinsman of Manas; he drinks milk from Manas' mother's breast, and so becomes a "milk-brother".

When the Kirghiz, with other Central Asiatic peoples, set out for Bejdzhin, Manas decides to send Almambet on reconnaissance. With another hero, Syrgak, Almambet sets off for China. At this time Chubak, a Kirghiz who is discontented at the sudden rise of Almambet, rushes after him in a fury and starts a quarrel, which would have ended in
tragedy had not Manas come in time and pacified the two heroes. The fight itself is accompanied by a sympathetic storm:

Suddenly the storm grew wild; Everything around was darkened, Black clouds came over the sky; Thunder roared in the mountains, Suddenly rain poured from the sky — Such rain no man had ever seen! Piercing snowflakes fell in swarms And blinded the eyes.  

The expedition proceeds, and Almambet clears the way, overcoming amongst other obstacles the giant Malgun and the sorceress Kanyshaj, who is so charmed by Almambet's dancing that she puts herself at his mercy. There are however evil portents and forebodings. Almambet sees in the garden of Aziz-Khan the old withered plane-tree under which he was born. The fate of this tree is mysteriously connected with the fate of Almambet:

The plane-tree is withered in the garden — That means that I will not come to Talas. The roots are rotting, foretelling misfortune — That means that I will not return.  

Having penetrated to Bejdzhin, Almambet meets the daughter of the Chinese Essen-Khan, Burulcha. They have fallen in love, and passionately hungered for this meeting, but Almambet is true to his military duty, and at the moment when passion is about to prevail over his reason, he presses his burning temple to "the golden cheek of his axe" and the cold metal cools his heat.
Almambet meets the Chinese hero Karagul, whose master Konurbaj is preparing for the battle with Manas. This decisive encounter takes place on the approaches to the capital. In the number of Chinese heroes with whom the Kirghiz fight, one of the most mighty is the huge one-eyed Mady-Khan, who rides a one-horned buffalo. Manas here begins to play a dominant role in the action, and fights several mighty warriors. His horse, Ak-kula, is a fitting steed for a hero, being of supernatural origin:

If night without moon is on the earth,
If earth is lost in mist and gloom,
The horse's ears shine upon it,
As if lights were kindled in them!
A whirlwind made its mother pregnant.14

The Forty Friends also show their mettle:

The forty warriors rushed to the fight,
Began the fight against the heathen.
They came in a flood then,
They were covered in blood.
They scattered cries here,
They brandished their pikes here.
The face of the earth was covered with blood.
The face of the sky was covered with dust.15

This decisive battle ends in Manas' victory. Konurbaj is killed, there is a retreat, and Bejdzhin surrenders. Manas becomes Khan of Bejdzhin; but soon the Chinese rebel against their conquerors. After many bloody fights the Chinese get the upper hand. In the battles with the Chinese Manas loses many of his heroes, Almambet, Chubak, Syrgak and others. His famous horse
Ak-kula dies, and Manas himself, sorely wounded, returns to Talas and there dies. After his death his widow Kanyakkej goes with his son Semetej to her father in Bokhara. The life and exploits of the son are the theme of the second branch of the epic, "Semetej".

Semetej is born after Manas' death, and his grandfather and cousins plan his death, that he may not inherit the possessions of Manas. He escapes, and lives to slay the plotters. Later he is murdered by two Kalmucks, and his posthumous son Sejtek and Kanyakaj take revenge for his death. Sejtek then rules in Manas' old khanate.

IV. ALPAMYSH

Alpamysh¹ and Barchin are the children of two brothers, Bajburi and Bajsary, who rule the Kungrat tribe in Uzbekistan. After remaining for long childless, the brothers pray for children, and when they arrive, they are betrothed in the cradle. Bajsary, having quarreled with his elder brother, takes his tents to the country of the Kalmucks. In her new home Barchin evokes love in the giant-heroes of the Kalmuck shah Tajcha-Khan.² In order to escape their suits, she lets it be known that she will give her hand to him who wins four contests: a horse race (bajga), a contest with the bow, shooting at a target, and duelling. Barchin hopes that the victor will be Alpamysh, and sends him word of the contests.
For his journey Alpamysh asks for a horse from the drover Kultaj, a household slave of Bajburi. This horse is a homely-looking foal, but is really a *tulpar* (war-horse), with wings. Alpamysh' companion on this venture is a Kalmuck hero, Karadzhan, who becomes his friend on being spared when Alpamysh defeats him in a duel. On his friend's wonderful horse Bajchibar Karadzhan defeats all his enemies, in spite of the designs of the Kalmucks, who bind their enemy and lame his horse by driving nails into its hooves. Karadzhan takes on the Kalmucks in single combat, and Alpamysh completes the victory, overcoming the strongest of the heroes, the elder brother of Karadzhan, Kokaldash.

Alpamysh wins in all the contests and becomes the husband of Barchin. Together with Karadzhan they return to their home, while Bajsary and his house, still unreconciled, stay in Kalmuck territory.

In the second part of the epic Alpamysh, hearing of the oppressive rule of his father-in-law Tajcha-Khan, once more goes to the land of the Kalmucks at the head of his forty horsemen. A cunning old woman, Surkhajil', the mother of slain Kalmuck knights, comes to meet the Uzbeks with forty beautiful maidens, and prepares a feast, at which the drunken heroes fall asleep. They are all killed by warriors of the Kalmuck shah, except the invulnerable Alpamysh, who is tied, still asleep, to the tail of his
horse and dragged into an underground dungeon.

Alpamysh spends seven years as a captive of the shah. Kajkubad, a shepherd, comes across him and gives him food. Alpamysh manages to send news of his plight back to the Kungrats by means of a letter, written in the blood of a wounded goose which flies into his prison, and is used as his messenger. Karadzhan comes to rescue him, but Alpamysh wishes to have no help. However, he accepts the aid of the shah's daughter, who brings him his heroic horse. Once freed, Alpamysh kills Tajcha-Khan and sets Kajkubad on the throne, marrying him to the shah's daughter.

During Alpamysh' absence, his younger brother, Ultantaz, has seized power, and is oppressing the friends and kindred of the hero. Old Bajburi is forced to serve him, Kaldyrgach, sister of Alpamysh, is sent to herd the camels in the steppe, and the despot makes preparations for his marriage to Barchin, in spite of her refusals.

On the way home Alpamysh meets a caravan, from which he learns how things stand with the Kungrats, then his sister, and finally the old drover Kultaj, who tells him of the impending wedding feast. Disguising himself as the drover, Alpamysh makes his way home, where he sees what is going on, and takes part in the festivities. There is a shooting contest, at which he is the only one who can bend the heavy bronze bow of Alpamysh. 4
Alpamysh takes part in the singing of olans, ritual
dancing songs, first with Badam, Ultan's old mother, and
here his verses are biting and satirical, and then with
Barchin, where the song becomes lyrical and intimate. In
these verses he lets Barchin know he has returned, and his
vengeance is near.

Kultaj lets the people know that Alpamysh has returned,
and the hero, with his comrades, annihilates the forces
of Ultan and sentences the tyrant to cruel punishment. At
this time Bajsary returns from Kalmuck country with his
kin. The poem ends with a joyful celebration and the
uniting of the Kungrat tribes under the rule of Alpamysh.

V. KYRK KYZ

The "Forty Maidens"¹ are led by the wise and noble
Gulaim. The action takes place in Turkestan, the father-
land (ata zhurty) of the Karakalpaks, in the "land of the
Nogaj", in legendary Sarkop.

The fifteen-year-old beauty Gulaim rejects the claims
of her suitors, and decides to become a warrior and take
up her abode apart from her kinfolk. According to her
wish, her father, the baj Allajar, gives her the island
Miujeli, on which, with the help of twelve craftsmen, she
builds an impregnable fortress with walls of bronze (kola-
dan korghanson soldyrdy) and stout metal gates, ornamented
with carvings. Inside this fortress, in white yurtas,
Gulaim settles with forty chosen maidens, whom she begins to instruct in the arts of war. When not thus engaged, Gulaim and her maidens tame the empty salt-marshes of the island; having ploughed up and fertilised the barren land, they cultivate beautiful orchards and flower gardens.

There follows a period of peace, and here we have an account of the pastimes of the maidens on the island. We are told of the attempts of persistent aspirants to penetrate into the fortress and secure the favours of Gulaim by all kinds of methods, including deceit; the main place among these failures is occupied by the bald shepherd of Allajar, Zhurintaz.

In this part of the poem are most of the ethnographical details, linked particularly with the forced marriage of Gulaim to Zhurintaz. The latter obtains the consent of Allajar, having shown himself to the baj in the form of the soul of his ancestor, when Allajar was praying at the tomb about his recovery from a serious illness.

The events following this give many details of daily life and a realistic characterisation of human types, of the heroes of the poem, and also of ordinary people; we are told of the conversations of the proud angry girl (who however submits to her father) with her comrades and kinfolk, and the uncompleted nuptial celebrations (Zhurintaz
is killed during the wedding feast by his rival Sajeke).

The following part of the dastan takes place in Khor-ezm, at the time of its invasion by the forces of Nadir-Shah. Here are related events dealing with the adventures of the second hero, the batyr Aryslan, with whom Gulaim is in love, having seen him in a dream. She in her turn has conquered Aryslan in dreams by her beauty, but he puts off searching for his love because he must defend the people of Khorezm from Nadir-Shah.

Aryslan has a sister, the beautiful Altynaj, also a warrior-maiden, who shares with her brother all the dangers and difficulties of war. Nadir-Shah attempts to seize Altynaj, and with the help of his cunning vizier and an old witch (mastan-kemplr) devises a means of depriving the girl of her brother's protection. He sets a rumour afloat concerning the incestuous cohabitation of Aryslan with his sister, and as Nadir-Shah expected, the result of this intrigue is that the outraged and disgraced brother leaves Khorezm to seek bitter solitude in the desert. However, the people of Khorezm do not believe the calumny, and entrust their fate to Altynaj, having chosen her in place of her brother as their champion in the defensive war.

Meanwhile, Gulaim and her comrades have gone from Sarkop to the steppe on a regular military practice. The khan of the Kalmucks, Surtajshi, having learned of this, descends upon Sarkop and subjects it to terrible destruction.
In the battle Allajar and six brothers of Gulaim perish; and the remainder of the inhabitants, including the maiden's old mother, are driven over the river Chir-chik into Kalmuck territory.

The next part of the poem is devoted to the war activities of Gulaim, who rushes in pursuit, but only catches up with the enemy when the Kalmucks have shut their captives up in their fortress, which is impregnable to the Karakalpak maidens. However, the Kalmucks who resent their khan's cruelty revolt against him, and help Gulaim enter the fortress. Gulaim calls out Surtajshi to single combat and kills him.

At this time Aryslan first meets Gulaim. He joins her forces and helps her defeat Surtajshi, and after the conquest both heroes return home at the head of their forces, which include the released Sarkopians and the rebellious Kalmucks. With the blessing of her people, Gulaim marries Aryslan. This does not end her warrior-woman life: together with Aryslan and her companions she goes to Khor-ezm, helps drive out Nadir-Shah and releases Altynaj.

The epic concludes with the festivities on the decision of the inhabitants of Khorezm to create there a state of four equal nations — the Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs and Turkomans.
VI. KAMBAR-BATYR

1. Kambar. In ancient times there was a clan called Uak; it was very very poor. This clan was provided for by a fourteen-year-old youth, Kambar by name; he shot wild asses and wild goats, and with them fed his people.

To the leeward side of Uak, at a distance of six days' journey, lived the people of Khan Azimbaj. The khan had a beautiful daughter called Nazym-sulu. She was twelve years old. Once to Azimbaj came his favourite vizier and said to him, "O Azimbaj, full of wisdom! Listen to me. Why do you not give in marriage your twelve-year-old Nazym? To no purpose she spends her days. Why not find her a husband?"

Then Azimbaj arranged ten white yurtas, gathered his people and said, "I shall give my daughter without kalym to him whom she herself shall choose." Nazym-sulu found none to please her, and the maiden came before her father and said, "Among the people who are gathered there is none who could rein up the untamed horse of the herd."

Then a certain old man came before the khan and said, "There is a youth by the name of Kambar, who provides for the clan of Uak. If you do not say that he is an utter pauper, he will suit your daughter."
The khan was angered against the old man, and said, "Do you think that I have taken leave of my senses, that I would give my daughter to a penniless peasant?" But Nazym stood beside her father and wrote down the name of Kambar.

One day Kambar was hunting wild asses and goats, when he forded a stream, and saw that Nazym-sulu with her forty maidens had come down to the bank and unfolded a tent. Nazym saw Kambar, and said,

"Kambar of the khan bone, Thy raven-black steed, Lyska, Has lights, liver and a flowing mane. Come into our tent, Here we have sugar, currants, and tea."

But Kambar rode past them, and did not turn aside.

To the leeward of the tents of Azimbaj lived his enemy. There were the lands of khan Armambet. This khan wished to marry Nazym, and sent Zhalmambet as matchmaker to Azimbaj, saying, "Let Azimbaj give me to wife Nazym-sulu. If he does not do so, I shall take her by force."

Then the younger son of Azimbaj slew all the men sent by Armambet, cut off the nose and ears of Zhalmambet, and sent him back. When the matchmaker returned to his master, the khan saw him and asked, "My vizier! When you looked upon Nazym, did you give your nose and ears as a gift?"
Zhalmambet replied, "All those that were sent by you have been slain, and they cut off my nose and my ears." Armambet flew into a rage, gathered his forces and advanced on the tents of Azimbaj. Then Azimbaj, in great fear, sent two viziers to Kambar. They came to Kambar and said, "Khan Azimbaj has sent us to ask you to destroy his enemy. If you destroy the forces of Armambat, khan Azimbaj will give you his daughter Nazym-sulu."

Kambar listened to these words, and mounted his raven-black steed Lyska. He vanquished the enemy, and then went to the tents of Azimbaj; he entered the yurta and said, "I will marry Nazym." But Azimbaj answered him, saying, "I will not give my daughter to such as thou, a penniless peasant!" Then Kambar was angered at the khan, and he leapt on his horse, and said, "I shall fall upon your tents!" The khan's favourite vizier saw this, and said, "Give your daughter to Kambar, for you will find none better than he."

Then the khan agreed to marry Nazym and Kambar, and ordered a feast and races. Then he gave many herds to Kambar and sent his daughter to her husband's aul. Thus with the help of Kambar the clan of Uak grew rich and prospered.

11. Early version. The prince of the Kalmucks has been trying to obtain the beautiful Nazym by force,
and Kambar is able to persuade the people to make his personal cause a reason for rebellion. The parents and kinfolk of Nazym have decided not to oppose the threats of the Kalmuck khan and brought Nazym to the wedding feast, for which, naturally, the majority of the people have gathered.

Kambar also arrives, very late. The khan asks him why he has not appeared earlier to the invitation, to which the hero replies that he was delayed on the way by a matter of settling some affairs, from which he could not excuse himself. To the question, What were they? he tells his story.

First of all, there appeared before him a mouser and a hawk; the former had caught a duck, and the hawk had taken it from him. Kambar decided the dispute in favour of the mouser, because the hawk could always capture a duck, while the mouser could only do so once. Then there came to him a mongrel and a borzoi, of whom the first had caught a steppe antelope and the second stole it. The hero solved their dispute in the same fashion, in favour of the mongrel dog, and gave it the antelope. In deciding these disputes, he thought about each for three days, and so lost time.

The Kalmuck khan understands the meaning of these allegories and orders Kambar's execution; but the Kirghiz
who are present, carried away by Kambar's daring, and previously prepared by him for rebellion, protect him, and the wedding feast ends in a slaughter, in which the Kirghiz are victorious.

VIII. UNSTUMBLING MJULDJU THE STRONG

The birth of the hero.¹ In ancient days, there was an abundant land, and people settled there. To the south there was the warm sea Durang, to the west the mettlesome sea Araat² with its great storms and raging winds, and to the north, the stormy Maiden Ocean. The first man is called Kjun Syralyman-tojon, and his wife is Aan Darkhan-khotun³. Their glory resounds in all the three worlds; in the lower world it bursts out like the roaring of a bull, in the upper world, like the neigh of a horse, and in the middle world it is like a snowstorm. Their possessions are many; their herds of cattle are as numerous as the stars in the sky, and they live surrounded by slaves. They have a son, the mighty hero Khalyad'yrnar the Marksman, who is thirty years old. The old woman becomes pregnant, and her pregnancy is hard. Three shamans are called, who summon Ajyysyt, goddess of childbirth.⁴ Due to their lack of skill the child is born prematurely, and is maimed. The parents deny their child, and give it to a cow-woman Simekhsin, who hides him in the dung of the
cowshed. Thirty years later, a beautiful daughter is born, called Jurjun Jukejdeer-kuo.\(^5\)

The appearance of the hero. The parents come to the conclusion that they have sinned by their richness and having their work done for them. To placate the gods, they organise an *ysyakh* at which they will give one quarter of their possessions to the assembled people. Those gathered at the *ysyakh* boast of their strength; this aggravates the sin of the patriarchs and calls forth the appearance of the evil powers. At the climax of the feast there suddenly comes thunder and lightning. A dark cloud comes over the land, and all run away, leaving only Khalyad'ymar, petrified with fear. He sees a monster with one leg and one arm, growing in the middle of its breast.\(^6\) This is a shaman of the evil abaasy forces.\(^7\) He lets it be known that an abaasy hero has been born, called Unstumbling Bjugjusteen the Black, who will pillage the worlds and scatter the people through the land. Setting out for his heroic tempering,\(^8\) he has sent the shaman Uot-Chymaadaj\(^9\) as matchmaker to the daughter, Jurjun Jukejdeer-kuo. If he does not obtain her, he will destroy the whole land. The shaman then disappears.

The people huddle in their *yurtas* in terror, and in the silence they hear the heavy tread of a huge monster, completely naked, whom they take for the abaasy hero.
This is the aborted son of Jurjun. In a monologue which he addresses to his parents, he accuses them of a great sin: stealing from the poor. For this the evil forces have been sent upon them by the gods.

The hero receives his name. The hero goes to the holy tribal tree and tells the goddess of the threats of the abaasy. The goddess turns to the Divine Smith Suodaja the Black and asks him to harden the hero in his forge, and turn him over to the Divine Shamanka Uot Cholboodoj, who will complete the process by plunging him three times into the burning ocean. The hero survives this ordeal, and receives the name of Unstumbling Mjuldju the Strong. He finds out details of his future adversaries: Bjugjusteen the Black, Baltaraa-Baatyr, and Ard'amaan-D'ard'amaan, who are described as fearful giants.

Mjuldju receives his horse. By the help of a great bird Mjuldju flies to abaasy country and destroys it; but his enemy is not there, and he returns home. Bjugjusteen returns to find his land destroyed, and swears vengeance. A white crane comes to ask Mjuldju to save Syralyman-kuo and her country, threatened by Baltaraa-Baatyr. In this country is the Water of Life, which makes a centenarian a lad of twenty. Mjuldju flies off, and sees a white stone yurta, beside which is a silver-winged horse of great beauty. The occupant does not receive Mjuldju as a guest, which offends him; and a fight takes place, in
which Mjuldju is victorious. The dying adversary tells him that he is beaten because he is tired after trying to save his sister Kjun Tunlynsa (his own name being Kjun Tegierimen). His sister has been kidnapped by an abaasy woman, the d'ege-baaba. Hearing this, Mjuldju treats Kjun Tegierimen's wounds and goes to save the sister, who is being held as bait for heroes who come to woo her, and are then eaten by the witch. Mjuldju saves her, on the condition that she marry his brother Khalyad'ymar. Returning to Kjun Tegierimen, he receives the winged horse, on which he flies to the Silver Mountain, to the land of Syralyman.

Mjuldju and the Abaasy. The fountain of Living Water is guarded by a hero of divine beauty, called Kyrtydymyan. In a revolving golden yurta in this beautiful country lives his sister Syralyman-kuo, who shines like the sun. Then the abaasy Baltaraa-Baatyr arrives and calls Mjuldju to battle. On the battlefield, Bjugjusteen the Black claims prior right of fighting Mjuldju, and Baltaraa allows this. The heroes are equally matched; after a thirty-day fight they rest for one hour, then continue. Their breathing threatens the Silver Mountain with destruction by fire, and Syralyman begs her brother to stop them; but he refuses to move, saying it is a divine command to protect the Water of Life, and he cannot stir from his place.

Syralyman turns herself into a crossbill, and flies to ask the gods to help her. They shoot down fiery arrows
which cause Bjugjusteen to stumble. Mjuldju overcomes him and strikes off his head; but his spirit escapes underground. Mjuldju then asks for the hand of Syralyman-kuo, but she gives a vague answer, for she has heard that in the hero's country men must work hard; and besides, his appearance is quite fearsome.

Baltaraa-Baatyr returns, and another fight begins. Since the abaasy hero is immortal, Syralyman-kuo tells her protector to shut his enemy up in a pit, and seal it with a stone, and this he does. Mjuldju and Syralyman then proceed home, but on the way a Tungus magician, Ard'amaan-D'ard'amaan, steals the girl.

After long wanderings, the hero comes to the end of the earth. It is a cold country; there the trees are dwarfish, the fields abound in hillocks, and the sun does not show itself. There he is informed by an old man where Ard'amaan sleeps. He fights with the magician for thirty days; then they both turn into lions and fight for another seven days and seven nights. They destroy everything beneath their feet and finally fall through into the underworld.

They find themselves in the country of the descendants of the Kitaj Bakhsy, smith-magicians. They cast the Tungus magician up to earth again, and help Mjuldju in his fight. The results of this long battle are so frightful for mankind (mighty storms arise, the earth grows cold) that the
people cry to the gods, who decide that the dispute must be judged by the god of fate, D'ygla-Khaan.

The Heavenly Court. A heavenly messenger comes on a black cloud and takes the heroes to the heavenly court. In spite of Ard'amaan's arguments, the court awards Syralyman to Mjuldju and punishes the wrongdoers. When Mjuldju takes his bride to his home he finds it flourishing. There he bathes thrice in the Milk-White Lake, and becomes a youth of great beauty. A triple marriage takes place: Mjuldju and Syralyman-kuo, Khalyad'ymar and Kjun Tunalynsa, and Kjun Tegierimen and Mjuldju's sister, Jurjun Jukejdeen-kuo, are all married, and a great ysvakh is arranged. At this feast Mjuldju gives the people three-quarters of his wealth. After this "each finds his own country" and lives happily.

VIII. THE SAMOYED EPIC OF ITJE

Itje\(^1\) is considered to be the ancestor of the Samoyed. While still a youth, Itje became an orphan because the man-eating Pynegusse devoured all his people. Itje succeeded in escaping into the forest, where he was brought up by an old woman who tried to keep him in ignorance of what had happened. In spite of all her precautions he soon met his enemy, who lived on a bewitched lake in the form of a blind old man. Itje stole some fish from the old man's boat, and his foster-mother told him of the old man's identity, but it was too late, and the spirits of
Pynegusse approached to abduct Itje. They took the boy, the old woman, the dog and the hut, and the man-eater devoured them all. Itje however had a knife, with which he cut a hole in the belly of the giant and so saved them all. This was Itje's first fight with Pynegusse, who could be killed, but always rose again, more powerful and terrible than before.

While growing up, Itje had many strange adventures. In a fight between two sea monsters, a fish with a crooked horn and a giant bird, Pyne, the latter had lost his claws in the back of the giant fish. The bird was large and strong enough to be able to swallow rocks and whole trees, but through this accident he was now miserable and powerless. He asked Itje for help, and the hero willingly undertook the task of restoring the claws.

Since the fish lived far beyond the sea, it was a difficult undertaking to locate him, but Itje knew what to do. He made a stringed instrument, on which he began to play in the different animal languages so that they all understood him. Like Orpheus, he attracted the animals of the sky, the earth and the water, and they gathered round him to listen. Finally the giant fish appeared and, enchanted by the music, he remained lying at the edge of the water. Still playing, Itje climbed on his back and rode away on him. The claws were still stuck in his back; the wound had begun to gather pus, and so the fish was pleased
when Itje pulled the claws out. As a reward he gave Itje his beautiful daughter, and the bird, who regained his power, became a faithful helper to the hero.\(^3\)

The great battle against the giant gradually became more difficult. Itje repeatedly killed the monster, but life always returned to the body. Finally a violent battle ensued between them over the daughter of the forest spirit Pargä. The giant kidnapped the girl, but Itje, who was living with the monster in disguise, finally gained victory in the struggle. He killed the giant, and so that the body should not revive again, he burned it on a large funeral pyre. Even in the flames the giant's jaws struck together, and he was heard to threaten that everything was not done with yet. The wind scattered the giant's ashes in all directions, and from these ashes originated the billions of mosquitoes which each summer suck human blood as voraciously as the man-eater.

After this victory, Itje married the daughter of the forest spirit, and from this union resulted the bear, which is honoured as the tribal father of the Ket Samoyed. After these events the Samoyeds lived happily and in peace for a long time. Itje ruled, and warded off all dangers and raids of the neighbouring tribes.

However, one day the devil appeared to Itje, and asked for food and drink. Itje instead gave him stones, and
the devil went off to Christ. A warm friendship ensued between the evil one and Christ, who quenched his thirst with human blood. To take revenge on the Samoyed, Christ, friend of the devil and father of all Russians, came with his people to Siberia. The evil powers were victorious, the Samoyed were scattered to the four winds, and the foreigners became masters of the land. At that time Itje left his people and prepared himself a dwelling beyond the great sea. There he still sleeps today; but when the proper time comes, the Samoyed say, he will return. Then he will unite his children into one people, drive the foreigners out of Siberia and liberate land and men. The Samoyed firmly believe this, for Itje himself told Christ on his departure: "This day is yours, and I am leaving. But there will come another day, which shall be mine, and then I shall return, gather my tribe together, and drive the foreigners from the land."
PART IV

CONCLUSION.

The people who create this literature (if that is the word for it) express themselves in it, and therefore their way of life and thought can be derived from it. Major generalisations, of course, are dangerous; thus it may be doubted whether Engel's observations on family life in peasant communities are entirely accurate:

With reference to family life within these large families, it must be observed that at least in Russia it is known that the fathers of the families violently abuse their position in relation to the young women of the community, especially their daughters-in-law, of whom they often form a harem for themselves; the Russian popular songs are very eloquent on this point.

The fathers of Communism, as can be gathered from the above, paid some attention to folklore, and on the basis of remarks by Marx and Engels, Soviet Communism is extremely interested in the subject. Engels, for example, had written in 1893:

We have the right to demand that a popular book should be responsive to its own time.... I do not see why we should not have the right to demand of a popular book that in respect of the struggle for freedom and resistance to oppression it should lend assistance to the less educated circles, and should show them ... the truthfulness and reas on nablness of these strivings.

The possible political use to which folk literature
could be put was noticed by Lenin, who remarked to V. D. Bonch-Bruevich:

I see that there is an obvious lack of the hands, or the desire, to generalise all this and survey it from the sociopolitical point of view. You know, on the basis of this material, it would be possible to write a wonderful study of the hopes and expectations of the people.4

The phrases of the leaders are met with everywhere in the literature of the subject published on Soviet territory, and examples are adduced wherever possible to illustrate the wisdom of their words. Sharakshinova writes:

The uligers have fulfilled a definite ideological role and have served as a means of appraisal of the value of the manifestations of social life; they have aided thinking about the way of life of the society. They have expressed the expectations and hopes of the people, and educated them in norms of general law and morality, peculiar to the given structure of society.5

She further tells how the uligershí of Soviet times fulfil their ideological obligations by travelling out to the neighbouring kolkhozes, and "by performing their productions exhort the kolkhozniks to the fulfilment of economic-political tasks".6 These new works are of course "national in form, socialist in content", to agree with Stalin's dictum of 1925: "Proletarian in its content, national in its form — such is that universal human culture towards which socialism is advancing".7

The Union of Soviet writers advises the new poets on their work, and the fortunes of folk epics have varied
with changes in the official attitude. Winner gives some interesting information on the pressures put upon folk poets, and criticism of such ideological mistakes as overly sympathetic attitudes towards the heroes of the Kazakh anti-Russian struggle in the eighteenth century. The epic tale of Geser Khan, who origins are indeed obscure, was accused, in the latter days of Stalin, of being a totally Mongolian production, on the one hand, and on the other, of containing ideological ideas distasteful to Soviet Russia. Geser was identified as Chinggis Khan, and his battles with many-headed monsters were allegories of Chinggis' conquests of the numerous Asian tribes; in particular, the epic contained specifically anti-Russian sentiments, for the Mangadkhajis were none other than the Russians. However, by 1953 a committee of orientalists had cleared Geser of feudal and anti-Russian errors, and declared that Geser and Chinggis had nothing in common.

Since these epics are like the culture out of which they are born, the old reflect pre-revolutionary society, by Soviet definition bad, and the new reflection the free Soviet society. The fostering of such productions, and their collection and exegesis, are the self-imposed tasks of Soviet folklorists.

Just as study of the traditional uligers, olonkhos and other varieties of epic (as well as the minor forms
of expression such as ballads and chastushki\textsuperscript{13}) can aid understanding of a society in a diachronic way, so examination of contemporary forms enables us to come to grips with the spirit of contemporary society; not merely the current (official) ideology, be it noticed, but also the feelings that are in a sense latent, unexpressed, deliberately omitted, but visible behind the outward appearance.

As previously stated, there is still much to be done in the study and elucidation of the Siberian epics. The rewards are many, not least among them being the fact that once one understands a people's mental complex, one may understand how they will act in given circumstances. Part of this is perceived through their language, and part by what they express in that language. To understand another nation, or group of nations, as is the population of Siberia (not to mention the Caucasus), is to come a little closer to understanding one's fellow man in the general sense; and this is surely one of the more spiritually profitable activities in which anyone can indulge.
NOTES

PART I. HISTORICITY.


3. Written 1834. The one literary epic which can truly be called national, being a humorous, yet noble, celebration of the Old Poland which was about to be crushed in 1812.


7. V. V. Radlov, Obraztsy narodnoj literatury severnykh tjurkskich plemen, S.-P., 1886-1904.


19. "I am he who formerly tuned a lay on my slender reed [i.e. the Eclogues] and, having abandoned pastoral poetry, took up a related subject [in the Georgics], compelling the fields to obey the avaricious settler. This was acceptable to husbandmen; but now I sing the bristling arms of war (etc.)." See *The Works of Virgil*, ed. A. H. Bryce (London, n.d.), who prints it in different type, as do Heyne, Forbiger, and others. Supported by Donatus (*Vita Virg.* xliv) and Servius, it has been condemned by Burmann, Peerlkamp, and Heinsius, mostly on linguistic grounds. Wagner defended it as a later inscription by Vergil himself; Marx (*Lucilium*, I. 11) and Brandt (*Philologus*, 1928, 331) think it an inscription over a prefixed portrait, in which case line 4 may be an independent interpolation to carry over the sense into the initial verse of the epic itself. See James Henry, *Aeneidea*, London, 1873, I, 1-7; H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature*, N. Y., 1960, 248n.


23. Child 163. MacDonald was not killed, but the chiefs of the Macintosh and MacLean clans were. The flower of the Lowland army fell in the fight, which lasted a
whole day (24th July, 1411), but the victory was theirs. See John Ord, Bothy Songs and Ballads, Paisley, 1930, 475. Cf. A. Keith in Gavin Greig's Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs, Aberdeen, 1925, xxxviii-xxxix (on Captain Car); G. H. Gerould, The Ballad of Tradition, (1932) N. Y., 1957, 9-10.


26. Iliad vii, 219; xi, 485; xvii, 128. Cf. xv, 645; and other references to antiquities include Odysseus' helmet ornamented with boar's teeth (x, 260ff.). See also W. Reichel, Homerische Waffen: archäologische Untersuchungen, Vienna, 1901, p. 1ff.


29. "The Douglas Tragedy" (Child 7) in Ord, 404. On the next remark, cf. the most famous and widespread of them all: "Lord Randal" (Child 12), op. cit. 458; in most ballad books.


33. See Gaston Paris, Légendes du Moyen Age, 3-4; Murray, Rise of the Greek Epic, 331-2; Joseph Bédier, Les légendes épiques, 1926-9, III, 192-3, and references there cited.

34. See Rhys Carpenter, FolkTale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics, (1946) Berkeley, 1958, 45ff.


40. See Whitehead, *op. cit.*; his arguments seem convincing, although naturally controversial.


42. See Carpenter, 63-4.


49. "When there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, said
a Balagansk shaman, this is because they have been swallowed by an alkha, a monster without trunk or limbs, having only a head. The sun, or the moon, then cries 'Save me!' and all the people shout and make a great noise, to frighten the monster." — Czaplicka, Aboriginal Siberia, 287, quoting N. Agapitov and M. N. Khangelov, Materialy po izucheniju shamanstva v Sibir, Irkutsk, V.S.O.R.G.O., 1883, 17. Many other nations have held similar ideas: cf. Rig Veda, v.40 (the dragon Rahu); Prose Edda, 12 (the wolves Sköll and Hati); etc. See Gaster, Thespis, 228-30, for many references.

50. Frazer's Golden Bough is a lengthy examination of this, as is Robert Graves' White Goddess. See also, for the inherently sexual nature of Sun-worship etc. (a better theory than the merely "natural"), E. Z. Goldberg, The Sacred Fire (1930), N. Y., 1962, 88-9, et passim.


53. Hapgood, op. cit.


55. Pukhov, op. cit., 217n.

56. M. A. Czaplicka, "Yakut", Enc. of Rel. and Ethics, XII, 826; idem, Aboriginal Siberia, London, 1914, 278-9; W. L. Sieroszewski, 12 lat w kraju Jakutów, Warsaw, 1900, 390. The "white" festival is said on p. 829 of "Yakut" to be in honour of Urun-Aly-Toyon.

57. "Yakut", 829, 828; Aboriginal Siberia, 353.

58. "Yakut", 829.

60. For instance, the Zoroastrian Ahuramazda-Ahriman relationship.

61. See part III, p. 106 infra.


63. Ibid. Zhdanko, in respectable Soviet fashion, goes on (p. 114) to connect the close of the poem, with its description of the creation of a state of the four nations of Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs and Turkomans, with the October Revolution and the border agreements of 1924.

64. R. Shaw and A. Grünwedel. See N. Poppe, "Geserica", Asia Major, III (1926), 5.


67. P. 201ff.


71. David-Neel, chap. 7; Schmidt, 266ff.; Curtin, 131, etc.

72. David-Neel, chap. 6; Schmidt, 108ff.; Curtin, 132.


74. Damdinsuren, 214-5.

75. G. N. Roerich, "The Epic of King Kesar of Ling", Journal of the R. Soc. of Bengal, VIII (1942), 302.


79. Winner, 73.


84. P. 216.

85. P. 224.

86. Sharakhinova, 199. See farther, part II.
PART II.

I. The Burjat-Mongol Epic.


2. For example, *Manas*.

3. *Burjatskie skazki i pover'ja. Zapiski VSORGO po отд. etnог., I.1., 1889*. See bibliography for this and the other works mentioned.


7. Tudenov, 32.


11. N. Poppe, "Geserica", *Asia Major* III (1926), 3. The Geser epic is not antibuddhistic, though it has anti-lamaist elements.

12. Tudenov, 34.


15. Tudenov, 36.

16. Russian artel', association for work.

17. With this one may compare the sailor's attitude to the shanty: "If the song don't go right, the ship don't sail tight"; and work always progresses well if the traditional songs are sung, as today with the Hebridean waulking-songs.


20. The Mongolian People's Republic, Ulan-Bator, 1956, 115, where it is stated that it is used "to accompany performances of the narrative poem 'Geser Khan' by public entertainers."


24. See "Parallelism" below.


27. Ibid., 209.


30. Tudenov, 38.


33. Tudenov, 41.

34. P. 42.

35. P. 43.

36. P. 44.

37. Pozdneev, Obraztsy, 323.


39. Berthold Laufer (Ocherk mongol'skoj literatury, L., 1927, 77n.) observes: "Especially in the old songs of the chroniclers, alliteration is met with in the middle of the same line, as in Finnish".

40. Tudenov, 50.
41. P. 68.
43. Obraztsy, "Geser-Bogdo", p. 60.
44. Osoodor Mergen, Ulan-Ude, 1956, 57; Tudenov, 86-7.
45. [A. N. Afanas'ev], Russian Fairy Tales, N. Y., 1945, p. 484.
46. Sharakshinova, 218.
47. See Glossary for these terms.
48. Dugarnimaev, 7, referring to Savrasaja iz Suteja and Lodor-mergen na umnom bulanom. See Glossary, s.v. Horse.
49. Sharakshinova, 199.
52. Sharakshinova, 200.
54. Lines 765-805.
55. Lines 820-865.
58. Sharakshinova, loc. cit.
60. "Ajdural Mergen", lines 1495-1627.
61. Lines 4011-47.
63. "Alamzha Mergen", "Ajdural Mergen".
64. "Irinsej", lines 1546-1620.
65. Lines 1990-2054.

66. The heroes of the uligers engage from the age of two in hunting and military activity. — Sharakshinova, 203. See Irinsej in part III.

67. Sharakshinova, loc. cit.

68. Ibid.

69. "Erbed Bogdo Khan", lines 3338-41. Cf. the same motif in "Kyrk Kyz" (q.v. in part III).

70. Lines 3561-9, 3628-39.

71. Sharakshinova, 204-5.


73. Vladimirtsov, Mongolo-qratski geroicheskij epos, 14.

74. Cf. S. A. Kozin, "Vechnyj mir — chuduun zambi". Izvestija AN SSSR, otdd. jaz. i lit., 1946, No. 3, 176; Coxwell, Siberian and other Folk-Tales, [1925], 152, where clay is fetched from the sea-bed; a very ancient idea, for examination of which see M. P. Drahomaniv, Notes on the Slavic Religious-Ethical Legends, Indiana U. P., 1961.

75. Waldemar Bogoras, "Ideas of space and time in the conception of primitive religion". American Anthropologist, N.S., XXVII, no. 2 (April 1925), 215.

76. Czaplicka, Aboriginal Siberia, 56-7, quoting Sieroszewski, 12 lat w kraju Jakutów, Warsaw, 1900, 471-3.

77. Bogoras, 213.


79. "Abaj Geser", an Ungin variant recorded by Sharakshinova from P. M. Tushemilov. Cf. also the tripartite division of the universe in the olongoelho below.

80. From Sharakshinova, 211ff.

81. P. 212. These quotations are from fairly short epics composed by A. A. Toroev, doyen of modern uligershi: "Lenin-bagshe" (Lenin the Teacher) and "Stalin-bator" (Stalin the Hero).

82. Feudal lords, aristocrats.
83. Exemplified most notably in Bion, Moschus, and two English descendants: "Lycidas" and "Adonais". This device of course occurs in closer relatives to "Lenin-bagsha", such as Slovo o Polku Igoreve.

84. Curtin, 165, 167; cf. p. 308 ("The Iron Hero").


86. See Glossary.

87. See Curtin, 217-8, 293-4.

88. Sharakshinova, 213.

89. By Toroev, published (in Burjat) in 1948.

90. By Marfa Krjukova, and also by Terentievich Fofanov (Bowra, Heroic Poetry, 515). In 1936 a folklore expedition to the Kula'shev and Saratov provinces recorded 400 tales about this Soviet hero (Sokolov, Russian Folklore [1950], 686; [1945], 373). An example of these, Pesnja pro Chapaeva, is in Russkoe narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo, 1963, 521.

91. By Fofanov (Bowra, ibid.), and Dzhambul of Kazakhstan (Sokolov [1950], 142; this passage is not in the French edition).

92. By Dzhambul. All of these appear in his Songs and Poems, M., Goslitizdat, 1938.

93. By Krjukova, called "Long Beard and the Bright Falcons" (i.e. Schmidt and the rescuing airmen). See Bowra, ibid.; Sokolov (1950) 677; (1945), 368.

II. The Turkic Epic.


2. Dated c. 1077 by Winner (p. 56); 1071 by Iz (p. 562).

3. Winner, 58.

4. This pioneer work, the fruit of eleven years' sojourn on the shores of the Caspian, deals with the adventures and "improvisations" of Kurroglou, a bandit-minstrel of the seventeenth century. Cf. Chadwick, *Growth*, III, 50.

5. Obraztsy narodnoy literature severnykh turkskikh plemen, S.-P., 1866-1904.


7. Not to mention, of course, the possible connections between the Burjat-Mongol and Kirghiz traditions, and the South Turkic-Yakut-Mongolian complex of traditions.


10. Cf. above, p.20; Valikhanov (loc. cit.) says it probably derives from prose tales, fairly recently put together.

11. Ibid. This is hardly a proper comparison, however.

12. See digest below, p. 96ff.


16. See above, pp. 4, 35.

21. The 1946 ed. is from Orozbakov, save for part III ("The Tale of Almambet"), which is from Karalaev.
24. Manas, 6, 8. This of course is true of many folk epics.
25. Chadwick, III, 73, tr. from Radlov, Proben, V, 43.
28. Manas, 10; cf. the magical qualities of the uligers, p. 28 above.
29. Manas, 11.
31. Ibid., 504.
34. Cf. Caedmon's Hymn on the Creation (7th c.), Beowulf, and the Old Norse Elder Edda.

40. Winner, 55.

41. Gerould, Ballad of Tradition, 107; e.g. the conclusion of Sir Patrick Spens (Child 58), and The Wife Wra1t in Wether's Skin (Child 277). In the same way it occurs in byliny, but with much greater regularity.


43. The Kirghiz referred to all the Mongolian-speaking nomads as Kalmucks.

44. The Tadzhiks, of Persian origin, were called Sarts by the Central Asiatic nomads.

45. Valikhanov, I. 420.

46. Ibid. The alachug, or travelling tent, gives Russian lachuga, "shanty".

47. Kunan: a three-year-old foal.

48. Baital: a young mare that has not yet foaled.

49. Another kind of horse. Misprinted in Kirghiz text (and German tr.) as kymkap.


51. See below, 97-102.

52. Manas, 102.


54. Manas, 9-10.


57. V. M. Zhirmunskij, "Nekotorye itogi izuchenija geroicheskogo eposa narodov Srednej Azii" in BraginskiJ, Vo-prosy izuchenija eposa narodov SSSR, 1958, 47.


59. Manas, 7-8.

60. Bernshtam, "Znamenitel'naja data" as above.


67. Kyzylbashì literally means "redcaps" (see Glossary), i.e. the Persian forces.

68. Zhdanko, ibid.


70. Zhirmunskij, "Nekotorye itogi...", 28..

71. Zhdanko, ibid., referring to a MS. of N. Davarkaev, Ocherki po istorii karakalpakskoj literatury, 251ff.

72. See Glossary, s.v. Forty.


74. Ibid., referring to Klaproth, Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie.

75. Ibid. Cf. Michell, 95ff.
78. Ibid., 343-4; Michell, 275.
80. Pukhov spells the word *olonkho*; Czaplicka (following Sieroszewski) spells it *olongho*. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch* (see note 83) defines it as *Märchen, Erzählung*. Early collectors, such as Pekarskij, called these epics *skazki*, "folktales"; Jastremskij described them as *byliny* (*Obraztsy narodnoj literature jakutov*, 1929). See Glossary for etymology.
81. Cf. the performance of *Manas* (pp. 60-1 above), and the *uligers* (p. 37).
82. Pukhov, "Olonkho", 209.
84. *Verkhoyanskiy sbornik* (*Zapiski VSORGO po otd. etnog.*, I.iii), Jakutsk, 1890.
85. *Obraztsy narodnoj literature jakutov*. Vol. I was issued in 5 parts, 1907-11, and in 1911 collected in one volume. Pekarskij intended to give tr., but these never appeared. In this volume (part I) appeared "Njurgun Bootur the Impetuous", one of the great *olonkhos*. Vol. II (1913-18) contains material collected by Khudjakov, including "Khaan D'argystaj". Vol. III (1916) contains "Kulun Kullustuur", recorded by V. N. Vasil'ev in 1905. See Bibliography under the names of the collectors.
88. Although the *ajyy* are treated as human, in fact the only human race, both the groups are actually spirits, or at least they are looked on as such nowadays. The *ajyy* are called "white" or good spirits, white shamans being termed *ajyy-ojuna*, and white shamanesses *ajyy-udagana*. "Black" shamans, who have malevolent familiar spirits, are termed *abaasy-ojuna* (Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 352). While
the abaasy have always been more or less equivalent to demons, it is possible that the a\textsuperscript{iy} began as semi-mortal heroes of the human (i.e. Yakut) race, and by a process of ancestor deification, became equivalent to angels, or at least saints.

89. Pukhov, "Olonkho", 214-7. For the yevakh, see p. 16ff. above.

90. Kai Donner, Among the Samoyed in Siberia, New Haven, 1954, 84; German text, 118. See summary, in Part III.

91. "Olonkho", 217. This "Living Water" is used on the a\textsuperscript{iy} as a whole, not merely the main protagonist.

92. Cf. below, p. 85.

93. Curtin, 298.

94. In the Ostyak tale of "Aspen-Leaf", Coxwell, 518-34, tr. from S. Patkanov, Die Irtysh-Ostjaken und ihr Volkspoesie, 1897-1900, 42ff.

95. Coxwell, 766-7: "The Waters of Life and Death", tr. from Afanas'ev's Russian Popular Tales, no. 104, var. g. A more extended version is in the Guterman tr., 314ff.: "The Bold Knight, the Apples of Youth, and the Water of Life".

96. This "re-shoeing" takes place in the furnace of the "Kitaj Bakhsy", and the hero is afterwards dipped in a fiery lake. Cf. the tempering of the Ossete hero Batradz by the divine smith Kurdalogon, so that his body turns to blue steel (G. Dumézil, Légendes sur les Nartes, 1930, 54; Heroic Poetry, 104, from V. Dynnik, SkazaniJa o nartakh, M., 1944, 33ff.); the theme also occurs in classical myth.


98. P. 219; see below, p. 117.


100. See Glossary.


102. P. 223.

103. See above, 21ff. Czaplicka notes that memory of the old large herds of horses and large groups of people (the term dzhon) was only preserved, after the division of the tribe into smaller groups, in the olongkho (Abor. Siberia,
from Sieroszewski, *12 lat w kraju Jakutów*, 1900, 304; and in the epics one finds references to heroes who go forth to seek their fathers (cf. Irinsej among the Burjats), which one can connect with the possibility that the Yakut terms for "mother" (ja) and "wife" (ojokh) are more ancient and definite than those for "father" (aga) and "husband" (er, man; erim, my man, coll. husband). - See Aboriginal Siberia, 62; Sieroszewski, 338.


**PART III.**

I. **GAR'JULAJ MERGEN.**

1. Slightly abridged from the Russian of M. Bulatov, from *Altan-Khaisha* — *Zolotye nozhnitsy*, 1959, 92-109. The first appearance of this tale, which is extremely like many *uligers*, was in G. N. Potanin, *Burjatskie skazki i pover'ia*, (Zapiski VSuROG po otd. etnog., I.1), Irkutsk, 1889, 33-43. A short summary is in Demetrius Klementz, "Buriats", *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, III, 3; which says, erroneously, that the hero is Agu-Nogon-Abakhai, and calls the sister "the maiden Vatiaz", which seems to be an error for "devitsa-vitjaz'", i.e. "maiden-knight".

2. The Mangatkaj is a huge many-headed monster; see Glossary.


4. This is the motif of the horse helping the hero by his wisdom. See Glossary, s.v. Horse.

5. Itje, in the Samoyed epic, similarly destroys his enemy; see below, p. 121.

6. Esege-malan is the main deity of Burjat mythology (see Glossary) — in this tale however he is represented in very human and fallible terms.

7. The bear, which is honoured as the tribal father of the Ket Samoyed (see Itje below) plays also an important part in the beliefs and ceremonies of the shamans of Siberia, and Bear Festivals were common all over the country, among the Ainu, Gilyak, Goldi, Olcha, etc. See A. I. Hallowell, "Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere", *American Anthr.*, n.s., XXVIII (1926), 1-163. For a similar treatment of maritime whale cults, see Margaret Lantis, "The
Alaskan Whale Cult and its Affinities", Amer. Anthr., n.s., XL, no. 3 (July-Sep. 1938), 438-64. For all this Czaplicka notes (Abor. Siberia, 286-7) the "curious" fact that the bear does not enter into the myths and ritual of the Burjat. Here, and p. 88 below, he is only an unwelcome animal, serving to help on the action. But the horse takes the sacral place of the bear (in the Tailgan), and he is a definite persona in folklore.


9. The motif of the Living Water is seen again in Irinsei below, and occurs in the Yakut oglonkho as well; see Glossary, s.v. Water of Life.

10. This is a benevolent Yellow Dog, as opposed to the irascible monster mentioned by Curtin, 217ff., 293-4.


II. IRINSEJ.


2. Cf. Phillips, p. 45: "The horse has become his the Burjat's most valuable and reliable companion, friend and helper." - i.e. the horse is at this time an important part of the Burjat community. Cf. the possible derivation of Burjat from buri, "stallion". The Faithful Horse is a widespread motif in folklore; see Glossary, s.v. Horse.

III. MANAS.


2. Valikhanov, 420.

3. See "Kös Kaman" in Radlov, V.

4. Valikhanov, 421 (cf. Radlov, V, 392 on Ak Sajkal). Manas' father (here Jakub) is sent as matchmaker, but Kharan, father of the girl (here called Khankej) refuses, saying "For my daughter, a khan's son is fitting; for your son, the daughter of an ordinary bił". Manas starts a war and takes the princess by force. A direct parallel is the Kirghiz tale "The Hero Kysyl-batyir" in Etnog. Obozrenie,
5. Manas' war on the Chinese is a religious crusade of Islam against Buddhism. The Kirghiz are Moslems, but Bowra thinks they are recently converted, since there are references (e.g. Proben, V, 18) to Er Koshj, "who opened the doors of Paradise, /Who opened the closed doors of the bazaars" (Heroic Poetry, 108 - erroneously referring to the Uighur prince Er Köchö). Cf. Valikhanov, I, 296, on Ir-Kosaj, "who opened the forbidden doors in Paradise, and opened up the closed way to Turfan, who gave new life to the shut bazaar". It seems that "Kosaj" merely came to the aid of a captive hajji. In connection with pagan elements, cf. Bowra's remarks (p. 397) on Jelmogus, son of Altyn Sibäldi, "The Golden Witch". He seems to be a "cosmological demon" (Chadwick, III, 84), but represents in one place (Proben, V, 3) the Uighurs, whom Manas will conquer. See Glossary, s.v. Jelmogus.

6. But cf. the account in Radlov, V, of his conversion by Er Köchö (see Chadwick, III, 30).

7. Manas, 175; tr. Bowra, 95.

8. In Radlov, "Kongur Baj" is merely a tax-collector for the Chinese.

9. The Kalmuck poem Dzhangariada is replete with asseverations of faith in Buddha.

10. A sign of primitiveness in the epic, as is the custom of drinking the blood of one's enemy — for which cf. Radlov, V, 370, where Kanyakj asks to drink the blood of Khan Choro, who has murdered her son Semetaj. Compare the Manas-Almambet relationship with that between Alpamysh and the Kalmuck Karadzhan; see V. M. Zhirmunskij and Kh. T. Zarifov, Uzbekskl narodnyj geroicheskij epos, 78; Zhirmunskij, in Kirgizskij geroicheskij epos: Manas, 165.


12. Manas, 264. Cf. the very old belief in the residence in some object, living or inanimate, of a person's soul; this is found in the Burjat legends of the Mangathaj (cf. Phillips, Dawn in Siberia, 31n.), the Kalmuck tale of "The Wife who stole the Heart" (B. Jülg, 1866, no. IX; tr. Coxwell, 212), and goes all the way back to Egypt (Coxwell, 254, ref. to G. Maspero, Les Contes Populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne, 1882, 5).

13. Manas, 277 - the axe is called aj-balta, "moon-axe".
14. *Manas*, 326, tr. Bowra, 157. Cf. the remark of Robert Graves, *White Goddess*, 1959, 487: "The close connection of the winds with the Goddess is also shown in the widespread popular belief that only pigs and goats (both anciently sacred to her) can see the wind, and in the belief that mares can conceive merely by turning their hindquarters to the wind." Cf. *Iliad* XVI, 149ff., where we are told of Xanthos and Balios, Achilles' horses, born of the harpy Podarge to the West Wind; and XX, 219-25: Dardanos in turn had a son, the king, Erichthonios, who became the richest of mortal men, and in his possession were three thousand horses who pastured along the low grasslands, mares in their pride with their young colts; and with these the North Wind fell in love as they pastured there, and took on upon him the likeness of a dark-maned stallion, and coupled with them, and the mares conceiving of him bore to him twelve young horses. (Tr. Lattimore.)


IV. **ALPAMYSH**.


2. Cf. Sultaishi in the Karakalpak *Kyrk Kyz*; see Glossary.

3. Note the "40" motif here, as in *Manas, Kyrk Kyz*, etc. See excursion on *Forty* in Glossary.

4. A direct parallel to the disguised Odysseus bending his mighty bow in the *Odyssey*, XXI (Butcher and Lang's tr., Globe ed., 1956, 357).

V. **KYRK KYZ**.

1. Paraphrased from Zhdanko's digest of Kurbanbaj's recension, pp. 111-2. For information about its origin, see
above, 18-9, 68ff. See Glossary, s.v. Forty.

2. It is here that the old ethnogenetic legend would come in, although it is not mentioned, for obvious reasons, in Kurbanbaj's version. See above, p. 70ff.

VI. KAMBAR-BATYR.

1. A minor Kazakh epic, included for comparative purposes. This is I. N. Berezin's version (Kambar-batyr, 1959, 7-8; Russian tr., 127-8). Here Kambar is of the clan of Uak (belonging to the orta zhuza, or Middle Horde of the Kazakh nation); in a later version (1946), Uak is said to be the father of the hero. In Valikhanov's fragment from Manas (Sobr. Soch. I. 291, 297), the hero Er Kükchö is said to be the grandson of Kambar-khan.

2. The külan, or onager, the wild ass of Central Asia.

3. The kijik. These two animals occur in most Kazakh epic descriptions of the hunt.

4. Sülu means "beauty", and is a standard suffix to names of maidens in Turkic epics (cf. "Qözy-körpösh and Bajan-sülu").


6. Notice the traditional "forty maidens" once more. This seems to be the number of the entourage of many folktale princesses.

7. That is, "of khan blood". Bone in Central Asia means "generation"; the "White Bone" means the descendants of Chinggis.

8. The Kalmuck khan is called in other versions Maktum or Karaman.

9. In other versions, this matchmaker is called Kelmembet. The Russian (p. 128) has some misprints here.

10. The cutting off of lips, ears and nose was a common treatment of captives in former times; references to this occur in other epics (Koblandy, Alpamysh, Kyz-Zhibek, etc.) and cf. the punishment of Melanthius in Homer (Od. XXII).

11. The körömdik, a gift at the showing of a bride or a newborn child.

13. This (first) account of the epic is taken from L. Mejer, *Kirgizskal a sten* Orenburgskogo vedomstva, S.-P., 1865, quoted in *Kambar-batyry*, 1959, 258.

14. The *sajga* (*Saiga tatarica*), in Kirghiz böken.

**VII. UNSTUMBLING MJULDJU THE STRONG.**


2. Thought by some to be the Aral Sea (Pukhov's note).

3. See Tojon and Khotun in Glossary.


5. Meaning "White Jukejdeen the Beautiful".

6. A typical Yakut demon; cf. the devil's daughter in "The Little Old Woman with Five Cows" (Coxwell, 264, from I. A. Khudjakov, *Verkhokanskij sbornik*, 1890, 80ff.).

7. See abaasy in Glossary, and references.

8. See above, p. 76.

9. Uot means "fiery".

10. The monologues of the characters are sung, while the story is merely declaimed. See above, p. 73.

11. In this tree (described on pp. 34-6 of the text) lives the spirit of the earth goddess, the protector of mankind. It is sometimes described in the *olonglko* as *aal-duun maš*, "mighty oak tree", and its oldest name is *aar kuduk maš*, "great tree of abundance" (Pukhov, 1962, 33). It has connections on the one hand, with such sacred trees as Yggdrasil and the Tibetan world-tree (for which see A. H. Francke, *Tibetische Hochzeitlieder*, 1923, 14), and on the other, with animism; cf. p. 101 above.

12. Cf. the (non-Homeric) legend of Achilles being dipped in the river Styx; see p. 116 above.

13. See Glossary. The same as the Russian witch, baba-jaga.
VIII. THE SAMOYED EPIC OF ITJE.

1. For the sake of comparison, this Samoyedic heroic tale is here appended, adapted from Donner, which seems to be the only account. See Among the Samoyed in Siberia, Human Relations Area Files ed., 1954, 83-4; German text, 116-8.

2. Compare Kalevala, Rune 41, where Vainamoinen plays on his kantele and all living beings hasten to listen.

3. Examples of the "Grateful Beasts" motif.

4. While the Soviet government can support and use a great amount of folklore for its own purposes (see Part IV), it is difficult to see how this anti-Russian tradition can be manipulated; unless the "foreigners" are explained as "priests and capitalists", when of course there would be no problem.

5. Cf. the legend of Arthur, the folk-hero who sleeps in Avalon, and will "come again"; and the Kalevala, Rune 50, where Vainamoinen is offended at the baptism of Marjatta's child as King of Karelia and leaves the country in his copper boat, but declares that he will come again to help his people.

PART IV. CONCLUSION.

1. The Origin of the Family, of Private Property, and the State, quoted in Sokolov (1950), 35.

2. For instance: Karl Marx, Critique of Political Economy (Russian ed., M., 1952, 225); Marx and Engels, Feuerbach (in Arkhiv K. Marksa i F. Engelsa, I, 1924, 230); Engels, Anti-Dühring, passim — all are quoted, some more than once, in the volume ed. by Braginskij, Voprosy izuchenija epoca narodov SSSR, 1958.

3. From an article on "German Popular Books", quoted in Sokolov (1950), 32-3.


7. Ibid., 217.

8. Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs, 150ff.

9. The origin of the epic is probably Tibetan, with additions by the Mongols, such as the chapters dealing with the battles with Andulma-Khan and Aburgasun-Khan, the fifteen headed snake — typical themes in the uligers. See Damdinsuren, Istoricheskie korni Geseriady, for a full analysis of all the problems connected with this vast epic, called by Sylvain Lévi (in defiance of Valikhanov) "the Iliad of Central Asia" (preface to David-Neel's tr., Paris, 1931, vii). Since Geser is well represented in tr., it is not included in Part III above. See also Glossary, Geser.

10. Articles by Ts. Galsanov, Zh. Tumunov, and others, in several journals, 1949-51. See references in Sharakhinova, 32, and Damdinsuren, 50.


13. Short (2- or 4-line) folk verses, usually topical or humorous. See many examples in Russkoe narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo, 1963, 479-86.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Divided into three parts: A, Primary Sources: the texts, in translation where possible; B, Secondary Sources, namely critical works, on the main topic; C, Other Works Consulted, and some comparative material — for instance, works on the epic tales of the Caucasus. Works not seen are marked with an asterisk.

A. PRIMARY SOURCES.


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Intro. by L. Eliasov. Versions of Burjat folktales, some taken from Toroev's Burjatskie Skazki, 1958.

BALAZS, Bela. Das goldene Zelt. Kasachische Volkssepen und Märchen. Berlin, Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt,


*BAZAROV, Sh. L. Obraztsy mongol'skogo narodnogo tvorchestva. (Zapiski Vostochnogo otd. IRAO, vyp. 5, t. XIV.)

*BEREZIN, A. Burjatskie skazki. Irkutsk, 1889.


Reprint, with foreword by John R. Krueger, The Hague, Mouton, 1964. (Indiana U. Pub., Uralic and Altai series, vol. 35.) This work, which formed Band III of A. Th. v. Middendorff's Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens, contains (pp. 79-95) an olongkho whose hero is Er-Sogotokh. It was written down by A. Ja. Uvarovskij in St. Petersburg, 1845-8, and is given in Yakut with a parallel German translation.


Contains (pp. 71-131) a poetical paraphrase of the olongkho Jurjun Uolan.


DAVID-NEEL, Alexandra, and The Lama YONGDEN. The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling, the legendary Tibetan hero, as sung by the bards of his country. London, Rider, 1933. Tr. by the author and V. Sidney of La Vie Surhumaine de Guésar de Ling, le héros thibétain, racontée par les bardes de son pays. Paris, Adyar, 1931.


DUGARMINAEV, Ts. A. and ZHALSARAEV, D. Z., eds. Antologija burjatskoj poezii. M., Goslitizdat, 1959. 399 pp. Contains some selections from the uligers: from Geser, the 4th Branch (The Victory over Gal Nurman); from Alamzhi-Mergen; and chapters from Apollon Toroev's Lenin-bagsha.


A modern epic on Stalin.

A collated version of the Turkmen tales of this hero.

Yakut text, with notes, of "Unstumbling Müldü the Strong" - see digest in Part III.

Good tr. (pp. 81-167) of two hitherto unknown cantos of Geser Khan discovered by Heissig in Brussels, as well as other interesting material; intro. and notes.

Contains two olongkho (Er-Sogotokh, 43; Dve Shamanki, i.e. "The Shamaneesses Uolumar and Ajgyr", 104), as well as tales, songs, incantations, etc.

JASTREMSKIJ, S. V. *Obraztsy narodnoj literatury jakutov*. L., 1929.
Contains material gathered in 1895, and tr. of two olongkho from Pekarskiij: "The Undying Knight" and "The Enchantresses Uolumar and Ajgyr". Foreword by S. Malov.

Contains four versions of the epic, in Kazakh, tr. there-of into Russian, and excellent critical appendices.

Contains, e.g., a new tr. of Kozy-Korpesh and Bajan-Slu by V. Potapova (pp. 441-530).

*Kerogly*. Ed. by M. G. Takhmasib. 2nd ed. Baku, AN AzerbSSR, 1956. (In Azerbaijani.)

KHANGALOV, N. M. and ZATOPLJAЕV, N. I. *Burjatskie skazki*. (Zapiski VSORGO po otd. etnog., I.i.) 1889.

KHUDJAKOV, I. A. *Obraztsy narodnoj literatury jakutov*. S.-P., 1913.
Continuation of Pekarskiij's work; contains "Ber-Khara",...
34-50; "The Old Man and Woman", 51-72; "Khaan D'argystaj", 73-176, all from his Verkhojanskij sbornik material.

KHUDJAKOV, I. A. Verkhojanskij sbornik. Jakutskie skazki, pesni, zagadki i poslovitsy, a takzhe russkie skazki i pesni, zapisannye v Verkhojanskom okruge. (Zapiski VSORGO po otd. etnog., I.iii). Irkutsk, 1890. Contains the first full account of the olongkho.


*Manas, kirgizskii narodnyi epos. M., 1941.

**Manas, kirgizskii narodnyi epos. M., 1941.


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Verse drama (in Yakut) on an olonkho subject.


Contents: Predislovie; Obzor kazakhskikh bylin; Bylina ob Alpamyse-batyre; Bylina o Koblandy-batyre; Bylina o Er-Saine; Bylina o Er-Parkhyne; Bylina o Shura-batyre; Bylina o Kambare-batyre; Vyvody iz sopostavlenija kazakhskogo i russkogo bylevogo eposa; Bylina o Edyge.

Excellent source material.

**PATKANOV, S. Die Irtysch-Ostjak und ihre Volkspoesie. 1897-1900.

Text in Ostyak, Russian, and German.


Three vols., the second containing material coll. by Khudjakov, the third that of Vasil'ev; see under these collectors. Contents of first vol. are as follows: Njurgun-Bootur the Impetuous, pp.1-80; The Hero Tojon Njurgun, 81-112; The Undying Marksman, 113-47 (tr. as "Bessmertnyj Vitjaz" in Jastremskij); The Shamanesses Uolumnar and Ajgyr, 148-94 (tr. as such in Jastremskij, and as "Dve Shamanki" in Popov et al., Jakutskij fol'klor); The Old Man Kjul'-Kjul' and the Old Woman Sili-rikeen, 195-280; Basymn'y Batyr and Erbekhtej Bergen, 281-310; Elik-Bootur and N'ygyl-Bootur, 311-95; The Brother Heroes Ala-Khara and Ile-Khara, 396-400; The Descendants of the Milk-white Õrûn Ajyy-tojon, 401-26.


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Contains Khalkha-Mongolian texts (including uligers), with tr. and notes. Reviewed by Udo Posch, Central Asiatic Journal, II (1956), 75.

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*POTANIN, G. N. "Kazak-kirgizskie i altaiskie predanija, legendy i skazki." Zhivaja Starina (S.-P.), 1916, II-III.


One of the great collections, with excellent notes.

*Qoblan. Tortkyl, 1941.
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--------- Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Südsibiriens. S.-P., 1866-86. 6 vols. Omits Uzbek, Karakalpak, and Turkmen material.


*Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenij Regional'nogo soveshchaniya po epasu "Alpamysh". Tashkent, AN UzSSR, 1956.

Contains 2 modern uligers by Toroev: Lenin-bagsha, p. 21; Stalin-bator, p. 40.

Intro. and notes by N. K. Dmitriev, to Turkm text and Russian tr. of tales collected in the 30s by the Academy of Sciences' Folklore Expedition. "Ger-ogly", p. 67ff.

Contains (pp. 79-126) the Altai heroic tale "Alyp-Manash".

Ed. by Z. A. Mil'man. Contains tr. into Russian (without critical apparatus) of Alpamysh, Kuntugmysh, Lukavaja Tsarevna, Raushan, and Arzygi.

Text and tr. of a Khorezm war tale.

Contains one olongkho, "Kulun Kullustuur".

Contains intro. and tr. of 6 tales: Bum-Erdeni; Dajni-Kjurjul; Kigijn-Kijtjun-Keke-Temjur-Zeve; Egil'-Mergen; Ergil'-Tjurgjul; Shara-Bodon; with glossary.


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GLOSSARIAL INDEX

This index is selective, but tries to include all items liable to be needed, and gives excursi on some motifs and subjects dealt with above.

Aan Darkhan-khotun, in olongkho, 114.

Abaasy (Yakut), 17, 74ff., 115ff. - The plural is abaasylar. A dark evil spirit. The whole race of such is called abaasy ajmag (see Ajmag). They are divided into 3 groups, the "upper" who dwell in the western sky, the "middle" on earth, and the "lower" inhabiting the underworld.

Abarga Sesen Mangakhaj, monster in Geser, 50.

Abarga Shara Mogoj (Abarga the Yellow Snake), monster, 45.

Aburgasun-Khan, 15-headed snake in Geser, 152.

Accompaniment, 60, 73.

Aga, 145. - The Yakut term for "father"; aga-usa, "father-clan", is the same as the dzhon, q.v.

Aguu Noogon, character in uligers, 46, 75, 79ff., 94.

Ail, settlement, 59. Cf. aul.

Ajduraj Mergen, Burjat Uliger, 43, 44, 46.

Ajmag (or ajmak), 18, 74. - The older name for a nasleg, or social group comprising from one to 30 or more clans (Czaplicka, Abor. Sib., 359). Subdivision of a dzhon. Perhaps related to Gilyak ahmalk, "father-in-law clan".

Ajvy (or ajy), white or good spirits, 17, 74ff., 88. - Cf. Ajvy-tojon, Yakut father-god, who sits on a milk-white throne.

Ajyysit, Yakut goddess of fertility, 114. Also goddess of childbirth. She comes to women in childbed, and also has a fertility festival in spring. See Sieroszewski, 12 lat, 413-4.

Ak-Kula, horse of Manas, 102. - Means "Light Isabel".

Allajar, in Kyrk Kyz, 106ff.

Alliteration, 37, 41, 60.

Almambet, hero in Manas, 63, 64, 67, 98ff.

Alpamysh, Uzbek heroic epic, 56, 57, 61, 103ff., 149.

Altan (Mongol) - "Gold, golden".
Altan Shagaj, uliger, 43, 48.

Altan Tobchi, Mongol literary work, 38.

Altin Shagaj and Mungin Shagaj, Mongol folk tale, 76.

Altyn (Turkic) - "Gold, golden" (cf. Altan). Gives Old Russian altyn, "3 kopecks", whence altynnik, "skinflint".

Altyn Sibald, witch, 147 n.5.


Amazona, 68. Cf. Matriarchy.

Amerindian beliefs, 71.

Andulma Khan, 152. - Protagonist in Geser; has 12 heads, 100 arms and 100 eyes (cf. Mangatkhaj); Geser is helped to overcome him by his heavenly brother Dzasa Shikir.

Animals - see Beast Mythology, Grateful Beasts, Horse.

Aqyn (or akin), Kazakh folk-poet, 61.

Araat, sea in olongkho, 114.

Ard’maan-D’ard’amaan, Tungus magician in olongkho, 116ff.

Armambet, khan in Kambar, 111-2.

Arthur, British folk-hero, 12-3, 66, 75, 77, 151.

Art-Tojon-Aga, Yakut god, 17.

Arake, wife of Armambet in Manas, 100.

Arsalan, hero in Kyrgyz Kyz, 19, 69, 70, 108ff.

Aspen-Leaf, in Ostyak tale, 76.

Aul (Kirghiz-Kazakh) "settlement", 97, 112. - Cf. aul.

Azimbaj, khan in Kambar, 110ff.

Aziz-Khan, Chinese ruler in Manas, 62, 99, 100-1.

Baba-Jaga, Russian witch, 150 n.13. See D’égé-baba.

Badam, character in Alpamysh, 106.

Baj, "rich man". Cf. bi. Common affix to names. 106.
Bajburi, father of Alpamysh, 103, 105.
Bajga, horse race, 103, 112.
Baisary, father of Barchin in Alpamysh, 103, 106.
Bajsun, district in southern Uzbekistan, 67.
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Baltaraa-Baatyr, Yakut giant, 116ff.
Barchin, heroine of Alpamysh, 103ff.
Bator (Burjat) "hero", 42, 53, 85. - Cf. Yakut baatyr/bootur and Hungarian bátor, "courageous". See bogatyr below.
Batradz, Ossete hero, 144.
Batyr (Kirghiz-Kazakh) "hero", 21. - See bator, bogatyr.
Bear, tribal father of Samoyed, 121.
Bear cults, 145.
Beast mythology, 44, 48.
Beijdzhin (Manas) Peking, 63, 97ff.
Bij, 146 n.4. - In Manas and Alpamysh, "judge, governor". Cf. Radlov, Opyt, IV, 1737.
Bis (Yakut), 50. - Meaning not clear, seems to mean "large social group". The word, no longer in use, may be derived from Turanian bigéitch, biäs, biká, "free unmarried girl, noble woman" (Sieroszewski, 335; Czaplicka, Aboriginal Siberia, 57).
Bjugjesteen, Yakut monster, 115ff.
Blood of one's enemy, drinking, 147.
Bogatyr (Russian) "hero", 52, 76. - From Turkic (under the influence of Russian suffixes in yr'), occurs in chronicles from 1240 (date of sack of Kiev), used there of Tatar warriors. Hence Polish bohater, etc. Cf. Persian bahadur, "strong", Kirghiz batyr, Burjat bator, Yakut baatyr. Ultimately from a Sanskrit source (Bowra, Heroic Poetry, 2n.; Shanskij, s.v.; see also Foucha, p. 49).
Bulagat - western Burjat tribe, associated with the Ekhirits, a.v.

Burkhan, heaven-dweller, 50. - Cf. Uighur burqan. From bur, Buddha, and qan, "king, khan". One of many benevolent spirits who live "above the many skies" in Burjat myth.

Burulcha, Chinese girl in Manas, 101.  
Byliny, Russian heroic tales, 2, 6, 8, 21, 32, 61, 141.  
Chinggis Khan, 62, 67, 125.  
Chubak, Kirghiz hero, 100, 102.  
Creation legends, 49.  
Dastan, epic poem, 108.

Đ'ęgę-baba, 77. - Witch or "heavenly priestess" in the Yakut olongkho. Russian contact with Yakut is relatively recent, in comparison with the break-up of Old Slavic, so while Polish ędza-baba and other cognates originate ultimately in enza (Jakobson, in Afanas'ev, 649) it seems that this is a genuine loan from Russian.

Đ'ęgła-Khaan, god of Fate, 119.  
Džaji-san-yrchı, warrior-bard in Manas, 58.  
Džakyp, father of Manas, 62, 96.  
Džhon, 144. - Yakut; old name for a large social group.  
Džhangariada, Kalmuck epic, 147 n.9.  
Džhyr (Kazakh), Ḟehir (Uzbek), 21, 61-2. - "Song, improvisation without verse division, mourning song, lamentation" (Radlov, Opvt, IV, 120). Džhyrau, "folk-singer", cf. zhrau. Džhyrshi (p. 61) is the other term.

Eclipse myths, 15, 131.  
Eddas, 15, 131.  
Edige-batyı, Kazakh epic, 21.  
Ekhirit - tribe of Burjat, generally associated with the Bulagat, q.v. Name perhaps derived from khore, "squirrel", i.e. a totem word.

Ekhirit-Bulagat epics, 26, 43ff.
Er (Turkic), 145 (and see names of heroes). Means "man"; "hero"; "brave, manly"; usual epithet of a hero.

Er Kökchö, Uighur prince in Manas, 20, 147, 149.

Er Koshoi, Kirghiz hero, 147 n.5.

Erbed Bogdo Khan, Ungin uliger, 48.

Erbekhtej the Marksman, Yakut hero, 76.

Erkhe Suben, in Ajduraj Mergen, 46.

Er-Sogotokh, Yakut hero, 12, 22, 73.

Esege-Malan, 82, 86ff. Name means "Bald-Head". The main deity in the Burjat pantheon. His 3 daughters (actually swan-maidens) can bring the dead to life.

Ethnogenetic legends, 71ff.

Ezhe Munkhe Khan, character in Ajduraj Mergen, 44, 46.

Filé, 3. - Literally "seer". Poet of ancient Ireland.

Forty. The number of maidens in Kyrk Kyz, the entourage of Naźym (Kambar), the Horsemen (kyrk choro) of Manas and Alpamys, and the "Forty Heroes" of a Kazakh epic (Zhirmunskij, in Braginskij, 26-7). The subclan called taipas in Kazakh is called gyra (40) in Kirghiz (Czaplicka, Turks, 40-2). The number occurs with great regularity in Manas, e.g. p. 52: "They came from forty ends of the earth, / they numbered forty regiments"; p. 161: "I shall tell you of forty peoples, / whose land cannot contain them, / of their forty countries I shall tell you, / of their forty khans I shall tell you". In a Kazakh tradition, the father of the Russians, Kazakhs and Chinese was Au-ata, their mother, Au-ene. They had forty daughters and forty sons. From the youngest son and daughter came the Kazakh nation, from the eldest, the Chinese, and from the middle ones, the Russians (G.N. Potanin, Ocherki severo-zapadnoi Mongolii, vyp 2, S.-F., 1881, 163, quoted in Klimovich, Iz istorii literatur sovetskogo vostoka, M.,1959, 310). It is a common number in Armenian folklore, and occurs in the epic David of Sasun frequently; cf. also the Bible, Gen. vii.4, "forty days and forty nights"; Exod. xvi. 35, Deut.viii.2 (forty years in the wilderness); Matt. iv.2, (forty days and nights in the wilderness); and Ezekiel iv.6, where it is in connection with a purification rite. The motif is extremely widespread, and it may be suspected that it occurred in the Argonaut story, which is very ancient, being mentioned by Homer as universally known (Od. XII, p. 194 of Globe ed.). The number of the Argonauts grew as the story spread (Tzetzes gives 100 names!) but the list of heroes given by the best authorities is 50 (Graves, Greek Myths,II,217-8,
It is however not impossible that their number could originally have been forty, the magic number of companions.

Forty Horsemen (Manas), 97, 102; (Alpamysh), 104.

Forty Maidens (epic) see Kyrk Kyz; (motif), 111.

Gar' julaj-Mergen, Burjat hero, 79ff.

Garuda Bird, 45. Lord of Birds in Hindu myth, a form of the Sun (Cf. A.B.Keith, Indian Mythology, Boston, 1917, 139). The motif migrated and became part of the Burjat mythology, and may be compared with the bosko, a tutelary genius in the form of a bird (Radlov, Proben, V., 476), the merkjut of the Altaians (Czaplicka, Abor. Sib., 300) and the Simurg, a fabulous bird of great size and strength in Alpamysh (Uzbekskie narodnye poemy, 1958, 15). Cf. also to Roc in "Sindbad", and the giant bird Pyne in Itje, p. 120 above.

Geser, 4, 19-20, 27, 28, 35, 43, 44, 50, 57, 125, 135. - Either the son (Curtin, 127) or grandson (Curtin, 122) of Esege Malan, sent down to earth to destroy the "10 evils in the ten countries", namely Mangatkhajs and Shalmos, who were creating havoc. When he had done his work, he said, "Now I will lie down and sleep. Let no one wake me. I will sleep till again there will be many harmful things, evil spirits and bad people in the world; then I will waken and destroy them" (Curtin, 128) - cf. Arthur, and Itje.

Grateful beasts motif, 44, 121.

Gulaim, heroine of Kyrk Kyz, 18-19, 70, 106ff.

Gunir-Shara-Nokhoj, in Burjat tale, 85-6, 87.

Gurguli, 57. - Tadzhik variant of Azerbaijan epic - also called Gur-oqly, Ker-oqly, Kurrogou. Quite old, since it has spread widely, and was popular in the 18th century. See BraginskiJ, "O tadhzhikakom epose 'Gurguli'" in his collection Voprosy..., 1958, 126-48.

Helpful Animals motif, 44.

Hodoy, khan in Mongol myth, 75.

Horde, administrative division of Kazakhs from 13th c., 72.

Horse. Refs. to action of horse in story are: 42, 47, 49, 80ff., 94-5. - A widespread motif. Cf. the horse's prescience saving Geser (David-Neel, 107); the British ballad of "The Broomfield Hill" (Child 45) has a talking horse, and there are many other examples. See also above, p. 145, n.7; 146, n.2.

Irinsej, Burjat epic, 44, 47, 94ff.

Ir-Kosaj, Kirghis hero, 147 n.5.

Ite, Samoyed hero, 75, 119ff.

Jakub, father of Manas, 62, 146 n.4.

Jelmogus, 147 n.5. - Plural Jelbägan. Turkic demon. Sometimes called Dzialmaus, Jel Maja. Has several heads (cf. Man-gatkhaj); and etymologically related (perhaps) to the Shalmos of Mongol legend, q.v.

Kajkubad, shepherd in Alpamysh, 105.

Kaludyrgach, sister of Alpamysh, 105.

Kalevala, Finnish epic, 56, 151.

Kambar, Kazakh hero, 110ff.

Kanyka, wife of Manas, 97, 98, 103.

Kanyshaj, giantess in Manas, 67, 101.

Karadzhan, Kalmuck hero in Alpamysh, 104-5.

Karagul, Chinese hero, 102.

Karakalpaka, South Turkic tribe, 18, 67, 68ff., 106ff.

Kazakha, 55, 67, 72, 109, 125. - Said to mean "riders"; divided into three hordes, q.v.

Kelmembet, matchmaker in Kambar, 149.


Khalyad'ymer the Marksman, Yakut hero, 114ff.

Khan Kherdeg Shubuun, character in uligers, 45.

Khankej, wife of Manas, 146 n.4.
Khankhan Sokto, Burjat hero, 94ff.
Kharadag Khara Buural, monster dog in uligers, 44, 54.
Kharan, khan in Valikhanov's *Manas*, 62, 146 n.4.
Khotun, 114. Yakut, means "wife" (Böhtlingk).
Khukhudej Mergen, Burjat deity, 95.

Khuur: 29, 29a, 32. - Stringed instrument of the Burjats. Czaplicka (quoting Katanov) says this is an instrument used only by shamans, among the Burjat from Irkutsk; but she identifies it with the Jew's harp, known in Yakut as homus/hamys, which is not a shaman's instrument. Cf. Sojot komus, Jew's harp, Altai komus, shaman's balalaika (V.L. Verbitskij, Slovan' altajskago i aladanskago narechii turkaskago jazyka, 141) - cf. also Verbitskij, *Altajskie incroctsy*, 1893, 139: "they use the 2-stringed kabys or komus as an accompaniment to the recital of heroic tales". The kobuz is the Kirghiz name for a shaman's drum (Troshchanskij, *Evoljutziia Chernoj Very* (Shamanstva) u Jakutov, 1902, 130); and the Kirghiz name for a three-stringed violin. The connecting idea here, behind all this confusion, (and also with other names like Ukrainian kobza) is "sounding board", or even just "musical instrument" - an onomatopoeic word.

Kirghiz, Turkic tribe, 20, 56ff; 71, 96ff.

Kitaj Bakhsy, smith magicians, 118, 144. Bakhshi (Braginskij, *Voprosy*, 69) or baksa, baksy (Kirghiz; see Abor. Siberia) is "shaman"; cf. bagsha (Mongol) "teacher", etc.

Kjun, kün (Yakut) "Sun" (Böhtlingk, Wörterbuch) - personal name in olongkho.

Kjun Syralyman-tojon, first man, 114.
Kjun Tegierimen, hero in olongkho, 117, 119.
Kjun Tymlynse, heroine in olongkho, 117, 119.
Koblandy-batyr, Kazakh-Karakalpak epic, 67, 149.

Kobuz, 60. - a) (Kirghiz) shaman's drum; b) (Kazakh) three-stringed violin. See khuur.

Kokaldash, Kalmuck in Alpamysh, 104.
Kokotej Khan, in Manas, 57, 61, 97.
Kongur Baj, Chinese official, 147 n.8.

Konurbaj, Chinese official (or emperor) in Manas, 63, 67, 100, 102.
Kulun Kullustuur the Stubborn, olongkho, 78.
Kungrat, Kongrat, an Uzbek tribe, 67, 103ff.
Kurdalogon, Divine smith in Nart epos, 144.
Kurroglou, Turkoman hero, 139. See Gurguli.

Kyrk Kyz ("The Forty Maidens"), Karakalpak epic, 18, 67, 68ff, 106ff.

Kyrydymyan, Yakut hero, 76, 117.

Kysyl-baty, Kirghiz tale, 146 n.4.

Kyzylbashi, 69. - "Red-heads", from the red caps, round which the turban was wrapped. Name (in Gër-ogly, e.g.) for the Persian shahs. Originally the name given to the Turkic tribes who had their own state in Iran in 1502; later applied to all the inhabitants of Iran.

Kyz-zhibek, Tatar epic, 149.

Length of epics, 57-8.

Mady-Khan, Chinese hero, 102.

Malgun, giant in Manas, 101.

Manas, Kirghiz epic, 20, 42, 56ff., 96ff.

Manaschi, singers of Manas, 58ff.

Mangatkha, Mangadkhaj, 47, 80-1, 94ff., 125, 147. - A huge voracious many-headed monster. Apparently from a term meaning "great snake", now means a being in human form (Phillips, Dawn in Siberia, 31). Perhaps a singularisation of a multitudinous enemy. Cf. Andulma-khan, in Geser.; also chudo-judo, the monster in Russian folktales ("Ivan the peasant's son and the three Chudo-Yudos", A Mountain of Gems, 29ff.; one has 6 heads, one 9; and one 12); the Mongolian mangus (also in Geser), and the Indian Rakshasa; the idea seems to have come from the south (Klementz, 9). See also Jelmogus.

Masters, 49, 95-6. - Good and evil spirits who control nature. The Koryak speak of Angaken-stinivilan, "Master of the Sea"; the Chukchee, of Etinvit, "Owners", and Aunralit, "Masters" who animate forests, rivers and the like; the Yakut, of Ichchi, "spirit-owners", some of which are abaasylar (g.v.). The Gilyak term pal may mean "mountain" or "spirit of the mountain". The Burjat believe that every disease has its owner, or zajan (Czaplicka, Abor. Sib.). The "Master of the Forests" in Burjat legend (called Orgoli) is an evil mangatkha, a.v.
Matriarchy, 69. Elements of matriarchal society are to be found in the Burjat legend of Asuikhen and Khusukhen, probably the eponyms of "original ancestors", by female lineage, of two intermarrying clans (Phillips, 29). Cf. also the legend of Gulaim (in Kyrgyz), and the Amazon legend. The ancient Celts had a matrilinear system (Graves, White Goddess, 332) as did the Hebrews (ibid., 344), the Kings of Nisa near Merv, as is proved by their genealogy (p. 345), and the Romans, in early times (p. 393).

Mergen, 42. - "Adept, dexterous, archer, marksman". A very ancient title (Poucha, 55). Found as latter part of name of hero, as "Ajduraj-mergen", etc.; cf. Teleut märghän, Uighur märçän, Kirghiz mérğän, "der Schütze; gewaltig, stark" (Radlov, Opyt, IV, 2094).

Metres, Turkic, 60

Milk-white Lake in olongkho, 119.

Monologue, sung by characters in epics, 36-7, 73, 116.

Mosquito, origin of, 121.

Musa-khan, Kazakh heroic song, 67.


Nartu, Ossetian epic heroes, 14, 144.

Nazym-sulu, heroine of Kambar, 110ff.

Nogay, 62, 67, 106. - Principal personnel in Manas, identified with the Oirat, q.v. An alternative name for the Western Mongols, or Kalmucks. (Chadwick, III, 8n) - and cf. Poppe in Asia Major VIII, 184ff., and references. Nogaj, grandfather of Manas, (p. 96) is the same word.


Odysseus, 11, 148.

Oirat, Oirat, 66. Western Mongols, or Kalmucks (but see Czaplicka, Turks, 96). Identified with the Nogai in Manas.


Olong, Kirghiz verse, 60. - Lines 1, 2, 4, have end-rhyme (Radlov, Opyt, I, 1247). Cf. Olongkho.

Olongkho, Yakut epic, 9, 12, 21-2, 42, 73ff., 143. - It is probably related to (South) Turkic Ólóng, and the Burjat ontokhon; therefore means "tale" as Böhtlingk says (Wört., 25).
Paganism in Manas, 147 n.5.


Polianitsa, 8. Warrior-maiden in byliny. (Cf. Matriarchy.) An example is: "Stoit tamo Kurban tsar", Eshche Kurban-tsar da i Kurbonovich, So vseju siloju mogucheju, Chto so vsej li poljanitseju udaloju." ("Surovets-Szdalets", lines 33-6, in A. M. Astakhova et al., Byliny v zapisyakh i pereskazakh XVII-XVIII vekov, M.-L., AN, 1960, 205-6). Here, possibly, the term is used of the whole force of the heroes.

Pyne, giant bird in Itje, 120.

Pymegusse, man-eating giant, 119ff.

Çözy-Körpöz and Bajan-sülü, Turkic lyrical epic, 148. Theme is related to "Romeo & Juliet" motif. Several versions in Radlov and Sobolev.

Quest motif, 52, 77.

Repetition, 39, 61-2.

Rhyme, 55.

Rhythm, 40, 55.

Rustum, hero of Firdausi's Shah-Nameh and folktales, 64.

Sajeke, in Kyrgyz Kyz, 108.

Sarkop, 18, 69, 106. - The legendary fortress of Gulaim in Kyrgyz Kyz. At the present time the Karakalpaks use the word not as a proper noun, but as an appellative, denoting a separate fortified tower or citadel (Zhdanko, "Kyrk Kyz", 111).

Secret History of the Mongols, 13th c. historical work, 38.

Seg Daralga, chorus of uliger, 34, 36, 38.

Sejtek, Kirghiz poem on grandson of Manas, 56, 103.

Semetej, poem on son of Manas, 56, 103.


Shara (Mongol), "yellow". Cf. Hungarian sárga.

Shara Nagoj, Burjat monster, 54.
Sharaigho, enemies of Geser, 19.
Simekhsin, in olongkho, 114.
Solar myths, 16, 19, 78.
Soviet attitude to folklore, 123ff, 132, 151.
Soviet uligers, 50.
Structure of uligers, 37ff.
Suodaja the Black, divine smith, 116.
Surkhalyn, in Alpamysh, 104.
Syralymen-Kuo, heroine in olongkho, 116ff.
Syrgak, Kirghiz hero, 100, 102.
Taichakhan, Kalmuck shah, 103ff. Cf. taishi.
Taishi, title of Jungar prince, 69. Radlov (Opyt, III, 770) says it is Jungar, Tatar, and Old Turkic, meaning "der Schreiber, Schriftsteller".
Tempering of heroes, 116.
Tengeri, Tengri, 27, 28, 46. - Minor deities, sprung from Baronje Tabin Tabung Tengeri, one of the three spirits in Esege Malan (q.v.). Cf. Old Turkic, Mongol, tæri, "heaven, God"; Yakut tanara, "shaman's coat, household guardians, heaven, ikons, Christian God"; Chinese t'ien, "heaven" (the abode of spirits, personified); and Sumerian dingir, "God". (-Czaplicka, Poucha, Curtin.)
Tojon (Yakut), "Herr, Oberer, Chef"; "des Mannes Vater" (Böhtlingk). - Title added to name of deity, or earthly ruler.
Tree, Holy, 116.
Tulpar, winged warhorse, 104.
Tumen Zhargalan, wife of Geser, 50.
Turks, 55ff. See also names of tribes.
Tüüreelge, monologues in uligers, 36-7.
Uak, Kazakh clan, 110
Udeshelgyn zuga, farewell song in uliger, 35, 41.

Ugtalgyn zuga, invocation to uliger, 31-2, 41.

Uliger, Mongol epic, 4, 22-3, 24ff.; music, 33, 76-7.

Uligershi(n), singer of uligers, 4, 31, 124.

Ultan-taz (Ultan the Bald) in Alpamysh, 105-6.

Ulutujer-Ulu-Tojon, chief of dark spirits, 17.

Ungin uligers, 43, 47ff.

Unstumbling Mjuldju the Strong, olongkho, 75, 114ff.

Utan Duuraj Abkhaj, in Irinsej, 47, 94ff.

Uot Cholboodoj, divine shamaness, 116.

Uot-Chymadaj, monster shaman, 115.

Urak and Mamaj, Kazakh heroic song, 67.

Urun-Aly-Toyon, Burjat god, 131.

Usa (Yakut), branch of a clan, 50.

Uzbekas, south Turks, 67, 103ff., 109.

Vainamoinen, wizard in Finnish Kalevala, 77, 151.

Vassily, Prince, in Russian tale, 76.

War songs, 30, 43.

Water of Life motif, 75-6, 85, 95, 116, 117. Generally found on top of a mountain, under a golden aspen tree. Very widespread: Russian, Yakut, Burjat, etc.

Wind, impregnates horses, 102, 148.


Yakuts, Turkic-speaking people in north Siberia, 9, 14, 21, 42, 50, 73ff.

Ysyakh, 16-8, 75, 115. Yakut festival. From vs, to sprinkle; Böhtlingk (Wörterbuch, 33) glosses ysyakh vs "das grosse Sommerfest feiern (wobei unter Anderm das Feuer mit Kumys besprengt wird)". - These sacrifices of kumys were made to Art-Tojon-Aga (Father-Ruler of All), who lived in the ninth sky (Czaplicka, Ab. Siberia, 278-9).
Yurta, pass. The tent-like dwelling in use among the Turkic tribes.

Zachin (Russian) "a beginning", exordium to a bylina, 32.

Zapev (Russian) "a breaking into song", introduction to a bylina.

Zhalmambet, in Kambar, 111-2.

Zhrau, "ballad-singer", 70. Cf. dzhyrau.

Zhurintaz (Zhurin the Bald), 107. Shepherd who attempts to gain the hand of Gulaim in Kyrk Kyz.

Zudak, mangatkhaj, 95.