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A Chief and The Priest

—Temporal and Spiritual Substances In Nomadic Sociality—

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The nature of power is being studied for a long time and is already investigated rather minutely. Relative to early societies, by efforts of specialists in various branches of historical science, the formation of power structures not only is illustrated with concrete data but also generalized with diverse sociological and ethnological conceptions. The Eurasian nomadic world engrosses attention of science for late two hundred years. Equally with other problems, historians' interest is aroused for, of course, the question of organization of power in the Steppe. Although stormy and bloody political history of steppe-dwellers overshadows their social history in many respects, the peculiarity of nomadistics is not only in attractiveness of wars and invasions for studying but also in the conditions of sources. So long as the nomads in most cases hadn't got a written language, the greater part of information about them originated from contiguous countries where the nomads were perceived as outward force. Such attitude told both upon the content of information collected by annalists, and its quality. It's clear that the most trustworthy data of nomadic social organization could be granted by the representatives of that society themselves. But since there was almost no written language inside it we have to use oral sources as well, in particular heroic epics (more detailed substantiation see: Trepavlov 1989: 125–8; idem 1990).

The epos can help in the investigation of organization of nomadic ruling. In the present work I shall try to elucidate one of aspects of this problem, namely the course of apportionment of

separate functions of power, in mediation between the people and its divine protectors. I suppose that the state of source base let outline several levels of display and reflection of these functions: mythological, clan, ulus, state, general historical. The epic texts fix exclusively three first levels but almost don't reflect the fourth one. As to the written sources, they describe the fourth ('state') level to no small degree and partly the third ('ulus'), but pass over the silence the first two ones. The general historical level is the stage of properly scientific analysis. In this article the materials of Mongol, Kalmyk, Altaic, Khakas and Yakut epics are enlisted. Choice of exactly them is deliberate. The Yakut legends are highly archaic and so convenient for reconstruction of mythological vision of the world. To boot, the society depicted by them, is patriarchal, their heroes exist within the limits of a clan (or a family) collective. The Altaic and Khakas epics as well as the Kalmyk 'Jangariada' give an account of events taking place in the midst of nomadic uluses – Altaic and Khakas in an early ulus (i.e. simple chiefdom), 'Jangariada' in a late ulus (i.e. compound chiefdom or khanate). The Mongol epic also represents relations inside a compound chiefdom as a matter of principle. But its subjects became earnestly modified, that's why the phenomena of later epoch are present there.

The notion of power is very relative in respect of epic personages. The hero acquires his ruling prerogatives and supernatural qualities usually as a result of celestial forces' graces but without connection with a society. Nevertheless it may be more convenient for the definition of a hero's functions in a society, because they are gained as if in abstract conditions outside any historical concretics. An epic warrior as a rule is a natural focus of all social functions and human perfections. So the definition of a khan's and a shaman's (i.e. a chief's and a priest's) roles among epic personages is rather relative too. But for all that at the earliest stages of sociality, the tendency of isolating each other of administrative and spiritual prerogatives is already noticeable. One can be convince of that in folklore materials, on a mythological level.

The mythological level of reflection may be is the highest form of abstracting accessible for men of early society. At the same time a mythologized consciousness has a property of building of utmostly concrete forms assuming an air of mythical personages. The ancient Yakuts in particular personified a supreme world-arranging force in the figure of the godcreator Yürüng Ayıı-toyon. Though according to epic texts this deity associates mainly with heroes-warriors, ethnologists know that in the world of people ('the Middle World') the activity of special mediators for intercourse with the head of pantheon is foreseen. In case of threat of some enemy for people and their cattle, they can appeal to Yürüng Ayıı-toyon only through a so called white shaman. In reply to the request Yürüng Ayıı-toyon engages offenders with a lightning (Dugarov 1991: 247).

It's important to notice for the present that on the mythological level already turns out an idea of mediation between earthy and celestial ('Upper') world as the special capacity for and the duty of a definite person. It being known that this person is not an administrative head of a community; at the head of Yakut tribal and clan units, elders and aristocrats-toyons were. Despite the criterium of direct connection with sky-dwellers is very graphic, the information about relations among the personages who belong not to different but to one grade of the mythical universe – only celestial or earthly or subterranean – would be more useful for a historical research.

In the Yakut heroic story (olonkho) 'Dyagarymah the Mighty' three evil personages of the Lower World appear. These are 'the spirit of the deep' Unnyü Sannyı-toyon, his eldest son 'flying vortex, indomitable warrior' Umsarı Kholoruk-toyon, and the youngest son 'the spirit of the shore of the deep' Beriye Khara. The latter is in the habit of carrying gifts for his brother,

taking beating and dreading him much more than the father (Romanov 1984: 108, 112). As things of this trio stand, Umsarī Kholoruk-toyon occupies the place following Unnyū Sannyī-toyon; Beriye Khara is entirely subjugated to the formidable elder brother. Their territorial possessions are divided between the father on the one hand and two his sons on the other hand. So the space settled by the brothers is possible to be considered as relatively self-dependent. Division of functions inside it is defined distinctly. The elder brother is a 'toyon and sovereign', but his spiritual functions aren't mentioned, obviously he has no them. Well then the father's force and military potentialities pass into the hands of Umsari Kholoruk-toyon. As to spiritual prerogatives, they are inherited chiefly by the guard of shore. So we come across appreciable divisions of leader's qualities. From synthetical ruling a transition takes place to the parallel co-existence of bearers of various prerogatives, administrative-and- military (the eldest son is not only a toyon but also a warrior) and spiritual. Let's represent the relations among the personages in the scheme 1.

The same disposition of characters with different principal features appears in another olonkho. The hero Tong Saar-toyon's wife after a human son unexpectedly gives birth a bull. Having banished by the frightened mother, the latter takes up his residence at the western side of the land. But he constantly assists his elder brother in struggle against enemies with wise advices and furthermore is able to foretell fortune (Yemelyanov 1990: 113, 123-4, 131). Some details resembling ones marked above, are present here. Again two brothers act and the eldest of them is a warrior, a knight. The younger brother despite a magical animal is, has specific traits of such sort which the first-born doesn't possess. The merits of both Tong Saar-toyon's sons let one define them as a warrior and a sage (see the scheme 2). And Tong Saar-toyon remains a supreme chief. Joint residing and co-ruling of brothers with different functions are spread in heroic epics very widely. Besides that analogous relations can be formed between a father and

a son. Both these variants inherent in characters living in mythical but earthly environment. So more convenient the examination of them is expedient on the next level of reflection.

The clan level. We shall try to illustrate a correlation between a father and a son with the example of the Mongol epic 'Enkhe Bolot-khan'. Enkhe Bolot-khan's eldest son Shileng Galdzu-baatar is the only active character, who struggles against ghosts and monsters and frees his little brother and sister. The khan episodically appears himself at the beginning and at end of the story. None the less he is 'greater than various khans, greater than all khans, greater than all kinds of rulers, a great khan' (Poppe 1928: 202). And Shileng Galdzu-baatar rides for hunting, wages war on foes and is altogether in the focus of the narration. But the hero's parents once advance to the forefront. It takes place during a critical situation when a monster-mangus threatens their land. The khan and his wife deliver a certain magical book to their son. Having checked with it the hero kills the monster (Poppe 1928: 213). Thus here the reigning couple is a keeper of wisdom. Simultaneously in spite of Enkhe Bolot-khan's magnificent epithets, the young fighter turns out a real ruler of the destiny of the land, and the khan reigns nominally to a certain extent. In general the information of this epic as regards the problem being inquired into, comes to the following scheme (see the scheme 3).

Some appropriateness is already can be defined. Within the limits of united land (clan ulus), virtually two rulers abide. One of them is an incarnation of wisdom and of connection with divine forces predetermining fortunes, another personifies might and warrior's daring.

Relations between brothers are more significant. Erbekhteı Bergen has a profound respect for his elder brother Basıınyı Baatır (in the olonkho of the same name), fulfil his nawill without demur but being more sober-minded, gives himse advices (Yemelyanov 1990: 159). Roughly

same apportionment is shown in the olonkho 'Basimnyġlaan' where one of two brothers matters as a bold hunter, another as a sage miracle-worker driving astride a cloud and reviving his killed brother (Yemelyanov 1980: 204-5). The personages of the legend 'Beriet Bergen' resemble them too. The elder brother is a defender of people and the younger one is 'a scholar', a soothsayer and a literate man (Yemelyanov 1980: 172).

All these situations like many analogous cases in other epics, are generally depicted with the scheme 2. It's already possible to mark out two poles in the distribution of competence between epic characters. One of them (usually elder relative but occasionally younger one) attends to defence of a socium, another concentrates in himself supernatural mental abilities ensuring foreseeing of the course of destinies. Let us designate them as correspondingly the Warrior and the Sage, and assume a social supremacy to belong to the warrior. But the Sage is nearer to world-ruling deities and so his person is probably more sacred.

There are many shades in interrelations between the Warrior and the Sage. Two of them can be useful for the investigation. In the first place in the olokho 'Basimnyġlaan' mentioned above, one of the brothers, the Warrior, perishes; so afterwards the Sage rules the land together with a nephew, i.e. the deceased's son. The uncle naturally reserves his qualities while the nephew participates in battles (Yemelyanov 1980: 205-9). Thus even such initial, quite domestic distribution of competence can assume a hereditary character (at least regarding the Warrior). The reasons of inheritance are not indicated in the epic text. The transition of father's status to a son seems to be indubitable for narrators.

Secondly, the position of the Sage is often accompanied by the duty of maintenance of home, of keeper of ulus in his brother-Warrior's absence (Baskakov 1965: 213, 216; Titov 1856: 211, 219; Yemelyanov 1980: 237, idem 1990: 54-5).

The ulus level. Several versions of combination of the Warrior and the Sage are possible in a chiefdom-ulus, depending on the latter's type. Let's examine them.

An ulus developing from a clan collective keeps a clan hierarchy. Parts of other clans can join such ulus which itself can divide into separate parts. But all the same elders- patriarchs' importance remain there. Owing to their knowledge of life and universally recognized authority, native aksakals ('the grey-bearded') have a very high status in clan uluses. The most typical example of such man is Korkut, the personage of Oghuz ethnogonic legends. He 'takes up first of all the cause of a tribal wise patriarch standing at the head of elders and the people; he selects and deposes khans, gives khans and the people advices being carried out as a prophecy and a behest. He is surrounded with esteem, his person is holy, elected according to his directions khan of the Oghuzez kneels to him (Zhirmunsky 1974: 541). Since Korkut is reputed to be a general forefather of all the people of the Oghuz äl, the Cghuz khans are regarded as his junior kinsmen.

The mutual connection between Korkut and the khans (see the scheme 4) anew reflect the relations depicted before with the scheme 2. But now the Warrior is a real chief, a head and ruler of the people. Mass worship of the aged man is dictated not only by clear respect for the relative advanced in years. Korkut's priority in the selection of khan candidature is evidence of his highest social rank because organizing of power is obviously inaccessible for the majority of population in early societies. That's why V.M. Zhirmunsky is quite right asserting Korkut's peculiar authority to be of undoubtedly sacral nature (Zhirmunsky 1974: 542-3).

We know for the present that this sacral authority manifested itself in- and dethronization as well as wise advices. One can guess the essence of the advices, relying upon the epic sources.

Which advices does a khan need? Probably first of all such ones which would be able to help him in adjusting of relation between new shaping power and subjects as well as in the latters' midst. Both these spheres are regulated with common law, that is customs well-known for authorities and subjects. In the intricate situation of crystallization of power rising over the people, clashes being not provided for customary norms, appear inevitably. It is during happening such cases when consultations from connoisseurs of traditions are becoming requisite; and those connoisseurs are old men, keepers of life bases bequeathed by ancestors. It isn't astonishing that we see as a rule an old man in the place of an adviser, especially if a conflict with customary directives came to pass. Having the intention of overthrowing juvenile khan, the regentine Pichen-Arġ of the Khakas epic 'Altġn-Arġ' appeals to her old father Altġn-Seyzen, 'I want to become a khan'. He starts to dissuade her hotly with references to the immutability of succession from father to son, as the pledge of the people's prosperity (maynogasheva 1988: 264-5; 500-1)

More complicated structure of chiefdom is displayed in the epics with subjects founded on chief's contacts not with the whole people but only with the circle of retainers, companions-in-arms, i.e. ulus armed force. The steppe epopees of Geser and Jangar show classical examples of such plots.

The armed force of Geser's ulus consists not only of the khan's relatives. There was the body-guard Bars-bagatur in it. Geser 'loved him particularly as compared with all (his) thirty warriors and bestowed care for the khoron-palace on him' when left for war. However a real

Geser's co-ruler is not Bars-bagatur. In the times of the khan's raids, besides Bars-bagatur, Geser's brother Dzasa-Shikir stays home although lives separately. It is Dzasa-Shikir who defines from which side danger for the ulus comes, and it miraculously, reading letters on a magical bird's feather (Kozin 1935: 142, 144-5). That is why he carries out a function of the epic Sage. Geser and Dzasa-Shikir's reciprocity can be described with the scheme 5.

Now let's look at the information of the 'Jangariada'. The noblest man from the khan-warrior's suite is Altan-Cheeji, khans's son and grandson himself. In former times Altan-Cheeji ruled over his own land. Jangar conquered it and appointed him 'the head of the right (side) of his (i.e. Jangar's) numerous ordinary combants' (Bitkeyev 1990: 197). Found himself subordinate to Jangar Altan-Cheeji obviously reserved his primary rank. It is said in one of the epic songs that previously he had 'a palace similar to a picture', in another song five millions of his subjects are mentioned (Bitkeev 1990: 196; Yeremenko 1990: 23). Judging from appearances he has an appanage inside Jangar's country. The stable Altan-Cheeji's epithet is 'clairvoyant' which is interpreted repeatedly, 'foretelling the future for ninety nine years, unerringly telling about the past (happened) seventy year ago' (Yeremenko 1990: 198, 200, 349), etc. This character has no a military function absolutely. He is occasionally named 'a commander' but never takes part in battles. During definition who'd have to set out against foes and calculation of the number of khanates conquered by every participant, Jangar's retinue recollects the deserts of all his closest companions including of the right wing(side). They don't mention Altan-Cheeji because such khanates aren't down in his name. There is a hint of disdain to the head of the right side in Jangar's words when a lot to be a sentinel was drawn by Altan-Cheeji, 'This leader, the old tüshemil (dignitary) didn't become famous neither in near nor far lands'. So all the presents decide to recast the lot (Bitkeev 1990: 359). Within the period of his independent reign, Altan-

Cheeji may be was a real warrior. One can conclude this from his title of commander and episodal mention of his horse's name which is a compulsory element of an epic warrior's image.

Nevertheless despite absence of heroic 'service record' the leader of the right wing fills the highest post within ulus administration. Clairvoyance is not merely supernatural feature but goes with exceptional wisdom, 'He as they say, is the sage who excels everybody in brains' (Bitkeyev 1990: 349). Besides Altan Cheeji looks a rather self-dependent and plenipotentiary hierarch, 'He is in charge of (affairs of) seventy khanates. Settling any most intricate lawsuits himself without the khan's aid, he sits on black silk derbeljing (mat)' (Bitkeyev 1990: 200). The prerogatives of co-ruler and judge of the people of seventy khanates (i.e. the uluses conquered by Jangar and constituted the right wing) combine with the duty of replacing of the khan in his absence. This happens when news about capture of the body-guard Mingyang comes. Altan Cheeji reports to those 'who sits in the glorious Jangar's palace' and equips fighters for rescue. A similar thing takes place when Jangar is taken prisoner (Bitkeyev 1990: 286, 324).

One can ask a reasonable question, do all Altan Cheeji's indicated rights and authoritative competence spring from his post within the right wing or from a sage- clairvoyant's individual qualities? One of scenes can help answer it. When Jangar departs to ask in marriage a bride for his closest comrade Khongor, Altan Cheeji is attempting to prompt appropriate, to his mind, candidature of a wife, namely a maiden being seen him once. The khan isn't agreeing because he found another girl for Khongor, and is breaking into the following tirade, 'Why don't you recognize correct those things which are recognized correct by me?! You possessed clairvoyance in the old days but now you grew old, ceased to be a clairvoyant. Let the words told by you go away through lips and mouth!' (Bitkeyev 1990: 208-9). Hence Altan Cheeji's prophet potentialities find themselves (at least in Jangar's eyes) transient as much as his former military

valour. However his influence and authority decreases not at all. So despite disappearance of his heroic might and extinction of wisdom, Altan Cheeji stays at the helm of the ulus. And this can be explained only with firmness of his status within the ulus. At the present of ulus development the Sage's status turns into a social rank accompanied with definite position of power. We'll try to express the relations between Jangar and Altan Cheeji schematically (see the scheme 6).

All testimonies adduces above, disclose merely indirect traces of the tendency to separation of a spiritual substance of power from temporal one that is immediately ruling. In the meantime the spiritual branch is subordinate and concomitant to the main one – military or, like in 'Jangar's events, military-and-administrative. But there are epic stories with characters whose ability and opportunity of intercourse with divine forces is a main quality though it sometimes combines with ruling authority and appanage possession.

The Mongol legend 'Dzan Dzaludai' recounts about the hero living in his own ulus together with a wife and a 'lama-contemplator-anchorite of cave'. The hero 'erected...long white residence in the south-west' of the ulus for this lama (Bambayev 1929: 61, 69). The latter doesn't take any part in the events of the epic. But the pair 'the Chief and the Sage' is already familiar to us and a genuine ecclesiastical person, real clergyman finds himself here in the Sage's place. It's difficult to say definitely what degree 'Dzan Dzaludai' was modified in the Buddhist epoch to, but a heathen shaman can be imagined in the lama's place because shamans often figure in other epics.

A shaman appears at times in the capacity of a supreme ulus hierarch for instance in the Altaic heroic epic 'Maadai-Kara'. The warriors led by Kögüdei-Mergen arrive for woo neighbouring Ai-kaan's daughter 'to Ai-kaan's land'. The widow of formerly routed and killed by

Köğüdei-Mergen certain Kara Kula-kaan. Kara-Taadi intrigues against the guests. She digs a wolfhole in a khan's marquee and covers it with a felt mat. 'On one brink of the white felt mat she seated Ai-kaan, on another brink she seated Kün-kaan, as it appeared' (Surazakov 1973: 396). Kara-Taadi seems to be more senior than both khans-co-rulers since shows where they must sit down, like she thought fit. Her activity in Ai-kaan's camp can be interpreted simply as a revenge to her husband's killer, Köğüdei-Mergen. But her instructions seem to originate from former Ai-kaan and Kün-kaan's submission to the late Kara Kula-kaan.

Similar relations are seen in another Altaic legend. 'Two equal white warriors, two equal light brown chulmuses (spirits) and leading them, having a horse of dark-brown colour, Kurenke-khan - under their command we became conquered. And having a horse of light-brown colour, Chulmus-khan sways over all of them... And having orbu(beetle for tambourine) with nine ends, Torloo-Emegen 'old woman-partridge' has dominion over these khans. She knows everything around (Potanin 1915: 211-2). So the witch stands again over the whole pyramide of authority. She isn't connected with matrimonial ties with somebody of higher khans, like Kara-Taadi of 'Maadai-kara' is, here is a direct indication to subjugation of the multi-stage rulers' cohort to her.

In both fragments cited above shamanship is not a personage's spiritual function but sooner a receptacle of their harmful potential. Indeed the supernatural abilities become apparent by no means. The sorceresses act only as rulers-intrigants.

To understand the correlation between a chief and a shaman better, one can apply a text with their parallel actions. The Yakut olonkho 'Uolimar and Aygır' is relevant, in my opinion. There are dwellers of a united ulus - Bai Kharakhan-toyon, his son the Strong man Kün-Erilik,

the shaman Kikillan and his son the Best man Beret-Bergen; Bai Kharakhan- toyon is named a master and Kün-Erilik a master's son (Yastremsky 1929: 130-2). This is a familiar construction, the Chief-toyon and the Sage-shaman, a military leader and a spiritual leader, a strong man and wise (i.e. nominally more senior) man. The Strong man and the Best man marry sisters, the first becomes a husband of the eldest sister, the second of the youngest one. Both heroes live in one home; when they come there the Strong man sits down 'in the front corner' of the room, the Best man 'in the red corner' (Yastremsky 1929: 136), that is in the places of greater honour). The two operate usually together but more attention is fixed on the Strong man -there is his direct speech whereas the words of the shaman's offspring are merely reported. Well, but they are the sons of the toyon and the shaman. It seems that they inherit parent's status and the type of relations between their fathers. And the children-warriors of the Strong man and the Best man act jointly too. But the Strong man's son is more active again and his woo is the focus of further narration.

Let's mark some important features (see the scheme 7). Firstly, the shaman occupies one of two the highest stages of ulus hierarchy. Secondly, the shaman is practically weaker because his fellow is 'Strong', but formerly he may be higher in rank since named 'the Best'. Thirdly, the ulus isn't divided between them ('they live in common dwelling'), hence a strict division of competence is the matter of urgent necessity. Finally, one can see perceive the succession of fathers' ranks in the status of the both heroes.

Ulus co-existence of a chief and a shaman comes to light in written sources and ethnographical materials as well. At the beginning we'll pay attention to the ancient Mongol institution of beki. According to recent researches beki are ministers of deities-tengries, priests being entitled to carry out clan prayings, and were clan leaders simultaneously (Galdanova 1989:

150; Skrynnikova 1989: 41-2). In his fundamental work, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov notes several principal aspects of the beki's status: a) this title is possessed as a rule by the eldest sons of ulus leaders as well as a forefather's elder descendants; b) the gist of the Beki's postcomes to high-priestship, sorcery and leadership over a clan; c) the title is most widespread within the tribes liable to shamanism to the greatest degree (Vladimirtsov 1934: 49-50). The corroboration of beki's magical and miraculous prerogatives is possible to be found in rare mentions of 'The Secret History of the Mongols', the 13th century (Skrynnikova 1989: 42). But cardinal information is usually extracted from the following Chingis-khan's address to his suite, 'In accordance with the Mongol common law we've got the custom of ordaining to the noyon (i.e. aristocratic) dignity of beki. This is always conferred by the descendants of Bodonchar's eldest son Baarin. The beki's dignity of ours originates from the eldest kinsman. Let the old man Usun be ordained the beki's dignity. After consecrating to the beki's dignity let them array him in a white deel, set to a white horse and after that enthrone him'(Kozin 1941: 166).

On the one hand Usun really is the elder of clans originated from the forefather Bodonchar, in the line of bodonchar's eldest son Baarin. Perhaps here the embryos of a dynastic principle are seen. Besides we noticed that the Warriors and the Sages' children inherit parent's status already on a family and a clan level. On the other hand, as it proved a beki is not only a designation of a clan priest but also a definite rank in noyon 'nomenclature'. And a beki's aristocratic order is quite eminent, for there is a directive to enthrone Usun in Chingis-khan's speech. I think the direction can be realized literally. It is known that in the process of ordaining of the so-called white shaman (to which the beki category belong), the latter was set down on white felt and thrice or nine times carried around a throne (Dugarov 1991: 257). An identical ceremony took place in the time of 'crowing' of Sien-pi, ancient Turkic, Uyghur and Mongrel khans (Bichurin 1950: 229; Carpini 1957: 219; Saint Quentin 1965: 93; Sükhbaatar 1971: 132).

The chronicler Rashid al-Din's information confirms the interpretation of Chingis-khan's advices indeed as recognition of beki's predominating position. The Persian author narrates about certain Yangi(or baki in other copies) from the tribe of Baarin. Chingis-khan 'made (him) ongon... just as they make a horse and other animals ongon, that is nobody would lay claim to him and he'd be free and tarkhan... In khan's palace he sat higher than the rest, like the princes, he entered to the right of the khan. They tethered his horse next to Chingis-khan's horse' (Rashid ad-Din 1952: 188-9). Entire range of relations is reflected in this short passage (see the scheme 8). The relations can be clear if one takes into account everything expounded above. Thus, a) the Baarin man becomes an object of worship (ongon), that's why he towers above a milieu and acquires sacrality unattainable for the rest fellow-tribesmen; b) according to the source he receives the ongon dignity from Chingis-khan's hands that is from purely temporal ruler. But the khan himself doesn't possess the rank of ongon so the Baarin man in this respect towers including above the khan actually appointing him; c) it is the khan and the ongon-beki ('sat higher than the rest') who find themselves on the top of aristocratic hierarchy. This can be proved by means of formal signs in addition – common or nearly standing tethering post as well as the ongon-beki's situating to the right of the khan. Division of ulus between them as it occurs in the case on Jangar and Altan Cheeji, doesn't take place, but external symbols of ruling or ulus western part (the right side and white colour) are present in ceremonial rites connected with the Mongol beki.

It's known that pontiffs-bekis didn't take active part in Chingis-khan's policies. Remaining the incarnation of sacral substance, of divine patronage upon the people and the empire they were reasonably protected by the sovereign and not admitted to dangerous military ventures which the khan took upon himself. Small wonder that written sources been created mainly by not

Mongols, reflected existence of the supreme priests in the Mongol ulus and afterwards in the empire, nowise. The pontiffs don't appear in the environs of beleaguered strongholds neither take part in negotiations and collecting tribute, hence don't have a chance to be engraved on the pages of medieval chronicles. Nevertheless even in accordance with the minimal data proposed above, one can conclude that in part the Mongols became eye-witnesses of separation of military-and-administrative branch of power from spiritual one, by the time of imperial genesis (the beginning of the 13th century). Non-participation of a beki in political life makes us think that his person was safeguarded thoroughly because of his embodiment of the people's prosperity as well as opportunity of contacts with 'the Eternal Blue Heaven'.

The state level. On the grounds of the epic stories quoted and reported above, one can suppose the process of separation of one branch of power from another to take a lot of time. Medieval sources find the Mongols on the stage of complete formation of temporal and spiritual authoritative functions of power. However 'the Secret History of the Mongols' tells about priest-shaman's pretensions to a part of real power. The shaman Kökechü Teb-Tengri is held in great respect amongst the Mongol nobility. He resides in his own camp where the Mongol noyons and entire clans discontenting with Chingis-khan once start to gather. In the time of visiting the khan's camp Teb-Tengri sits usually to the right of Chingis (Kozin 1941: 178; Rashid ad-Din 1952: 253). The shaman's role in the formation of the Mongol empire comes out from two most important actions - prophecies made him for Chingis-khan. In the first place, Teb-Tengri predicts him right and nicknames 'Chingis'. It is virtually he who directs the ceremony of solemn enthronization in 1206. The rite of a warrior naming an epic hero is usually accomplished by a deity or a clan patriarch, the wisest of greybeards. On the second place, one day the priest announces the khan that the Heaven is hesitating whether allot the khanat to Chingis or to his younger brother Khasar. It seems to be a provocation resulting in the brothers quarrel pushing

Khasar aside from government of the empire (Kozin 1941: 176). Apropos the brothers' mother told that Temüjin (Chingis) grew wiser than Khasar whereas the latter did stronger. This epic point of the 'Secret History of the Mongols' although isn't detailed in the text of the source, nevertheless corresponds to the epic opposition 'warrior – sage', 'strong – wise' being discussed by us. Mass support the priest on the part of subjects, his intrigues, haughty behaviour, 'interference in everything' (Rashid al-Din) – all these factors impel Chingis-khan to execute Teb-Tengri. Since that time, if to judge by sources, Mongol shamans don't advance to leading political roles. As G.R. Galdanova considers, the priestly function of supreme power turned into a privilege belonging to the 'golden clan' of Borjigid-Chingisids (Galdanova 1989: 154), that is became attached to the holders of temporal state authority. We can add the opinion of H. Franke that khan's power within the Mongol empire was regarded by the Mongols as a peculiar joint ruling of a ruling clan and Chingis-khan's spirit protecting the empire (Franke 1978: 24), without a sacralized priest, a nominal ruler.

It's easy to be convinced of relations between Chingis-khan and Teb-Tengri conform to our scheme 8 with the sole difference that the shaman seems to bend efforts to find political power for which he pays with his life. One more difference is in Teb-Tengri's own appanage where he lives permanently and his adherents consolidate.

In spite of bloody upshot in the Mongol state at the beginning of the 13th century the co-existence of two co-rulers – one with military-and-administrative functions and other nominal, sacralized, for all that could proceed successfully. On the one hand this phenomenon is rather ordinary in the heroic epic as we made certain above, so it copies from reality. On the other hand there are the real examples of such co-existence in nomad history.

Several kaghan ranks were used within the Turkic kaghanate. Chinese medieval chroniclers name all kaghans, with the exception of a supreme Turkic sovereign, junior, as a rule. At one time P.M.Melioransky assumed that side by side with ulugh (supreme) kaghan, the Turkic title of kichigh kaghan (junior) was in use (Melioransky 1899: 110). But sometimes 'junior kaghans' are indicated with titular nicknames 'i, ini, k'üsi, k'üpi' etc. and some of them are hereditary (Bichurin 1950: 263, 270, 285; Liu Mau-tsai 1958: 155). Perhaps 'ini kaghan' nearestly corresponds to Melioransky's 'kichigh kaghan' for Turkic 'ini' means 'small, young, youngest brother'. Therefore this kaghan rank is really 'junior' (Hirth 1899: 80). The junior kaghan is treated in historiography as now an assistant of a ruling sovereign and his next-of-kin, now a heir appointed beforehand. Turkic lower nomenclature, 'inäl kaghan' and 'bögü- kaghan', occasionally figure in the Turkic runic inscriptions as well. These persons' rare appearance in the runic texts is not indicative of short duration or secondary runic texts is not indicative of short duration of secondary kaghanship at all, as R. Giraud thinks (Giraud 1960: 73). Its traditional nature for the Central Asian nomads can be obvious for us from epics. However now the question is not of clan and tribal uluses but a state-kaghanate.

Inside the Turkic state structure the highest posts were distributed amongst the members of the clan of Ashina. S.G.Klyashtorny sets forth the apportionment of kaghan dignities in the Eastern Turkic kaghanate at the end of the 7th century, briefly but exhaustively, 'In 699 Kapaghan (-kaghan. V.T.) made his eldest son Bögü 'junior kaghan'... and appointed him a ruler of the western part of the kaghanate that is the province nominally governed by... Mogilan (Kapaghan's nephew. - V.T.). The second Kapaghan's son Inäl received the title of kaghan too... During campaigns of 715-716 led by Mojo (i.e. Kapaghan, -V.T.) himself Bögü stayed at home camp as a ruler of state (klyashtorny 1964: 37). For all that bögü and inäl (ini äi kaghan) seem to be not names but titular designations. A junior ruler staying at home during supreme suzerain's

absence is already familiar to us. One Chinese work of the 8th century contains the following information about the ancient Turks concretely, 'Furthermore there are kaghans ranking lower than ye-hu (i.e. yabghu, a head of right wing, – V.T.) and there are leaders of big clans, residing at home and calling each other i ke han'. The Tu'chüeh (Turks, – V.T.) call a home i and so this name means 'the kaghan of home' (Taskin 1984: 306). Historians pay attention to this phenomenon of the Turkic state system. The Chinese transcription 'i ke han' is interpreted as üyäbkaghan that is Turkic 'home-kaghan'. Moreover some scholars explain the meaning of the title as a head of clan or family and others as a sovereign abiding permanently at a chief camp (Golden 1980: 100; Golden 1982: 46; Taskin 1984: 305). Probably Bögü became just such an äb-kaghan (see scheme 9). But it is not a complete analogy to the epic 'Sage'-co-ruler because a priestly function didn't find special executors within the Turkic kaghanate yet. Contact with the Heaven put into effect by supreme kaghan himself which was one of his general duties (Klyashtorny 1977: 14–5; Klyashtorny 1986: 321). None the less it is the institution of äb-kaghan, 'lazy kings' that can be consider, following P.B.Golden (Golden 1982: 46, 62), a predecessor of the famous Khazar dual ruling.

Mutual relations on the top of the Khazar ruling structure are similar to epic analogies being reflected in our schemes, especially 3 and 7. After taking into account mutual disposition of kaghan's and his co-ruler (kaghan-bek or äb-shad)'s thrones, one can liken it to the tie between Mongol ulus khan and shaman-beki (see scheme 8).

A history of the Golden Horde at the end of the 13th century demonstrates one analogy more. Bekleribek (i.e. 'prince of princes', chief noble) Noghai was a head of the right/west wing of the state and simultaneously was regarded 'a keeper' of the state-founder Batu's customs and percepts. Besides starting with 1270s, Noghai became a senior kinsman amongst the Juchids'

clan (Rashid ad-Din 1960: 83-4, 105). But his claims on leading part in the state set at loggerheads him and the majority of the Mongol-Juchid aristocracy. At last he suffered the same fate like the unlucky usurper Teb-Tengri did.

The general historical level. Now one can raise a question of the origin of administrative-and-sacral dualism in early societies. Numerous facts of co-existence 'Sages' equally with 'Chiefs' not only within nomadic steppe but also in other regions including outside Eurasia, make feasible to perceive a certain appropriateness. The latter is formulated by L.Ye. Kubbel exactly in general historical global aspect, and in his opinion, consists of 'common tendency... towards division and arrearance of specialized bearers of separate sorts of authority' (Kubbel 1988: 98), in the present case military-and-administrative and sacral spiritual-and-priestly sorts. L.Ye.Kubbel marks three fundamental initial branches of authoritative division – a priest, a chief, a military leader. The combination of a priest and military leader in one person isn't fixed by ethnological literature (as well as by epic stories and written sources, to my mind).

Concrete reasons of formation of administrative-and-priestly dualism can be various in separate sociums. It would be alluring to connect the origin of dualism with the heritage of phratries; and theoretically there is some formal base for this. But epic heroes's phratrial belonging is never reported straightly in epic and narrative texts. One can be sure that phratrial structures have an effect on 'wings' system. Even if they influence dualism being investigated in the present article, it takes place in quite mediated forms.

The cause of formation of the stated tendency of division seemingly is a complication of social structures equally with one charismatic leader's impossibility to execute all ruling functions in full measure. Consequently the specialization of power becomes more remified as the society grows more developed and compound. Within an abstract construction this

phenomenon would look an appearance of peculiar functionaries, at first body-guards as messengers side by side with court servants, thereupon officials, and afterwards specialized departments. But this process is hampered inside such early social environment as the nomadic world, usually at the very beginning. Firstly, patriarchal clan traditions continue their acting that makes correlate a regulation of ruling with hierarchy of lineages and aksakals' authority. Secondly, under the condition of relative structural stability of self-sufficing nomadic economy, the economical spheres of supreme power's activity practically don't become apparent; khans and beks get nation-wide leaders only during solution of political problems. Economical not-mobility results in stiffening of administrative system as well as in stay of the latter within the limits of ruling customs (törü) 'established by ancestors'. Conquering sedentary regions nomads usually borrow ruling institutions from new subjects just to govern them. As to steppen organization of power, it remains almost intact and after dissolution of vast empires-kaghanates goes on to work in former rythme in accordance with törü.

Started within a primeval blood-related collective, division of power comes to a end within a state. The formula of this process commonly reflects by the scheme 5 expressing the tendency to dual articulation of authority. This articulation to the extent of social development is modified and accumulated different variants. On the clan level, natural age distinctions show themselves. Strength is the prerogative of youth whereas experience and worldly wisdom is property of old men. So still not authoritative division of functions takes place inside initial social community (see schemes 2, 3). In chiefdom where administrative duties start already consolidate and at last become firmly established in the definite part of a collective, the crystallization and complication of power poles outlined in the previous stage proceeds. Military and ruling spheres fall to the military nobility (chiefs and senior body- guards)'s lot; ideological authority finds itself in the hands of the shamans (priests), former keepers of clan cults (see schemes 4, 6, 7). Finally, in

state systems the investigating relations receive a valuable substantiation (sacralization) and strike root in administrative hierarchy. Now authority as an institution separates from rank-and-file subjects completely whereas 'the Chief' and 'the Sage' become co-rulers (see scheme 8, 9).

As a result of centuries-old development the original phenomenon of diarchy (biarchy) takes shape; that is the charisma of power is considered as belonging to two suzerains with separate functions (see scheme 10). A senior suzerain is 'the Chief' or/and 'the Warrior', supreme, independent and constant sovereign occupying 'left' (=eastern) place of partner of ruling in hierarchic construction. A junior suzerain is 'the Sage', a pontiff, a nominal sovereign sometimes replacing 'the Warrior' in his absence, occupying a right side in hierarchically organized ceremonies (this can mean including formal leadership over the western part of a country). The senior suzerain's power spreads to entire government of a state, the people and army; as to the junior ruler, only prayings and invocations for the benefit and prosperity of subjects fall to his lot. Moreover a sacral leader is regarded as a true sovereign all the same, but with his specific functions. This is shown brilliantly with Mongol materials by T.D.Skrynnikova in one of her recent works (Skrynnikova 1992). Within developed social structures of nomads 'the Chief' and 'the Sage' ranks turn into hereditary categories and are retained by selected aristocratic clans.

Scheme 1 father (chief + warrior + spirit)

senior	junior
chief and warrior	spirit

Scheme 2

senior	junior
warrior	sage

Scheme 3

senior	junior
father	son
sage	warrior
nominal ruler	real ruler

Scheme 4

senior	junior
patriarch	khan
'sage'	'chief'
nominal leader	real ruler

Scheme 5

senior	junior
chief	sage

Scheme 6

khan	head of right wing
'chief'	'sage'
permanent ruler	temporary ruler (co-ruler)

Scheme 7

chief	shaman
'strong man'	'best man'
real ruler	nominal ruler

Scheme 8

khan	beki
ruler (chief)	pontiff
real leader	sacral leader
left side	right side

Scheme 9

senior	junior
real ruler	nominal ruler
permanent ruler	temporary ruler

Scheme10

senior	junior
'chief' or/and 'warrior'	'sage'
supreme ruler	pontiff
real ruler	nominal ruler
pernament ruler	temporary ruler(co-ruler)
left (eastern) side	right (western) side

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