

JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES

Journal of the Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna Society

Founded: 2009.

Internet: www.federatio.org/joes.html



Volume III., Issue 1. / January – March 2011

ISSN 1877-4199

Publisher

Foundation 'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL', established in The Hague, Holland.

Account: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Registered: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

Distribution

The periodical can be downloaded from the following Internet-address:

<http://www.federatio.org/joes.html>

If you wish to subscribe to the email mailing list, you can do it by sending an email to the following address:

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The publisher has no financial sources. It is supported by many in the form of voluntary work and gifts. We kindly appreciate your gifts.

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The Editors and the Publisher can be contacted at the following addresses:

Email: mikes_int@federatio.org

Postal address: P.O. Box 10249, 2501 HE, Den Haag, Holland

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ISSN 1877-4199

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Can be written in any language. However, if written in a language other than English, please provide an English summary of at least A4 length.

A brief (max. 10 sentences long) professional CV in English.

NEWS BRIEF

The news brief section features the latest news from the past three months prior to publication of each Journal of Eurasian Studies issue in the areas of anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, folklore, genetics, and linguistics with a special focus on Asia and the interaction between various European and Asian peoples. News pieces outside the three-month period or our scope of focus may also be included if they are found to be of great value and relevance by our editorial board. Please submit a short summary of those newsbytes (max. 100 words) in English to the following email-address: joes_newsbrief@federatio.org, indicating the source as well (also URL if applicable). The column is edited by *Andor Zombori*. If the original news is only available in hardcopy, please send us a copy to the following address: **Journal of Eurasian Studies, P.O. Box 10249, 2501 HE, Den Haag, Holland**. The names of the contributors will be published in the journal unless they ask otherwise.

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DEAR READER,

IMAGINATION

The 2011 Dutch *Book Week's* (16-26 March 2011) present was an autobiographical book of Kader Abdolah (the pen name of Hossein Sadjadi Ghaemmaghami Farahani) entitled '*De kraai*' ('*The Crow*'). The leading Dutch writer of Iranian origin nicely combines autobiographical themes with commentaries on Dutch contemporary politics, international politics, and literature into a thrilling kaleidoscope. Personally I liked the following sentence most: "God gave humanity one of its most powerful qualities: the power of imagination".

Here imagination is used in a broad sense, to dream of something noble and to achieve it, to become somebody that one is dreaming of. In the case of the author this process proved a life saving one during the period that he spent in the asylum centers in the Netherlands. There he imagined that he would become the best Dutch writer; following this he did everything to achieve his dream. At present he tops the Dutch literary life, which proves again the divine power of imagination.

Another proof is related to a segment of the immigrants (second, third generation) living in the Netherlands or in other parts of Western Europe. They are also using imagination to become highly valued members of their country and Kader Abdolah registers their successes. As he remarks in the second part of the book: "you can show the history of a city best through the changes happening to her shops".

Complacency leads first to stagnation then to decline of a civilization. People who possess the power of imagination in this broader sense are those who bring a civilization forwards, and are best suited to bring new life into a ripe civilization. It is no coincidence that the contemporary leading writers in Europe are all of Oriental origin: Salman Rushdie in UK, Gao Xingjian and Amin Maalouf in France, Orhan Pamuk in Turkey and Kader Abdolah in the Netherlands.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, March 31, 2011

OUR AUTHORS

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

Physicist-astronomer who made a new synthesis of evolution of matter according to the material hierarchy versus great structure building periods. This model is a part of his Lecture Note Series Book on the Eötvös University. He also organized a research group on evolution of matter in the Geonomy Scientific Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Science (with Béla Lukács). He wrote the first book in Hungary about planetary science From Crystals to Planetary Bodies (also he was the first candidate of earth sciences in topics planetology). He built with colleagues on the Eötvös University the Hungarian University Surveyor (Hunveyor) experimental space probe model for teachers for training purposes and development of new constructions in measuring technologies.

BHAT, Bilal Ahmad

Mr. Bilal Ahmad Bhat is a Ph.D. Scholar Sociology, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, India.

EKUKLU, Bülent

Was born in 1973 and graduated from the Middle East Technical University, Computer Engineering Department. In 1998 he started his MA studies at the Cinema-TV Department at Yeditepe University; he did further research in cinema in 2001 in Italy. In 2003 he successfully completed his master degree education with the thesis "Change of Cultural Society of Turkey in post-1980 and Cultural Construction of Yavuz Turgul Cinema". Since then he has been working in various TV series, short films, radio programs, documentary films as script writer and consultant. Starting from 2005, he attended a master class called "Playwriting Workshop" for a period of one year at Mehmet Ergen management. After that class, he finished his first play entitled "Amber-eyed woman". Since 2006, he is giving lectures called "Dramatic Writing and Script Writing Workshop" at Sinematek Association. Since 1998 he has been working in different roles in the IT sector and currently is working as IT consultant.

FARKAS, Flórián

Mr. Farkas was born in 1967 in Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg. He holds a M.Sc. degree from Technical University of Budapest, Hungary and Ecole Normale Supérieure de Cachan; France and an MBA degree from Henley Management College, UK. Since 1992 he is living in the Netherlands. He cofounded the Foundation Mikes International in 2001 in The Hague, the Netherlands.

HUNTER, William Wilson (1840-1900)

Sir William Wilson Hunter was a British historian, statistician, a compiler and a member of the Indian Civil Service, who later became Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society.

MARÁCZ, László

Born in 1960 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Received his degree from the University of Groningen. Between 1984 and 1990 he was with the University of Groningen as assistant professor. Between 1990 and 1992 as a Niels Stensen scholar he was with MTI, MTA and CNRS as a guest researcher. Since 1992 Mr. Marác is lecturer of the East-European Institute of the University of Amsterdam. His areas of research cover general syntax, Hungarian grammar, the relationship of Hungarians and the West. Author of numerous scientific publications and books.

MELLÁR, Mihály

Mathematician, Academia of Sciences, Belgrade. Since 1980 he is living in Australia, working as Australian Aboriginal and Papua New Guinean art and craft dealer, researching organic and endogen cultures.

MOLNÁR, Zsolt

Received a doctor univ. degree in Management and Organization from the Budapest University of Technology, Faculty of Social and Natural Sciences in the field of "Cognitive Modeling of Organizations". Currently he is working in the field of cognitive sciences focusing on the research of creation of meaning. His special interest is the investigation of the Hungarian language based on the meaning principle. In line with his research he is also working on new language teaching methods based on theoretical findings.

MOLNÁRNÉ CZEGLÉDI, Cecília

Ms. Molnárné Czeglédi is working as teacher and teaching methodology developer. Currently she is working in an elementary school, does applied research, practical adaptation and effective introductions in the field of teaching methodology development. At present her main area of interest is the development of a new Hungarian language teaching method, based on the theoretical findings of the meaning principle.

MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

Born in 1971, Budapest, Hungary. Received her diploma (M.Sc.) in Agricultural Sciences and her Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Plant Physiology, in 1995 and 2001, respectively, both from the Szent

István University of Gödöllő, Hungary. In 2003 she graduated as an engineer in Plant Protection at the University of Veszprém, Hungary and worked for the Hungarian Plant and Soil Protection Service. Between 2004 and 2005 she worked as a postdoctoral student at the Technopôle Brest-Iroise in Brest, France. She is specialized in the physiology and molecular biology of halophyte plants. Since 2007 she studies fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

NAGY, Szilvia

Ms. Nagy is a teacher at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pécs (Hungary). She has graduated from different institutions in Pécs, first as a German nationality minority kindergarten teacher, then being specialised in pedagogy she graduated as a secondary school teacher of German and also a cultural manager. Since 1994 she has been working as a university language teacher at the Foreign Languages Department of the Faculty. Ms. Nagy is also involved in writing coursebooks and teaching materials, and preparing Ph.D. language examination materials.

OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála

Historian, orientalist. She completed her studies at the University Eötvös Loránd in Budapest between 1992 and 1997 in history and Mongol civilization. This is followed by a postgradual study at the Mongol State University, where she is awarded a Ph.D. degree in 1999. Between 2000 and 2002 she worked as external consultant of the Asia Center at the University of Pécs, and organized the Mongol programs of the Shambala Tibet Center. During this period she participated in several expeditions in Mongolia and China. Ms. Obrusánszky is member and/or founder of several Hungarian scientific associations and she is author of numerous books and articles, and regularly provides analyses on Central-Asia in the scientific press. Next to that she is the editor-in-chief of an educational journal.

TAPON, Francis

- ✚ Author of *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*, which comes out August 21, 2011.
- ✚ Author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*.
- ✚ Has visited all 25 Eastern European countries at least twice and has traveled there nonstop for 3 years.
- ✚ Has traveled to over 80 countries, walked across America 4 times, backpacked over 12,500 miles in the mountains, and was a finalist in the California Outdoors Hall of Fame.
- ✚ He's been covered in *The New York Times Magazine*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Backpacker Magazine*, TGO (The Great Outdoors) Magazine in the UK, *New Mexico Magazine*, and others. He's been interviewed on radio stations and

podcasts.

- ✚ Amazon.com & Lincoln Mercury selected him as the best example of someone who is fulfilling the dream of traveling the world, and produced a video profile on him.
- ✚ His dad is French, his mom is Chilean, and he was born in San Francisco. Speaks several languages. He has never owned a TV, chair, table, couch, bed, or rocket ship.
- ✚ Has a BA in Religion from Amherst College and an MBA from Harvard Business School.

WANI, Mohd Younus

Mr. Mohd Younus Wani holds a B.A degree from the Kashmir University, Srinagar, India. From the same university he obtained the following degrees: M.A. (History), a B.Ed., M.Phil. History, (Centre of Central Asian Studies). He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in History, (Centre of Central Asian Studies), Kashmir University, Srinagar, India.

Mr. Wani taught for several years in various secondary schools and colleges and spent 18 months in the Research Institute of Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, Srinagar, India.

ZOMBORI, Andor

Born in Budapest, Hungary. Acquired a B.A. degree in Japanese language and international relations in 2003 at the California State University, Long Beach in the United States. Also studied Japanese language, culture, and international affairs for one year at the Osaka Gakuin University in Japan and Korean language and culture for another year at the Kyungbuk National University in Korea. Mr. Zombori has been living in Japan since 2004 and working at a Japanese automotive industry consulting company as the department head of English-language publications. His primary area of specialization is the Asian automotive industry and market.

ZÓKA, Péter

Mr. Zóka was born in Kaposfő (Hungary) in 1983. Received a M.A. degree in philosophy and history at the University of Pécs (Hungary) in 2009. Currently he is working as historian-archivist in the Archives of Baranya County (Hungary). Next to this he also takes part in the Ph.D. Programme of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pécs. His main fields of research are: Hungarian philosophical and literary history, political philosophy, and the history of the national idea. He is also interested in the history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

NEWS BRIEF

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This *News Brief* was compiled and edited by *Andor Zombori*.

ARCHAEOLOGY**Afghanistan: Chinese mine threatens ancient find**

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USA Today (Nov. 14, 2010)

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Armenia: Expedition discovers mummified goat in Areni cave

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Azerbaijan: Ancient settlements discovered Shaki and Gakh

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China: 20,000-year-old artificially-drilled specimen found in Henan

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China: 2,000-year-old intact female skeleton with gray hair unearthed in Hubei

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China: Ruins of jade, stone object processing workshop discovered in east China

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China: Massive hoard of Chinese coins uncovered

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UPCOMING EVENTS

The Heritage of the Huns

— International Conference on Huns in Transylvania – Seklerland (Romania) —

Seklerland is one of the most significant areas in Europe, because their inhabitants, the Sekler (székely) are still proud of their Hun origin and tradition. According to their ancient records, after the disintegration of the Great European Hun Empire, they remained in place and defended their ancient homeland from foreign troops.

In order to inform the Sekler, descendants of Huns, of the latest scientific results concerning Huns, and to let scholars who are devoted to the research of the Sekler to learn more of this unique Sekler tradition, the City Council of Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), several Sekler NGOs and the Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna Society will jointly organize a scientific conference in Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) between 12 and 15 October 2011.

The conference aims to present the results of the latest historical, archaeological, and anthropological research of the Huns.

The conference papers can be sent in English or Russian. Those who have already sent papers to the volume '*Heritage of the Huns*', are welcomed to take part on the conference without sending new paper.

Next to participating at the conference it is possible to explore the area's unique historical monuments, e.g. climbing the Sacred Mountains of the Sekler (*Budvár*), visits to medieval Hungarian churches, and learning the Sekler runic script. The organizers will provide accommodation and meals for the participants.

Paper submission deadline: **July 1, 2011**

Please send your paper(s) to:

dr. Borbála Obrusánszky: obori@upcmail.hu or borbala.obrusanszky@gmail.com



HISTORY

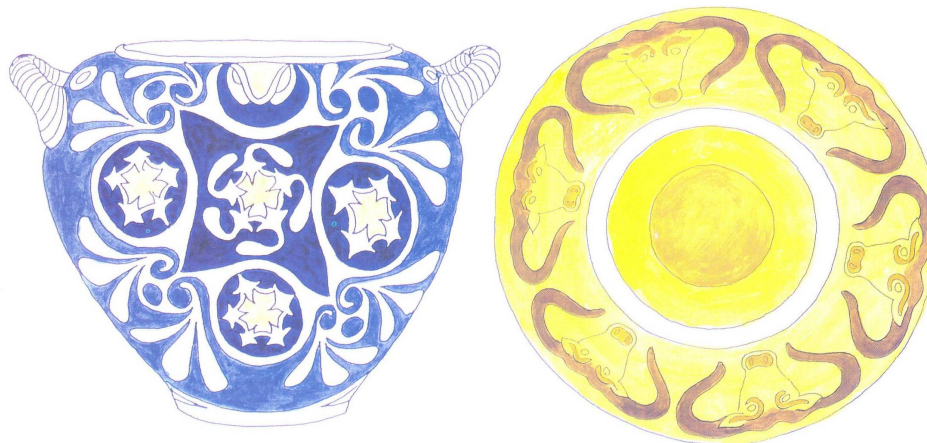
BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

Ancient Cretan and Greek Art

Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts¹

Introduction: the art of ancient Crete

Art and science of ancient Greek origin form an important part of the present-day Hungarian culture. It is frequently mentioned: “as early as the Greeks...” However, it is interesting to begin our journey to the Mediterranean past from a still deeper level: from the culture of the ancient Crete.



ÓKORI KRÉTAI ÉS GÖRÖG MŰVÉSZET

KIÁLLÍTÁS ÉS KIFESTŐ FELNŐTTEKNEK ÉS GYERMEKEKNEK

Az Eurázsiai Művészetek Sorozatot szerkeszti és rajzolja:
Bérczi Szaniszló

Fig. 1. Front cover of the booklet presenting Cretan ceramics.

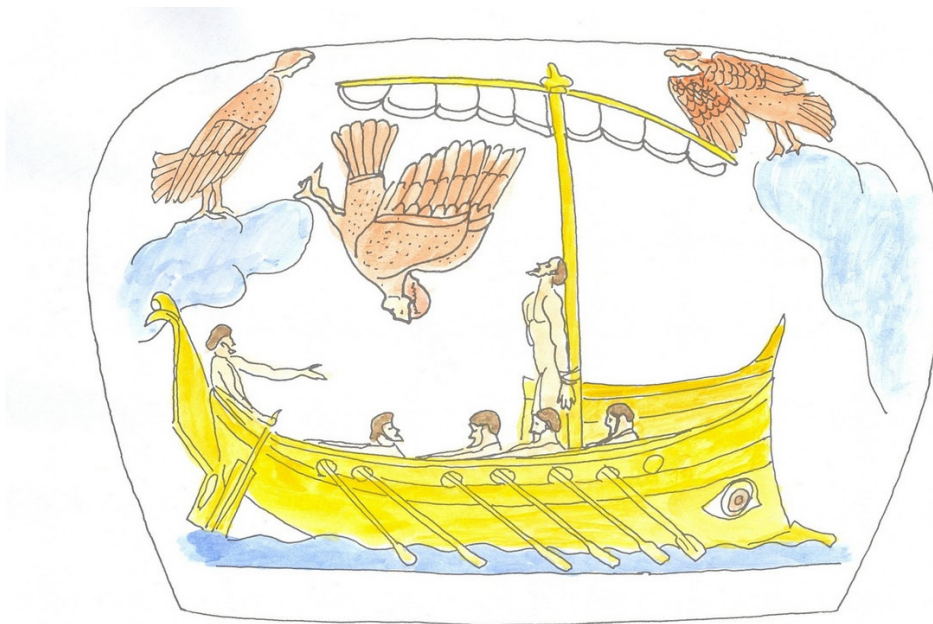
For long, the existence of the ancient civilisation of Crete could only be inferred from Greek mythology. Theseus, a young prince from Athens, visits Crete and kills the bull in the Labyrinth of the Cretan King. He escapes from the Labyrinth by using a ball of thread, given to him by Ariadne, daughter of King Minos. According to another well-known myth, Daedalus, together with his son, Icarus, ties

¹ The complete series can be accessed in electronic format at: <http://www.federatio.org/tkte.html>. The graphical illustrations of this paper are the author's drawings and paintings.

wings to their bodies in order to escape from the island of Crete. However, Icarus forgets his father's warning and flies close to the sun, falls down and dies.

Homer

The two epic stories of Homer, the Iliad and Odyssey go back to the pre-classical times when wars between the Aegean states were rather frequent. We follow chronological order in our presentation of ancient Cretan and Greek art rather than the order of archaeological discoveries. Therefore, although the excavations of Schliemann at Troy preceded the archaeological discoveries of Evans in the palace of Knossos in Crete, we first visit Crete.



Periklész volt az, aki egységes műbe foglaltatta a homéroszi eposzt, az Illiáaszt és az Odüsszeiát. Odüsszeusz vándorlásának eseményeit azonban számos görög vázán és korsón is megrajzolták, megfestették. A bal oldali vázán a szirének csábításai ellen kötteteti ki magát Odüsszeusz a hajó árbócához. Odüsszeusz kalandos utazása később is sok frót-költőt ihletett meg, s ma is szívesen választotta a NASA a Marsot új műszerekkel térképező űrszondának a Mars Odyssey nevet.

Fig. 2. Episode from the Homer's Odyssey: Odyssey and the sirens. (Vase painting)

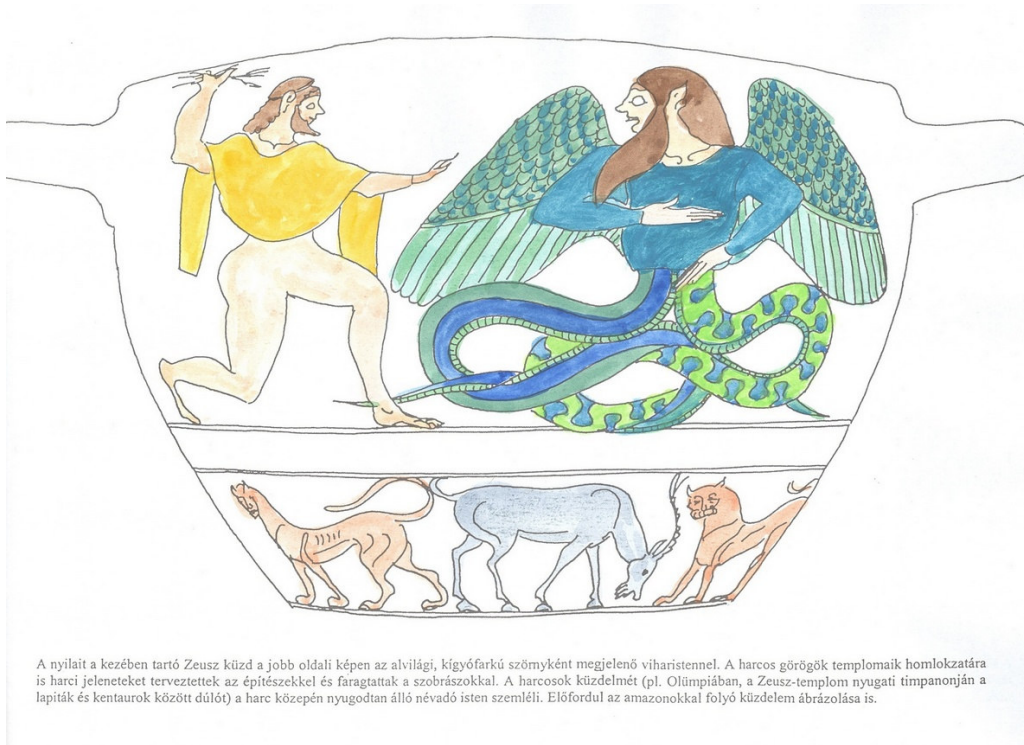


Fig. 3. Episode from Greek mythology: Fight between Zeus and the Storm-god. (Vase painting)

Animal fighting and animal representation

Sir Arthur John Evans British archaeologist began his excavations in Crete at the time of the Hungarian Millennium, in the last years of the 19th century. He found there a rich cultural heritage and uncovered statuettes and ornamental art objects that paralleled with similar objects of Mesopotamian origin. For example, Cretans had cylinder seals, but the pattern was engraved into the end (stamp seal) and not into the cylinder's rolling surface. The tree of life motif and the animal fighting scenes that occur frequently in Mesopotamia were also found in Crete. The Cretan bull cult, well known from Greek descriptions, is another example. Evans' group found two types of scripts on Crete. The older, the Linear A has not yet been deciphered², partly as a result of the brevity of the texts. The other, somewhat younger script, known as Linear B is successfully resolved and was found to be an early version of the Greek language.

² Interesting interpretations of the Linear A script are regularly published in the present journal from Mihály Mellár. (note from the editor)



Fig. 4. Ancient Cretan animal scene (bone carving on pot)

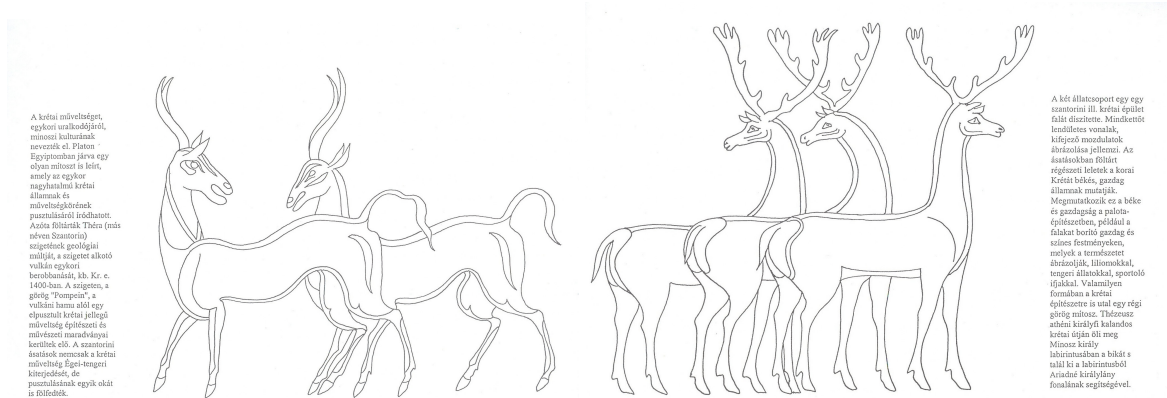


Fig. 5. Ancient Cretan animal paintings in the Knossos Palace (wall painting)

Many Greek myths refer to the ancient Cretan culture, which was named Minoan civilisation after King Minos. Plato describes a legend of Egyptian origin about the devastation of an island and the fall of a great civilisation which could also be the Minoan civilization on the island of Crete. In the last fifteen years we have learnt much about the geologic history of the Thera (Santorini) volcano in the Aegean Sea. It appeared that the volcano had a gigantic eruption around 1400 BC, causing the middle part of the volcano to sink, and destroying a great civilisation flourishing at that time on the island of Thera. Excavations on Thera yielded the remains of a great Minoan city buried under a thick layer of volcanic ash (nick-named the Cretan Pompeii). These findings not only helped to identify a pre-Greek culture in the Aegean but also revealed a reason of their demise.

Classical Greek sculpture



Fig. 6. Greek marble relief fragment from the Classical period. Parthenon friezes, Athens

The volcanic eruption on the island of Thera was not the only reason of the fall of the Minoan civilisation. It coincided with the arrival of Doric tribes which gradually occupied the Peloponnese peninsula. Among the earlier towns of Attica only Athens survived the Doric invasion. The Trojan War, chanted by Homer, is probably the war that the newly founded young Doric cities waged on the still standing rich city-state of Troy.

Being deeply impressed by Homer's Iliad, Heinrich Schliemann began a series of excavations aiming to uncover the legendary Troy. The city-state of Troy defended and taxed the strait of Dardanelles. Schliemann's excavations revealed the remains of the city. They found several layers of alternating periods of flourishing and dissolution. Next to his most well-known discovery, Schliemann also excavated the important Greek towns of Mykene (Mycene) and Tyres.



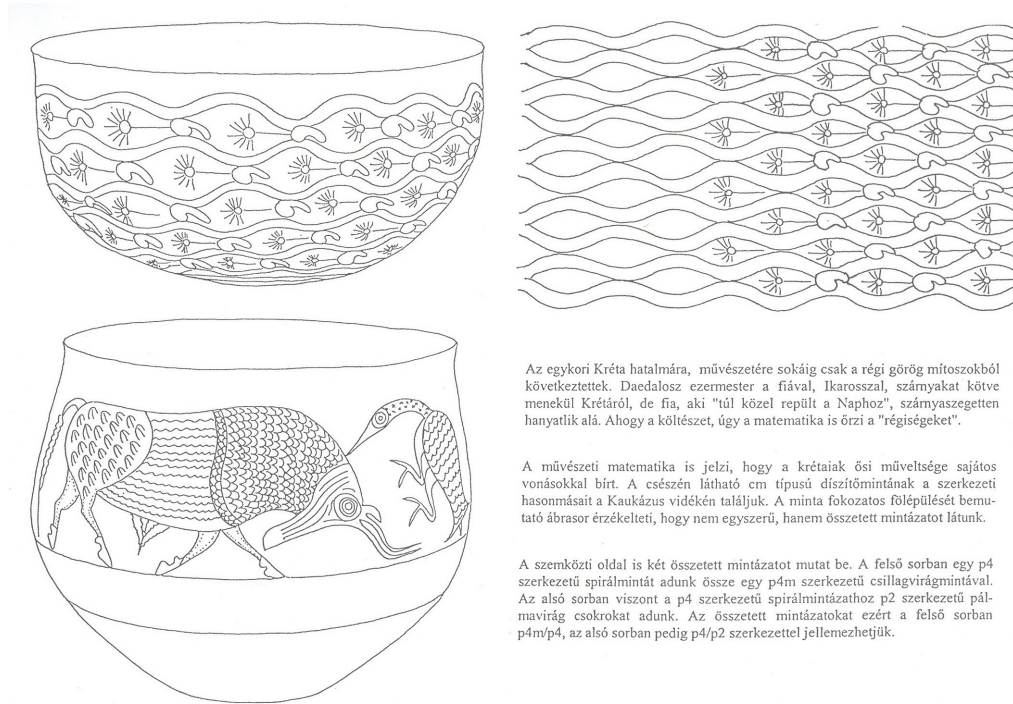
Fig. 7. Greek sculpture from the Hellenistic period: the Laocoön Group from Rhodes.

The rich Cretan and Greek heritage is represented by selected examples in our colouring booklets. In addition to the previously mentioned motifs of Mesopotamian origin (e.g. gold funeral masks, lion gates, animal fighting scenes, tree of life motif) we offer a selection of the most beautiful Greek sculptures, architectural elements, vase paintings, and mythological motifs.

Some of the mirror sheets (pairs of plates seen together in the booklet) are dedicated to mathematically interesting ornaments. They correspond to plane symmetry groups or to composite plane symmetry patterns. Famous Greek sculptures, such as the Parthenon frieze by Phidias and the Discobolus of Myron are also presented in the booklet. The Laocoön group witnesses the age of Alexander the Great, conqueror of the Eastern world. We also meet Zeus, the god of heaven and Poseidon, god of the sea. We meet the wondering Odysseus, Pallas Athene and her owl, Athenian civilians and Greek soldiers, as well as Scythian soldiers curing each other at the interval of the battle.

Symmetries in ornamental art of ancient Crete and classical Greece

There is an artistic genre which was especially developed in Crete: the symmetry pattern in ornamental art.



Az egykori Kréta hatalmára, művészetére sokáig csak a régi görög mítoszokból következtettek. Daedalosz ezermester a fiával, Ikarossal, szárnyakat kötve menekül Krétáról, de fia, aki "túl közel repült a Naphoz", szárnyaszegetten hanyatlik alá. Ahogy a költészet, úgy a matematika is őrzi a "régiségeket".

A művészeti matematika is jelzi, hogy a krétaiak ősi műveltsége sajátos vonásokkal bírt. A csészén látható cm típusú díszítőmintának a szerkezeti hasonmásait a Kaukázus vidékén találjuk. A minta fokozatos fölépülését bemutató ábrásor érzékelteti, hogy nem egyszerű, hanem összetett mintázatot látunk.

A szemközti oldal is két összetett mintázatot mutat be. A felső sorban egy p4 szerkezetű spirálmintát adunk össze egy p4m szerkezetű csillagvirágmintával. Az alsó sorban viszont a p4 szerkezetű spirálmintához p2 szerkezetű pálmavirág csokrokat adunk. Az összetett mintázatok ezért a felső sorban p4m/p4, az alsó sorban pedig p4/p2 szerkezettel jellemezhetjük.

Fig. 8. Ornamental art in Crete: cmm , cm and $p1$ type³ plane symmetry patterns form a composite structure on this pot from the 2nd millennium B.C.

We can also find ancient composite plane symmetry patterns on ceramics, paintings and carvings.

³ Orbifold notation symbol of wallpaper groups.

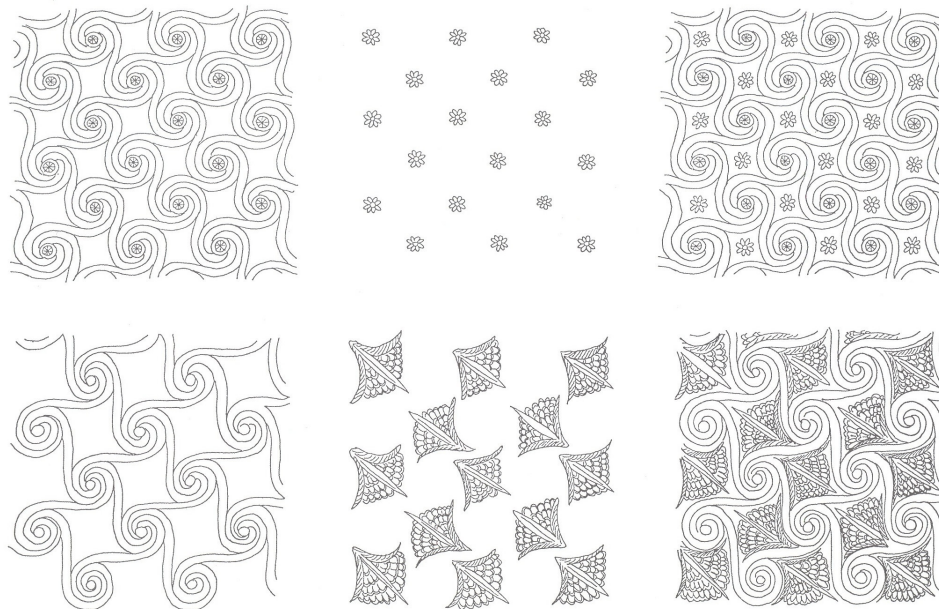


Fig. 9. Pavement tiles with composite plane symmetry patterns. The upper structures are composed of a $p4$ structure and a $p4m$ structure. The lower one is composed of a $p4$ structure and a $p2$ structure.



A szabályosan ismétlődő minták lehetővé teszik, hogy a sík geometriai szimmetriái szerint csoportosítva is jellemezzük az ókori kréai és görög művészeti alkotásokat. A bal oldali korsón $p6$ típusú, a jobb oldali korsón pedig $p2$ típusú díszítőmintát figyelhetünk meg.

Fig. 10. Ornamental art in the Ancient Greece. Vase painting with $p6$ and $p2$ type plane symmetry patterns.

The present-day Hungarian culture bears testimony to a rich Cretan and Greek heritage. In addition to the fields of literature and science, where it is most evident, it extends to almost every aspect of life. Interestingly, the effects mediated by the Roman and Byzantine Empires constitute separate layers in our culture. Christianity contributed to these “filtered” layers as well. The states of the Carpathian Basin, beginning with the Huns, Avars, and later continued with the Onogurians and Hungarians have always been connected to the Western Roman Empire, and its descendent, the Roman Christian world. The Hungarian Árpád house gave an emperor (Sigismund) to the Western part and almost gave an emperor (Béla III) to the Eastern part, as a sure mark of mutual connections with both Rome and Byzantium.

The Ancient Cretan and Greek Art colouring booklet offers an interesting, two-sided learning experience through the combination of reading and creativity. Those who like to study and compare different cultures acquire a deeper knowledge on fine and applied art of Eurasia meanwhile enriching the motifs with their own colouring ideas. The love of these foreign art products is also a witness to an open-hearted attitude towards national folk art as well as to all Eurasian developments.

Budapest, 8 September, 2003



Ezt a munkámat Fettich Nándor, Huszka József, László Gyula és Nagy Géza emlékének ajánlom

Hálával és szeretettel gondolok mindazokra, akik valamilyen formában segítettek az Eurázsiai Művészetek Kifestőkönyv-sorozat napvilágra hozását: Bánsági Tamás, Bánsági Mária, Bérczi Alajos, Bérczi István, Bérczi Katalin, Bérczi Zsófia, Biró Mária, Cseh Vilmos, Czene Valéria, Szökefalvi Nagy Erzsébet Jolán, Deákné Demjén Ilona, Deák Gyula, Dobos László, Fabriczy Anikó, Földi Tivadar, Gulyás Balázs, Gulyás Pálné, Jeppesen Henrik, Kabai Sándor, Kiss Ulrich, Kiszel Vilmos, Kolczonay Katalin, Lukács Béla, Magyar Györgyi, Magyar Jolán, Matyasovich Henrik, Miura Yasunori, Muzsly István, Nagy Dénes, Nyers Csaba, Ogawa Tohru, Pap Gábor, Péter Júlia, Péter Borbála, Sára Endréné, Szabó László, Szili István, Takahito Mikasa hg., Takaki Ryuji, Tóth Albert, Tordai Magdolna, Veszélovsky Endréné

Fig. 11. Back cover of the booklet: vase paintings with Greek mythological figures.

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LINGUISTICS

OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála

Hunnic Linguistic Issues

The research regarding the language of the Huns began in Europe after the French missionary Deguignes had translated in the 18th century Chinese sources which recorded the deeds of the Huns. The French scholar stated that Xiongnu in Far-Eastern sources is the same as Huns or Hunas in the European and Central Asian records. He also stated that the heritage of the Huns can be found in the living languages of their descendants: Turkic peoples, Hungarians and the Mongols. The Hungarian aspects were then elaborated by George Pray. During the same century, the research of the Hun tribes continued and several scholars investigated many ancient historical sources. Generally speaking until the mid 19th century, the above mentioned research was based solely on historical sources, and linguistic discussions followed that pattern.

The linguists of that time associated the language of the Huns not with a single ethnic group, but to those ones, who lived on the vast territories of the Eurasian steppe and who were traditionally related to Huns. At that time the artificial theory of language families had not been widespread, therefore the researchers believed that the root of the Turkic, Mongolian and the Hungarian languages was the language of the Scythians or Huns.

From the end of the 19th century onwards only a very few linguists thought in such a comprehensive way, the majority of the linguists accepted a linguistic concept, which was based on Darwinism and created so-called "family trees" with languages that had no real historical connections with each other.¹ Based on this new linguistic concept, they were busy reconstructing the proto-languages. According to Gábor Bálint this was completely unnecessary. Among the historians positivism became widespread, which rejected all the legends and stories of the steppe tribes; hence they did not accept their historical tradition.

During this period the previously admired Hun people became monsters and barbarians and scholars were obliged to write only in negative terms like barbarians or savages, etc. In publications on Huns they were described as not having permanent houses, or cities, that they could not write, and that they just learned everything from the "civilized" people, i.e. Indo-Europeans. The "new" historical approach and the linguistic theories completely clouded the results, and its negative impact, unfortunately, is still felt today, especially in the official Hungarian scientific circles, which is still dominated by these outdated theories.

While the Western European languages are not really affected by the new linguistic classification, those nations, which had Hun heritage, especially Hungarians, had been listed as Siberian clans with unknown roots.

¹ Marcantonio, 2006.

At the turning of the century, the focus shifted temporarily towards the Turkic lineage. Some Hungarian scholars, chiefly János Fogarasi and Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna investigated the Mongolian and Manchu languages as well and they found, that the above mentioned languages are very close to Hungarian. They interpreted this fact as the common linguistic heritage from the Hun Empire. Unfortunately, this professional research method was abandoned by later scholars and Hungarian linguists spoke no more about the Hunnish heritage of the Hungarian language, Gyula Németh and Zoltán Gombocz being the only exceptions.

Nowadays, the research of the Hunnish languages is completely exiled from the official Hungarian linguistics; Mongolian or any other related Inner-Asian language does not get enough attention.²

When Doerfer has published a great essay about the Hun language, wherein he recorded that Barthold, Asmarin and Pritsak considered this language as a member of the Chuvash-Turkish group. This statement is very important for the origin of the Hungarian language, because most "Turkish loan-words" in Hungarian are of Chuvash type. It should be noted that Gábor Bálint³ rejected the importance of the Chuvash language regarding Hungarian; according to him Hungarian and Mongolian are closer than Hungarian and Chuvash. Nicholas Poppe reiterated this point of view.⁴ According to him these similarities are related to the common Hunnish ancestry.

Doerfer mentioned that two great linguists, Klaproth and Semenov identified the Hunnish language with Hungarian. It is curious that this point of view was not taken into account by the Hungarian linguists, though it significantly impacts the research of the origins of Hungarians.

Other researchers (Venelin, Velitman, Zabelin, etc) thought that the inheritors of the Hun language were the Slavs.⁵ This is not accidental, because Slavic languages also preserved many Hun words and cultural elements.

Today it is unacceptable for many scholars that the language of the Huns is preserved only by one nation or group; moreover it is impossible to regard some small Siberian peoples as the sole descendants. This idea was raised by Pulleyblank, and Volvoni, and Lajos Ligeti also accepted it. But how can be this true? It is unlogical that an ancient, long-lived, large empire's heritage remained only with a small group of peoples, whose area of living is situated rather far from the central areas of the Huns. Neither the Ostyaks nor Kets were able to establish an independent state; they lived in a clan type society, unlike the Huns, who created the ancient world's greatest empire.

As other researches also proved, the Hun language heritage is preserved by not one people, but lots of nations throughout the Eurasian steppe land.

Izabella Horváth published a study, wherein she provided a comprehensive overview of the theories on the origins of the Hunnish language. She listed those authors who thought Huns were Mongols, Turks, and Slavs, Finns, etc.

² Central-Asian Turkic languages or ancient Saka languages.

³ Bálint, 1877. VII.

⁴ Marcantonio, 2006.

⁵ Doerfer, 1973. 13.

She was the first, who summarized the results of Chinese researchers. One of the most interesting points of view is that of the Chinese Wu, who stated that during the Hun period the Altaic languages have not divided into parts, so Hunnish can be regarded as a proto-Altaic language.⁶

The above cited theories show that the Huns left deep trails in the languages of various people in Eurasia, and they had a great impact on world history. Moreover, it also indicates that the Huns did not disappear suddenly. Unfortunately, the research of ancient Central Asian peoples is not without difficulties. The greatest problem is that over the past half century linguists have boxed various peoples of ancient times to fictitious language families, such as Indo-Europeans, Finno-Ugrians, etc.⁷ Scythian people are still listed as Iranians, although there is no coherent linguistic record for that and the historical process shows that the Persians accepted lots of Scythian words and military equipments. Several Scythian words or cultural elements had spread throughout the Eurasian region, and they are not related to the above language only.

It would be much better to mention ancient peoples under their own names relating to the Scythian or Hun language-group as did Rasmus Rask, and other linguists of the 19th century. Schöning recently published a collection of essays on Mongolian languages and he has claimed that the Turkish and Mongolian languages' high degree of similarity may indicate a common origin; this basis might be the Hun and/or Xianbei language.⁸ Two Inner Mongolian scholars, Hugjiltu and Uchiraltu, arrived to the same conclusion, based on their historical linguistics researches. According to them there are in the Turkic and Mongolian languages more than a thousand words that may be similar, which probably refers to a common ancestor: the Hunnish language. Hugjiltu also claims that the common words may not be loanwords; they simply show that the Turkic and Mongolian peoples had close connection from ancient times until now. This truth is not only proved by linguistic correspondence, but also by the common way of life, and even political organization.⁹ Some scholars think that the Turkic-Mongolian relations depend on areal relations only. According to Rassadin it happened only in Central Asia. However, this is not a correct theory, because the Mongols had appeared there only in the 13th century.

During the past decade lots of linguists¹⁰ have questioned the legitimacy of the theories of language families, so it is highly expectable that in next decades new theories will arise in the international science, and the outdated methods of linguistics dating from the 19th century will slowly fade. One interesting initiative is a large international research program at Santa Fe University, which explores the possibility of monogenesis among languages of the world.

It is interesting that there is hardly any discussion on the Scythian language; the international literature clearly holds it as Indo-European or Iranian. The language of the Huns, however, was heavily disputed; the core issue was to which Turkic language it belonged: Chuvash type "r" Turkic or Common Turkic type "z" Turkic. Because in the name of Attila's middle son Dengizik, one found the 'z' sound, the

⁶ Wu 2005. 10.

⁷ Marcantonio, 2006.

⁸ Schöning, 2006.

⁹ Hugjiltu, 2002. 188.

¹⁰ Marcantonio proved the non-existence of the so-called Indo-European language family and Georgi Stephan did the same with the Altai one.

linguists held that the European Huns spoke such a Common Turkic language. In my view, in the heat of debate people forgot to clarify a few things: whether the "r" and "z" is really a significant difference to those special Turkic languages or merely dialect differences are involved. As Uchiraltu explained, the Hun tribes, as later other steppe peoples too, had no classified, official standard language; hence the language of the Huns varied by region. If one takes the vast territory ranging from the Great Wall in China to the Carpathian Basin, a vast number of types of dialects existed; it is highly possible that this issue is nothing more than a small difference in dialect.

Another unresolved issue is the etymology of the name Hun. It is interesting that those who accept that the Huns spoke a kind of Turkic language also accept that the name of the Empire, ("Hun") is a Mongolian word. They deduct it from the word "hun" (or kümün) which means man, and this is in itself a major contradiction. If the Huns spoke Turkic, then why should they borrow their own name from a foreign language? The Huns, who were able to create such a developed civilization, did not have a word to designate themselves?

Returning to the question regarding the Huns, the focus of the current research is on creating new linguistic theories and on solving the issue of affiliation of the various steppe peoples. The ancient Chinese records, which preserved lots of Hunnish words, are of great help for the scholars. The Hun words found in these records can be found in the Turkic languages, in the Mongolian, the Manchu, or even in the Hungarian; this shows that several languages are linked to the language of the Huns, in line with the fact that the state and culture of the Huns had a decisive influence on the communities of the whole Eurasian steppe, and the above mentioned peoples are the descendants of the Huns.

The importance of the several hundreds Hunnish words, which were preserved in the Chinese sources, was highlighted by Otto Maenchen-Helfen. Indeed, the Chinese language also includes a relatively high number of foreign words whose origin is disputed. The well-known Hungarian expert of the Chinese language and civilization, Péter Polonyi recorded that Chinese words relating to the horse-breeding are very similar to the Hungarian words, which could suggest a common origin.¹¹ It is highly probable that both languages derived them from the Huns. Mang Muren from the University of Inner Mongolia, published an essay in 2004, and described an interesting theory, which is hotly debated among Chinese scholars.¹² He claims that in the Chinese language there are about four thousand words, which are similar to Mongolian. If we analyze this huge bulk of words, the result may lead us to the Huns. It is expected that in the coming years the international research results concerning the Scythians and the Huns will clarify a large number of linguistic and historical issue and this will affect the Hungarian prehistoric research, too.

Hun Linguistics

The Inner Mongolian scholar Uchiraltu has brought a new color in the international linguistics research. While the above mentioned scholars dealt with only some words and expressions, he created a system of reconstruction for those words, which survived in Chinese chronicles. He transcribed the words

¹¹ Polonyi, 1986, 220.

¹² www.china.org.cn/english/culture/120785.htm

according to the old Chinese phonetics and looked at those ones in the early Turkic and Mongolian vocabularies and he tried to find the most suited word for that. With this method he tried to find out the earliest words and expressions in order to compare them with Hun words. According to the Wei-shu,¹³ Turkic is rather a Hunnic language; the difference is less than a dialect difference, led Uchiraltu to the conclusion that the early Turkic and Mongolian languages well preserved the words of the Hunnic language. His main sources were the early Turkic runic inscriptions, glosses and the Secret History of the Mongols from the 13th century. The two empires were situated not so far from the Hun Empire; the Huns dominated much of Central Asian and European steppe region up until the 5th century A.D., after that they lost their dominating role. According to new historical results, Hun tribes existed on their own until the 8th century A.D.¹⁴ Uchiraltu's linguistic work is not only sensational due to its topic, but also because of its strict linguistic aspects. Next to that he uses in his linguistic research the results of historical, religious and ethnographic studies; this method significantly improves the validity of his statements. He does not stop at the linguistics level; he records his opinion only if the result is supported by cultural and historical facts. This is a very important method in the linguistic research; the Hungarian examples below will prove that the match goes far beyond superficial form relationships of correlations.

His research contains several important elements which impact the Hungarian-Hun connections. Uchiraltu's studies show that the early Turkish and Mongolian words had existed in the Hunnic language and it is not correct if we speak about "loanwords", but rather the Turkic, Mongolian, Hungarian and other related nations were closely related to the system consisting of the Scythian and Hun languages. His work will probably give an additional impetus to the research of the Hunnic language.

Some Hunnic expressions

Seal

Uchiraltu's study shows that the Huns used the "Keeper of the Seals" title as '*pichigechi*', which appeared later in the Turkic, Mongolian, and even in the Sanskrit languages. The word, however, can be found in the Hungarian language as well, as '*pecsét*'. The Hungarian Historical Etymological Dictionary describes it as a Slavic loanword, but is not able to reveal the origin of the Slavic word itself.

The root '*pichi-*' does not only mean seal, but '*letter*', too.¹⁵ The '*bichi*' means '*to write*' in Mongolian, the word '*bichig*' means writing. In Clauson's dictionary the root '*bich-*' means '*cut, engraving*', which refers to the ancient writing method of the runic script. The ancient peoples of the Eurasian steppe had their own writing system, or the runic writing. In some North-western Turkic dialects the '*pichu*' form occurs. We need to mention the Hungarian word for one kind of knife — '*bichka*' — it represents the object, with which the wood was carved. According to Clauson's dictionary this word meant in the ancient Turkic languages: '*knife, sword*'.¹⁶ It is very likely that the writing ('*bich-*') and the device of writing were related to each other. The word '*pichik*' reconstructed by Uchiraltu indicates that the writing and the carving were

¹³ Wei-shu, VIII. 250.

¹⁴ Obrusánszky, 2010. 323.

¹⁵ TESz III. 141.

¹⁶ Clauson, 1972. 293.

closely related! The different signs throughout Central Asia (tree of life signs, swastika, etc.) can lead us to the steppe peoples. Moreover, the early Turkic word "irü" might be related to the above-mentioned word 'write' but Clauson linked it to the sign of 'belgü', or 'stamp'.¹⁷ It is worth noting that the word related to writing in Hungarian leads us to Central and Inner Asia. Though the Hungarian Etimological Dictionary states that the Hungarian 'ír' ('write') is 'yaz-' in the Chuvash-type Old Turkic language, the supposed original form could be *ir*. This word was also discovered in the Mongolian language, another link to the the Huns.¹⁸ According to Szentkatolnai the Hungarian word 'ír' is related to the Mongolian 'ira', the latter having the meaning of 'carve'.¹⁹

To the same conclusion arrived the authors of the Czuczor Fogarasi Dictionary,²⁰ which related it to 'mark, symbol'. Recently, Katalin Csornai found that the Hungarian 'ró' ('carve') exists in the form of 'lu' in the Chinese chronicles²¹ as a Hunnish word, whereby the runic symbols and the act of engraving were considered holy.

The Hungarian etymological dictionary has no any idea regarding the origin of the word 'ró'.²² The fact that the above mentioned three words occur in such an early period, complemented by finds of runic monuments in Central Asia discovered during the last decades, are a clear proof that the steppe peoples had developed literacy which it existed later among Turkic, Avar, and Hungarian peoples, and others.

Kadar, the Chief Judge

According to Uchiraltu, the 'godouhou' was an important title of Huns as the Chinese sources recorded. The Mongolian linguist reconstructed it as 'kutugu'. Among the ancient Turkic peoples the 'kut' or 'gut' can be found as a relevant title; among Uighurs, Turks, etc., the title 'idikut' was the rank of rulers of tribes whose origin is unclear according to Clauson.²³ Uchiraltu had studied the Chinese and Central Asian sources and he found, that the dignity of the chief judge was 'kutugu' among Huns. The Mongols preserved the word 'kukuktu', and they are still using it to identify Buddhist saints. In the old Turkic languages, the word 'kut' means grace of Heaven, but it also meant strength and majesty.²⁴

The author, referring to Chinese linguists, explains that during the migration process of the western Huns some linguistic changes had happened: the sound 'u' rather than 'a' was used, so the original 'kutugu' became 'katagu' or 'kadagu'.²⁵ The Chinese data proved the truthfulness of the ancient Hungarian chronicles, where 'Kadar' was the chief-judge of the Huns. We have additional data, e.g. Tarihi Üngürüs,

¹⁷ Clauson, 1972. 197. The Hungarian word 'bélyeg' is belge in Mongolian.

¹⁸ Clauson, 1972. 293.

¹⁹ Bálint, 1877. 24.

²⁰ Czuczor-Fogarasi, 2003.

²¹ DeGroot, 2006. 69. 554. footnote

²² TESz III. 426.

²³ Clauson, 1972. 46.

²⁴ Clauson, 1972. 594.

²⁵ Uchiraltu, 1996. 3. 55.

which is an ancient Hungarian chronicle that was translated into Turkish and preserved in Turkey for a long period. In it the commander in chief of the Huns was 'Kattar', which may be a variant of the 'kadar'.

Arnold Ipolyi, the renowned Hungarian scholar thought that the 'kadar' he was the representatives of the ancient judicial-priest system.²⁶ Podhracky explained it similarly; 'kadar' was originally monk or priest as the Parthian 'cat', 'kad' or 'cat-ousi', which is similar to the Turkish 'kad' and 'kadi'.²⁷ There are some other variants as well, e.g. according to the historian György Györffy 'kadir' was a Khazarian rank, and the same name can be found in the early Hungarian Kingdom in some personal names and toponyms, and in the clan name of Kadarkaluz.²⁸ The Hungarian Historical Etimological Dictionary originates it from Bulgarian.²⁹ As we know from the ancient Bulgarian historical sources, or the list of the ancient kings, the leading clan originated from Attila.

Faith

According to Uchiraltu the word faith was a significant Hunnish title. The Mongolian scholar found closely linked to the Mongolian Mother Earth (Etügen) cult. This new data provides a new key to the understanding of the word faith, as the etymological dictionary considers it of unknown origin.³⁰ The goddess of the Central Asian steppe peoples is mostly known under the name Etügen (though several variations exist), in whom they revered Mother Earth. In the historical sources it is mentioned in different ways: in some places it is Etügen, a Turkic source calls her Ötüken, identifying the sacred mountain or forest. In Mongolia, the geographical names had often been called Eej, i.e. Mother; examples are: Mother Cliff, Mother Tree, or Pious Mother. The other names of the Mother are: Mother Earth, or World Mother. According to Zundui Altangerel, in the era of pre-Buddhist Mongolia, inside each yurt stood the altar of Mother Earth, the Etügen idol.³¹

The Etügen, Ötüken, Idugan forms can be found in the late Turkic and Mongolian sources, but its origin is less researched. When I investigated the Mother Earth cult, I realized that all of the above terms are related to the Hungarian word 'hit' ('faith').³² It came as a big surprise to me that Uchiraltu found it among the Hunnish words in the Chinese chronicles as 'hitü' or 'hidü', which was a title of that time.³³ In Turkic documents the word 'idug'³⁴ occurs, which means saint. It is possible that this may be a relative of the Hungarian word faith. Regarding the Hungarian word for faith Ármin Vámbéry, the famous Hungarian Turkologist found it in the Yakut language as 'itegel', and Gábor Bálint in the Mongolian 'itegen' or 'sitügen'; but these interpretations have not been taken into account by the other Hungarian

²⁶ Ipolyi, 1854. 465.

²⁷ Ipolyi, 1854. 466.

²⁸ TESz II. 301.

²⁹ TESz II. 302.

³⁰ TESz. II. 129.

³¹ ZUNDUI Altangerel's information.

³² UCHIRALTU 1997: 113.

³³ UCHIRALTU 1997: 114.

³⁴ CLAUSON 1972: 46.

linguists, even though they may be of exact match.³⁵ There can be no better proof that this word is related to the Hunnish language than the fact that next to the Turkic, Mongolian, Hungarian languages it can be found in the old Bulgarian as well, where in the form of *'itzig'* it means *'saint'*.³⁶ In Sanskrit it means *'good'*, *'well-doer'*, *'friendship'*, *'good action'*, *'good will'*.³⁷

Horde, the capital of the supreme king

In ancient times among the Central and Inner Asian people the word *'horde'* was a very important term. In Clauson's dictionary the word *'ordu'* is a Mongolian loanword to the Turks with the meaning royal home and palace. The horde was a center for the tribal leader, and later for the khagans, or supreme kings. Uchiraltu thinks that the word can be found among Huns, as the Chinese recorded: *'yu-tu'*. For the early Turkic peoples *'orta'* meant *'medium'*, *'center'*.³⁸ The Russians still use it as *'gorod'*.³⁹ The word for town is pronounced as *'ghordas'*, therefore it can be connected to the Horde. So it is doubtful that some Hungarian toponyms ending in *'-grad'* would be of Slavic origin, but rather we should consider it as the heritage of the Huns. Uchiraltu connects the Horde with the *'yurt'* (accommodation, a round tent), which meant the same center, but later became a name for family *'house'*.

Milk

Uchiraltu reconstructed the Hunnish word *'dong / tong'*, with the meaning of *'milk'*, and explained its relation to the Mongolian *'sün'* or milk. He also noted that in the Eastern Mongolian gorlos dialect the word for milk is *'tun'* or *'tün'*, because they used *'t'* instead of *'s'*. This data may be important for the Hungarians as well. Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna guessed parallels between the Mongolian and Hungarian *'milk'* but he could not find completely convincing explanation of how they relate to each other. Uchiraltu now provided the explanation. Indeed, the Hungarian Czuczor-Fogarasi etymological dictionary provided something valuable: *'milk'* in the Szekler dialect is *'té'*. In the Central Asian Chagatai language we find the word *'sai'* which has relationship to the above mentioned Hunnish expression.⁴⁰ The Chagatai language contains many words, which can be found in archaic Mongol. According to the etymological dictionary the word *'milk'* in the Hungarian language is an Iranian loan-word, and comes from the ancient Iranic verb *'dhayati'*, which means *'sucking'*. It is also associated with the word for nurse, as the nurse and breast milk are closely linked. The Mongolian data also shows a similar agreement, as the word *'number'* means *'milking'* and *'full'* means *'twice suckled lamb'*. I am not a linguist, but because of the high degree of similarity, I believe that both the Iranian and Mongolian forms may be related to the Hungarian, which means that this word also goes back to a common source, i.e. the Huns. This is all the

³⁵ The Hungarian word *'hit'* is an unknown word for some Hungarian linguists. The ancient Turkic and Mongolian languages contained the beginning *h'* sound, that is why the ancient form could be *'hid / hit'*.

³⁶ Dobrev, 2006. 347.

³⁷ Éva Aradi's information. Regarding the Indian words we must regard them as ancient Scythian and/or Hunnic heritage.

³⁸ Clauson, 1972. 203.

³⁹ Clauson, 1972. 203.

⁴⁰ TESz III. 876.

plausible, because all animal names, and milk-related terms are from the Eurasian steppe world, and are tightly connected to the Huns.

Buttermilk

The etymological dictionary considers the Hungarian word for *'buttermilk'* as an ancient Chuvash loanword, in the form *'*irago'* as the earliest variant. In Uchiraltu's text we can find a form of Chinese dairy products as *'lao'*. Katalin Csornai found that this word may be of Hunnish origin, too, because the Chinese people did not consume dairy products at that time; its spread has been observed only in the last few years and are mainly consumed as fermented milky products. In the past the milky products had been mainly consumed by the steppe peoples. We know from the ethnographic observations and the historical records regarding the steppe peoples that the sour milk products were very popular; nevertheless, fresh milk was only drunk by children, the elderly, and the spiritual leaders. Returning to the word for buttermilk, Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna considered it related to the Mongolian *'airag'*⁴¹, — which is a fermented milk churn — due to morphological and semantic reasons. Later, György Kara established a relation between the Hungarian word *'író'* or buttermilk and the Mongolian *'agurag'*, *'uurag'*. In my view Szentkatolnai's research is more accurate, because the word indicates a product that must be a fermented one.

Bű or magic

The words *'bű'* (*'magic'*) and *'bűj'* (*'charm'*) indicate some ancient healing methods. Not only the word but the whole Eurasian healing process survived in the vast area that was once inhabited by the Huns; its variants can be still studied in the Central Asian and Hungarian intellectual culture, even in folk medicine. *'Bű'* has parallels with the Turkic and Mongolian word *'böge'*, which means wizard, but it also designates the old natural religion, i.e. shamanism.⁴² This ancient belief in Tibet is called *'bön'* (*'bon'* in the Western literature). The most western member of this word group is the Hungarian *'bű'*, which according to the academician Arnold Ipolyi originally meant *'spell'*.⁴³ The Czuczor-Fogarasi dictionary gives the following explanation: 'Such an enticement that enchants us in a secret, wonderful way. It is such an amiable quality of somebody or something, which induces affection, coupled with admiration and attracts to itself'.⁴⁴

All this indicates that in the entire Eurasian region there was a natural ancient belief, which was the religion of the Scythians and the Huns, and this was called *'spell'*. Some researchers agree that the magic of faith also appeared in the ancient Chinese civilization; sources often refer to magical women, the *'wu'*.

⁴¹ Szentkatolnai, 1877. 24.

⁴² The word shaman is of Tunguz origin designating the ancient religious leader. The ancient sources of Inner Asia rather used the word *bö, bű, or bön* for that.

⁴³ According to the Hungarian Etymological Dictionary, the words *bű, bűj* (charm) are of Ancient Turkic origin, and are similar to the Uyghur *bögü*, or magic and Chagatay *büyü*, but we have to list the Mongolian *böge* and the Kkalmykian *bö*, too. TESz I. 405.

⁴⁴ Czuczor-Fogarasi, 2003.

Maspero, Uchiraltu, MacKenzie and others claim based on ancient Chinese sources that not only the Chinese word 'wu', but the whole healing process is derived from the steppe peoples.⁴⁵ The word 'bú' is considered of Old Turkic origin with the meaning 'sorcery', 'witchcraft'. The Czuczor-Fogarasi dictionary defines 'bú' and 'báj' as two words originating from a common source, and the two academic linguists related these two words to the word 'bölc's' ('wise'), meaning 'adept at understanding mysterious, magical things'.⁴⁶ Regarding the word 'báj' the Hungarian Historical Etymological Dictionary defines it as of Old Turkic origin, meaning magic.⁴⁷

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⁴⁵ Maspero, 1978. 166.

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OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála

Hun Diline Ait Meseleler

Avrupa'da Hunların dili ile alakalı çalışmalar 18. Yüzyılda Fransız misyoner Deguignes'in Hunların fiiliyatlarını kayıda geçiren Çince kaynakları tercüme etmesini müteakiben başlamıştır. Fransız bilgin neşriyatında Uzak Doğu kaynaklarındaki Hiung-nu'ların Avrupa ve Orta Asya kaynaklı vesikalarda geçen Hunlar yahut da Huna'lar ile özdeş olduğunu ifade etmiştir. O, aynı zamanda Hunların mirasının onların torunlarının (Türk halkları, Macarlar ve Moğollar) yaşayan dillerinde bulunabileceğini belirtmiştir. Sonrasında meselenin Macarca boyutu üzerinde George Pray tarafından derinlemesine durulmuştur. Aynı yüzyıl müddetince, Hun kabilelerine dönük tetkikler süregeldi ve kimi alimler pek çok kadim tarihi kaynağı tahkik ettiler. Genel manada 19.yüzyılın sonuna değin üstte bahsi geçen araştırmaların sadece kaynaklara dayalı olduğunu, dilsel yayınların ise onları takip ettiğini söyleyebiliriz.

Dönemin dilbilimcileri Hunların lisanını yalnızca tek bir etnik zümreyle değil Avrasya bozkırının uçsuz bucaksız topraklarında yaşamış ve gelenek itibariyle Hunlarla irtibatlı olanlarla ilişkilendirmiştir. O zamanda yapay dil aileleri savı yaygın değildi. Bu sebepten, araştırmacılar Türk, Moğol ve Macar dillerinin kökünde İskit ve Hun dillerinin olduklarına inanıyorlardı.

19.yüzyılın sonundan itibaren yalnızca birkaç dilbilimci geniş kapsamlı bir kuram tasarlarken dilbilimcilerin çoğu Darwinizme dayalı bir dilsel kavramı kabul edip, sözde bir dil akrabalığı ağacı yarattılar ve birbirleriyle gerçek bir tarihi bağlantıya sahip olmayan dil aileleri saptamasında bulundular.¹ Yeni dilsel kavram temelinde Ön-Dilleri yeni baştan kurma ile iştigal oldular. Gábor Bálint'e göre bu tamamen gereksizdi. Tarihçiler arasında bozkır kabilelerinin tüm efsanelerini ve hikayelerini yadsıyan müspetçilik yaygın hale gelmişti. Bunun sonucu olarak da onlar bu toplulukların tarihi geleneklerini kabul etmediler.

Bu dönem zarfında, önceleri hayranlık duyulan Hun halkı canavar ve barbar bir toplum olup çıkmıştı ve bilim adamları barbarlar, vahşiler vb. tamamen menfi damgalamalar yazmak zorunda kalmışlardı. Hunlara dönük yayınlarda onlar sabit meskenleri, şehirleri olmayanlar, yazıyı bilmeyenler ve herşeyi medeni halklardan yani Hint-Avrupalılardan öğrenenler olarak tasvir edilmekteydiler. Yeni tarihsel yaklaşım ve dilbilim faraziyeleri, neticelere büsbütün gölge düşürmüştü ve maalesef onun menfi etkileri günümüzde hala, özellikle de bu köhne savların tahakkümündeki resmi Macar bilim çevrelerinde kendini hissettirmektedir.

Batı Avrupa Dilleri yeni dilbilimsel sınıflandırmadan etkilenmezken Hun bilincine sahip milletler bilhassa Macarlar kökeni bilinmeyen Sibiryalı budunlar olarak listelendiler.

Yüzyılın dönümünde meselenin ağırlık merkezi eğreti olarak Türk ırkı lehinde yön değişti. Kimi Macar alimleri ,başlıca olarak János Fogarasi ve Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna Moğol ve Mançu dillerini tetkik ederek üstte zikredilen dillerin Macarca ile çok yakın olduğunu keşfettiler. Onlar bu gerçeği Hun İmparatorluğundan kalma ortak dilsel miras olarak yorumladılar. Ne yazık ki, bu mütehassıs inceleme

¹ Marcantonio,2006.

yöntemi sonraki bilim adamları tarafından terkedildi ve Macar dilbilimciler Macar dilinin Hunca mirası üzerinde daha fazla durmadılar. Gyula Németh ve Zoltán Gombocz bu hususta yegane istisnayı teşkil etmektedirler.

Günümüzde Hun dili araştırmaları resmi Macar Dilbilim sahasından tamamıyla çıkartılmış durumdadır ve Moğolcanın yahut akraba herhangi bir İç Asya dilinin ehemmiyeti kafi derecede ilgiyi haketmemektedir.²

Doerfer Hun diline dair neşrettiği görkemli çalışmasında Barthold, Aşmarin ve Pritsak'ın bu lisanı Çuvaş –Türk zümresinin bir üyesi olarak gördüklerini yazar. Bu beyanat Macar dilinin kökeni açısından önemlidir zira araştırmacılar Macarca'daki Türkçe ödünçlemelerin" ekseriyyetinin Çuvaşça karakteri taşıdığını ifade etmişlerdir. Gábor Bálint'in³ Macarca hususunda Çuvaş dilinin etkisini reddettiği kaydedilmelidir. Ona göre Macarca ve Moğolca Macarca ve Çuvaşça'dan daha yakındır. Bu görüşü Nicholas Poppe de yinelemiştir.⁴ Poppe bu benzerliklerin ortak bir Hun soyu ile bağlantılı olduğu fikrindedir.

Doerfer iki büyük dilbilimci Klaproth ve Semenov'un Hun dilini Macarca ile özdeşleştirdiklerinden bahseder. Bu görüşün mühim derecede Macarların kökeni araştırmalarını etkileyecek olmasına karşın Macar dilbilimciler tarafından nazar-ı itibara alınmamış olması tuhaftır.

Diğer araştırmacılar (Venelin, Velitman, Zabelin, vb.) Hun dilinin varislerinin Slavlar olduklarını düşünmüşlerdir.⁵ Slav dillerinin pek çok Hunca kelimeyi ve kültürel öğeyi muhafaza etmesinden dolayı bu tesadüfi değildir.

Günümüzde pekçok bilimadamı için Hunların dilinin yalnızca tek bir halk ya da zümre tarafından korunmuş olduğu tasvip edilemezdir. Dahası, onların yegane torunları olarak Sibiryalı küçük toplulukları görmek kabil değildir. Bu fikri Pulleyblank öne sürmüştür, Vovin ve Ligeti de onaylamışlardır. Fakat bu nasıl gerçek olabilir? Kadim, uzun ömürlü ve şumüllü bir imparatorluk mirasının sadece, yaşam alanının Hunların merkezi sahasının çok uzağında konuşlu küçük bir halk zümresi ile kalmış olduğu mantığa aykırıdır. Ne Ostyaklar ne de Ketler bağımsız bir devlet kurabilmişlerdir. Onlar kadim dünyanın en büyük imparatorluğunu yaratmış Hunların tersine kabile tarzlı bir topluluk hayatı sürdürmüşlerdir.

Başka araştırmacıların da kanıtladığı gibi Hun dili mirası yalnızca tek bir halk tarafından değil tüm Avrasya bozkır sahasındaki pek çok millet tarafından muhafaza edilmiştir.

Izabella Horváth, Hun dilinin kökeni üzerine savların karşılaştırmalı tanıtımını ortaya koyan bir çalışma yayınlayıp, Hunların Moğol, Türk, Slav, Fin vb. kökenli olduğunu düşünen yazarların bir dökümünü çıkardı.

O, Çinli araştırmacıların sonuçlarını özetleyen ilk kişiydi. En ilginç görüşlerden biri, Hun dönemi müddetince Altay dillerinin bölümlere ayrılmadığını, bu sebepten Huncanın Ön-Altay dili olarak kabul edilebileceğini ifade eden Çinli Wu'nun görüşüdür.⁶

² Orta Asya Türk Dilleri ya da Saka Dilleri

³ Bálint, 1877. VII.

⁴ Marcantonio, 2006.

⁵ Doerfer, 1973.13.

Üstte alıntılanan savlar Hunların Avrasya'daki değişik milletlerin dilleri içerisinde derin izler bıraktıklarını ve onların dünya tarihine büyük bir etkiye bulduklarını göstermekte ve dahası Hunların birdenbire ortadan kalmadıklarını imlemektedir. Maalesef, Eski İç Asya halklarına yönelik araştırmalar müşkülatsız değildir. En büyük sorun yarım yüzyılı aşkın bir süredir dilbilimcilerin eski devirlerin muhtelif halklarını Hint-Avrupalılar, Fin-Ugorlar vb. kimi hayali dil ailelerine göre tasniflendirmeleridir.⁷ Tutarlı hiçbir vesika olmamasına ve tarihsel sürecin Perslerin birçok İskitçe kelimeyi ve askeri teçhizatı benimsediklerine delalet etmesine karşın İskitler hala İrani halklar arasında zikredilmekte ve kabul edilmektedirler. Birkaç İskitçe sözcük ve kültürel öge tüm Avrasya bölgesine yayılmıştır ve bunların sadece üstteki dil ile irtibatı yoktur.

Rasmus Mask ve 19. yüzyılın benzeri diğer dilbilimcilerin yaptığı gibi daha erken halkları İskit ve Hun dili zümresi ile bağlantılı bir biçimde kendi isimleri altında zikretmek çok daha iyi olacaktır. Schöning son zamanlarda Moğol dilleri üzerine yapılan çalışmaların derlemesini yayınladı ve Türk ve Moğol dillerinin yüksek oranda benzerliğinin ortak bir köken göstergesi olabileceği, bunun da temelini Hun ya da Sien-pi veyahut Hun-Sienpi dili olduğu iddiasında bulundu.⁸

İki İç Moğolistanlı bilimadamı Hugjiltu ve Uchiraltu kendi tarihi dilbilimsel araştırmaları temelinde aynı sonuca varmışlardır. Onlara göre, Türk ve Moğol dilleri arasında muhtemelen ortak bir ataya (Hun dili) çıkan, benzerlik arzedeleyen binin üzerinde kelime vardır. Hugjiltu bununla beraber ortak sözcüklerin ödünçlemeler olamayabileceklerini; onların gerçekte Türk ve Moğol halklarının eski zamanlardan günümüze değin yakın bir bağlantıya sahip olduklarını gösterdiği iddiasındadır. Bu gerçek yalnızca dilsel benzeşmeler ile değil aynı zamanda müşterek bir yaşam biçimi ve hatta siyasi teşkilatlanma ile de ortaya konulmaktadır.⁹ Kimi bilim adamları Türk-Moğol münasebetlerinin sadece coğrafi bazlı ilişkilere dayalı olduğu düşüncesindedirler. Rassadin'e göre bu da sadece Orta Asya'da vuku bulmuştur. Moğolların orada ancak 13.yüzyılda ortaya çıkmış olmasından ötürü bu doğru bir sav değildir.

Son on yıl içinde pekçok dilbilimci¹⁰ dil aileleri savlarının meşruiyetini sorguladı, bu nedenle gelecek on yıllarda uluslararası bilim dahilinde yeni savların ortaya çıkacağı ve 19.yüzyıldan kalma miadını doldurmuş dilbilim yöntemlerinin yavaş yavaş unutulmaya yüz tutacağı fazlasıyla beklenmektedir. İlginç bir teşebbüs, dünya dilleri arasında tek kaynak ihtimalini araştıran Santa Fe üniversitesindeki geniş bir beynelmilel araştırma programıdır.

Uluslararası yazının İskitçe'nin Hint-Avrupalı yahut İranlı kökenli olduğuna ayan beyan bir biçimde sahip çıkmasından dolayı onların dili üzerine hemen hemen hiçbir tartışmanın yaşanmaması ilginçtir. Hunların dili ise oldukça ihtilaflıdır; bunun temelinde onun hangi Türk diline Çuvaşça türünden bir r'' Türkçesi'ne mi yoksa Ortak Türkçe gibi z'' Türkçe'sine mi ait olup olmadığı yatmaktadır. Çünkü Attila'nın ortanca oğlu Dengizik'in adında -z sesi vardır. Dilbilimciler bunu Avrupa Hunlarının Ortak

⁶ Wu 2005. 10.

⁷ Marcantonio, 2006.

⁸ Schöning, 2006.

⁹ Hugjiltu, 2002. 188.

¹⁰ Marcantonio sözde bir Hint-Avrupa dil ailesinin Georgi Stephan da sözde bir Altayca dil ailesinin olmadığını kanıtlamıştır.

Türk Dilini konuştukları yargısına delil olarak alırlar. Şahsi kanaatim tartışmanın harareti içerisinde insanlar bir kaç şeyi açıklığa kavuşturmayı unutmışlardır: "r" ve "z" gerçekte bu ayrı Türk dillerinin mühim bir farklılığını mı teşkil etmektedir yoksa yalnızca lehçe farklılıklarını mı içermektedir.

Uchiraltu'nun ifade ettiği üzere, Hun kabileleri sonraki diğer bozkır halkları gibi sınıflandırılmış, resmi sabit bir lisana malik değillerdi. Bu sebepten, Hunların dili bölgelere göre değişmekteydi. Çindeki Çin Seddi'nden Karpat havzasına kadarki alan dahilinde muazzam sayıda lehçe türünün var olduğu hesaba katıldığında bu mevzunun lehçe içerisindeki küçük bir farklılıktan başka birşey olmadığı ziyadesiyle muhtemeldir.

Bir diğer çözüme kavuşturulmamış mesele Hun adının kökenbilimsel izahıdır. Hunların bir tür Türkçe konuştuğunu kabul edenlerin aynı zamanda imparatorluğun adının("Hun") Moğolca bir kelime olduğunu tasdik etmeleri ilginçtir. Onlar bunu adam manasına gelen "hun" (ya da kümün) sözcüğünden getirmektedirler ki, bu başlı başına büyük bir çelişkidir. Hunlar Türkçe konuştu iseler neden onlar kendi adlarını yabancı bir dilden ödünç aldılar? Böylesi gelişmiş bir medeniyet yaratabilmiş Hunlar kendilerini adlandıracak bir kelimeye sahip değiller miydi?

Hunlarla ilgili meseleye dönersek, günümüz araştırmalarının odağı yeni dilsel savlar yaratma ve muhtelif bozkır halklarının yakınlığı mevzunu çözüme kavuşturmaya yöneliktir. Birçok Hunca kelimeyi korumuş Eski Çin kaynaklarının bilimadamlarına yararı dokunmaktadır. Bu kayıtlarda zaptedilen Hunca sözcükler yalnızca Türk dilleri içerisinde değil aynı zamanda Moğol, Mançu ve hatta Macar dillerinde de bulunabilmektedir ki bu, Hun devlet ve kültürünün tüm Avrasya bozkır topluluklarına kati bir suretle tesirde bulunması ile uyumlu olarak birçok lisanın Hunların dili ile bağlantılı olduğunu keza üstte bahsi geçen halkların Hunların torunları olduklarını göstermektedir.

Çince kaynaklarda muhafaza edilmiş Hunca sözcüklerin ehemmiyetine Otto Maenchen-Helfen tarafından dikkat çekilmiştir. Hakikaten, Çin dili oldukça yüksek oranda kökenleri su götürür yabancı kelimeyi muhteva ediyor. Çin dili ve medeniyeti hususunda tanınmış Macar uzman Péter Polonyi at yetiştiriciliği ile alakalı Macarca kelimelerin Çince kelimelere çok benzediğini bunun da ortak bir kökeni akla getirdiğini yazmıştır.¹¹ Her iki dilin de onları Hunlardan almış olması bir hayli muhtemeldir. İç Moğolistan üniversitesinden Mang Muren 2004'te bir makale yayınladı ve Çinliler arasında hararetle tartışılan ilginç bir savı tanıttı.¹² O, Çin dili içinde Moğolca sözcüklerle benzeşen yaklaşık dörtbin kelimenin mevcut olduğunu iddia eder. Bu muazzam miktardaki sözcükleri tetkik edersek sonuç bizi Hunlara götürebilir. Gelecek yıllarda İskitlere ve Hunlara dönük uluslararası araştırma sonuçlarının çok miktardaki dilsel ve tarihi meseleyi açıklığa kavuşturacağı ve bunun tarih öncesi Macar araştırmalarını da etkileyeceği umulmaktadır.

Hun Dilbilimi

İç Moğolistanlı Uchiraltu beynelmilel dilbilim araştırmalarına yeni bir renk getirmiştir. Üstte bahsi geçen bilim adamları yalnızca birkaç kelime ve tabiri ele alırken o, Çin vesikaları içerisinde kalan

¹¹ Polonyi, 1986, 220.

¹² www.china.org.cn/english/culture/120785.htm

sözcüklerin yeni baştan kurumu için bir sistem yaratmış, kelimeleri Eski Çin ses değerlerine göre dönüştürüp aktarmış, Erken Türk ve Moğol sözlüklerine göz atmış ve onlar için en uygun karşılıkları bulmaya çalışmıştır bu sebepten de Hunca kelimelerle mukayese edilecek en erken sözcük ve tabirleri saptamaya gayret göstermiştir. Türkçenin Hunların dili ile aynı, farkın ise bir lehçe farkından daha az olduğunu kaydeden Wei-shu'nun¹³ malumatları Uchiraltu'yu Erken Türk ve Moğol dillerinin Hun lisanının kelimelerini sağlıklı bir şekilde muhafaza ettikleri sonucunu çıkartmaya sevk etmiştir. Onun ana kaynakları Erken Türkçe yazıtlar, sözlükler ve 13.yüzyıla ait Moğolların Gizli Tarihi idi. İki imparatorluk mevki itibarıyla Hun imparatorluğundan çok uzakta değillerdi; Hunlar M.S 5.yüzyıla kadar Orta Asya ve Avrupa bozkır sahasının çoğunluğuna hakimdiler sonrasında başat sıfatlarını kaybettiler. Yeni tarihsel sonuçlara göre Hun kabileleri 8. yüzyıla kadar kendi başlarına varlıklarını devam ettirmişlerdir.¹⁴ Uchiraltu'nun dilsel çalışması yalnızca konusu açısından dolayı değil aynı zamanda mutlak dilsel görüşlerinden ötürü de heyecan yaratmıştır. Bunun yanında o, dilsel araştırmalarında tarihi, dilsel ve etnografik çalışmaların neticelerini de kullanmış; bu yöntem kendi beyanatlarının doğruluğunu mühim seviyede kıymetlendirmiştir. O, dilsel seviyede kalmamış; kendi görüşünü sadece sonuç kültürel ve tarihi gerçekler tarafından desteklendiğinde yazıya geçirmiştir. Bu, dilsel araştırma için çok ehemmiyet arzeden bir yöntemdir; aşağıdaki Macarca örnekler denkliğin yüzeysel tarzda bir benzerlik ilişkisinin çok ötesine geçtiğini ispatlamaktadır.

Onun araştırması Macar-Hun bağlantılarına tesir edecek kimi önemli öğeler içeriyor. Uchiraltu'nun çalışmaları Erken Türk ve Moğolca kelimelerin Hun dilinde mevcut olduğunu, ödünclemelere dair bahsetmemizin doğru olmayacağını bundan ziyade Türkçe, Moğolca, Macarca ve diğer akraba halkların İskit ve Hun dillerinden mürekkep bir sistemle yakinen ilişkili olduklarını göstermektedir. Onun çalışması muhtemelen Hun dili araştırmalara ilave bir itici güç kazandıracaktır.

Kimi Hunca Tabirler

Mühür

Uchiraltunun çalışması Hunların "mühürdar" için sonraları Türk, Moğol ve hatta Sanskrit dillerinde ortaya çıkan *pichigechi* ünvanını kullandıklarını gösteriyor. Bununla beraber, kelimeye Macar dilinde ise *pecsét* olarak rastlanabilmektedir. Macar Tarihi Etimolojik Sözlüğü onu bir Slavca ödünçleme olarak tanımlar fakat Slavca kelimenin bizatihi menşei açıklanamamaktadır.

Kök "pichi" yalnızca "mühür" değil aynı zamanda "mektup" anlamına da gelir.¹⁵ *Bichi* Moğol dilinde "yazmak" demektir, *bichig* "yazı" manasındadır. Clauson'un sözlüğünde "bich-" kökü, runik yazının eski yazılış yöntemi ile alakalı "kesmek, oymak" manalarını ifade eder. Avrasya bozkırlarının kadim halkları kendi yazı sistemine yahut runik sistemine maliktiler. Kimi Kuzeybatı Türk lehçelerinde *pichu* şekli mevcuttur. Ağacın oyulduğu nesneyi temsil eden, bir çeşit bıçak anlamındaki Macarca "*bichka*"yı da anmak gerekir. Clauson'un sözlüğüne göre bu kelime Eski Türk dillerinde '*bıçak, kılıç*' manasına

¹³ Wei-shu, VIII. 250.

¹⁴ Obrusánszky, 2010. 323.

¹⁵ TESz III. 141.

gelmekteydi.¹⁶ Yazı(*bich*) ve yazma aracının birbiriyle irtibatlı olması kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Uchiraltu tarafından yeni baştan kurulan *pichik* sözcüğü yazı ve oyma işinin birbiriyle yakinen irtibatlı olduklarını gösteriyor. Tüm İç Asya içerisindeki muhtelif simgeler (yaşam ağacı işaretleri, gamalı haç vb.) bizleri bozkır halklarına götürebiliyor. Ayrıca erken Türkçe "irü" sözcüğü üstte bahsi geçen yazı sözcüğü ile bağlantılı olabilir fakat Clauson onu 'belgü' işareti yahut 'damga'¹⁷ ile ilişkilendirmiştir.

Macarca'daki yazı ile alakalı sözcüğün bizi Orta ve İç Asya'ya çıkarması da dikkate değerdir.

Gerçi Macar Etimolojik sözlüğü Macarca 'ir' ('yazma') kelimesinin Çuvaşça karakterli Eski Türk dilinde 'yaz-' olduğunu ifade etse bile varsayılan asli şekil *ir* olabilir. Bu sözcük, Hunların diğer bir bağı olan Moğol dilinde de keşfedilmiştir.¹⁸ Szentkatolnai'ya göre Macarca 'ir' sözcüğü Moğolca 'ira' ile ilintilidir. Sonuncusu 'oyma' manasına sahiptir.¹⁹

Aynı neticeye onu, "işaret, simge" ile irtibatlandırılan Czuczor Fogarasi Sözlüğünün²⁰ yazarları da varmıştır. Yakınlarda Katalin Csornai Macarca 'ró'nun ('oyma') bir Hunca kelime olarak Çin vesikalarında 'lu' şeklinde var olduğunu²¹ ve de oyma yazıların ve bu yazma işinin kutsal görüldüğünü ortaya koymuştur.

Macar etimoloji sözlüğü 'ró' kelimesinin kökenine dair herhangi bir görüş sunmuyor.²² Üstte bahsi geçen üç kelimenin son on yıllar boyunca keşfedilen Orta Asya dahilindeki runik abidelerin bulgularıyla tamamlanan böylesi erken bir dönem içerisinde bulunduğu gerçeği, bozkır halklarının sonradan Türk, Avar, Eftalit ve diğerleri arasında varlığını sürdüren, gelişmiş bir edebi kültüre sahip olduklarının apaçık bir delilidir.

Kadar, Baş Yargıç

Uchiraltu'ya göre 'godouhou' Çin kaynaklarının kaydettiği üzere Hunların önemli bir ünvanıydı. Moğol dilbilimci onu 'kutugu' olarak yeni baştan kurar. Eski Türk halkları arasında ilintili bir ünvan olarak 'kut' ya da 'gu' a rastlanabilmektedir. Clauson'a göre menşeyi belirsiz olan 'idikut' ünvanı Uygurlar, Türkler ve vesaire arasında kabilelerin yöneticilerinin rütbesi idi.²³ Uchiraltu Çin ve Orta Asya kaynaklarını tetkik etmiş ve Hunlar arasında baş yargıç rütbesinin 'kutugu' olduğunu bulmuştur. Moğollar 'kukuktu' sözcüğünü muhafaza etmişler ve onu hala Budist azizlerini tanımlamak amacıyla kullanmaktadırlar. Eski Türk dillerinde kut sözcüğü Tanrının inayeti manasına gelirdi fakat aynı zamanda güç ve cenap da demektir.²⁴

¹⁶ Clauson, 1972. 293.

¹⁷ Clauson, 1972. 197. Macarca 'bélyeg' sözcüğü Moğolca'daki belge'dir.

¹⁸ Clauson, 1972. 293.

¹⁹ Bálint, 1877. 24.

²⁰ Czuczor-Fogarasi, 2003.

²¹ DeGroot, 2006. 69. 554. dipnot

²² TESz III. 426.

²³ Clauson, 1972. 46.

²⁴ Clauson, 1972. 594.

Yazar Çinli dilbilimcilerine atıfta bulunarak, Batı Hunlarının göç süreci esnasında kimi dilsel değişmelerin vuku bulunduğunu: 'a'ya tercihen 'u' sesinin kullanıldığını, böylelikle esas 'kutugu' şeklinin 'katagu' ya da 'kadagu' olduğunu ifade eder.²⁵ Çince malumatlar Hunların baş yargıcının Kadar olarak geçtiği eski Macar yıllıklarının doğruluğunu kanıtlamıştır. Ek veriye de sahibiz örneğin Türkçe'ye çevrilen ve uzunca bir süre Türkiye'de bulunan Tarihi Üngürüs. Onun içinde Hunların baş kumandanı, 'kadar'ın bir biçimi olabilecek 'Kattar'dı.

Ünlü macar tarihçi Arnold Ipolyi 'kadar'ın eski yargıç-rahip sisteminin temsilcisi olduğunu düşünmüştür.²⁶ Benzer şekilde Podhracky, Türkçe 'kad' ve 'kadı' ile benzerlik arzeden Partça 'cat', 'kad' ya da 'cat-ousi' gibi 'kadar'ın esasen keşiş ve rahip olduğu yönünde bir izahatta bulunmuştur.²⁷ Onun keza kimi değişik biçimleri de mevcuttur örneğin György Györffy'a göre 'kadir' bir Hazar rütbesi idi ve aynı ada Erken macar Krallığı içerisinde, kimi şahıs ve yer isimlerinde ve Kadarkaluz kabile adında rastlanabilmektedir.²⁸ Macar Tarihi Etimolojik Sözlüğü onu Bulgarca'dan getirtir. ²⁹ Eski Bulgar tarihi kaynaklarından ve Bulgar Hanları listesinden bildiğimiz üzere baştaki zümre Attila'dan inmiştir.

İnanç (Hit)

Uchiraltu'ya göre inanç sözcüğü önem teşkil eden bir Hunca ünvanıdır. Moğol bilimadamı onu Moğolca Toprak Ana kültü ile yakinen ilişkili bulmuştur. Bu yeni veri, etimoloji sözlüğünün kökeni bilinmeyen olarak tanımladığı³⁰ inanç sözcüğünü anlamının yeni bir anahtarıdır. Orta Asya'nın bozkır halklarının Tanrıçası çoğunlukla Toprak Ana diye hürmet gösterdikleri Etügen (birkaç değişik adlandırmalar var olsa da) adıyla tanınır. Tarihi kaynaklarda o farklı şekillerde zikredilir: kimi yerlerde o Etügen'dir, bir Türk kaynağı ona kutsal dağ ve ormanı ifade eden Ötüken adını verir. Moğolistan'da coğrafi isimlere sıklıkla Eej yani Ana adı verilmiştir; örnekler: Ana Kayalık, Ana Ağaç ya da Dindar Ana. Diğer Ana adları Ana Tanrıça ya da Yeryüzü Anası'dır. Zundui Altangerel'e göre Budist öncesi Moğolistan'da herbir yurt içinde Toprak Ana(Etügen ilahı)'nın sunağı asılıydı.³¹

Etügen, Ötüken, Idugan şekillerine geç Türk ve Moğol kaynaklarında rastlanılmaktadır fakat onun kökeni daha az incelenmiştir. Toprak Ana inancını araştırdığımda üstteki terimlerin hepsinin Macarca 'hit' ('inanç')³² sözcüğü ile ilintili olduğunu farkettim. Uchiraltu'nun onu Çin yıllıklarındaki Hunca kelimeler arasında o dönemin bir ünvanı olan 'hitü' ya da 'hidü' şekli ile bulması benim için büyük bir sürpriz olmuştur.³³

²⁵ Uchiraltu, 1996. 3. 55.

²⁶ Ipolyi, 1854. 465.

²⁷ Ipolyi, 1854. 466.

²⁸ TESz II. 301.

²⁹ TESz II. 302.

³⁰ TESz. II. 129.

³¹ ZUNDUI Altangerel'in malumatı

³² UCHIRALTU 1997: 113.

³³ UCHIRALTU 1997: 114.

Türkçe belgelerde '*idug*'³⁴ aziz anlamı ile geçer. Bunun Macarca inanç sözcüğünün bir akrabası olabilmesi mümkündür. İnanç sözcüğünün Macarca taydaşına gelince, ünlü Macar Türkolog Ármin Vámbéry onu Yakut dilinde '*itegel*' olarak Gábor Bálint ise Moğolca'da '*itegen*' ya da '*sitügen*' olarak bulmuştur: lakin bu yorumlamalar tam bir denklik arzedeilmelerine karşın diğer Macar dilbilimciler tarafından dikkate alınmamışlardır.³⁵ Bu sözcüğün Hun dili ile bağlantılı olduğuna onun Türkçe, Moğolca, Macarca yanında Eski Bulgarca'da da '*aziz*' anlamına gelen '*itzig*'³⁶ biçimiyle bulunabilmesinden daha iyi bir kanıt olamaz. Sanskritçe'de o, '*iyi*', '*iyilik yapan*', '*arkadaşlık*', '*iyi eylem*', '*iyi niyet*' anlamlarına gelir.³⁷

Horde, Yüce Hükümdarın Başşehri

Eski zamanlarda Orta ve İç Asya halkları arasında '*horde*' sözcüğü çok önemli bir terimdi. Clauson'un sözlüğünde '*ordu*' kelimesi hükümdar sarayı ve meskeni anlamıyla Türklere geçmiş Moğolca bir ödünçlemedir. Horde kabile önderlerinin, sonrasında kağanların ya da yüce hükümdarların merkezi idi. Uchiraltu, sözcüğün Hunlar arasında Çinlilerin kaydettiği yu-tu biçimiyle bulunabildiği düşüncesindedir. Erken Türk halkları için '*orta*' '*arada olma*', '*merkez*' demektir.³⁸ Ruslar onu '*gorod*' olarak hala kullanmaktadırlar.³⁹ Şehir anlamını veren bu kelime '*ghordas*' olarak telaffuz edilir, bu nedenle de horde'ye bağlanabilmektedir. Dolayısıyla, kimi Macarca yer adlarında geçen -grad son ekinin Slavca kökenli olabileceği şüphelidir ve ona daha ziyade Hunların mirası nazarıyla bakmamız gerekir. Uchiraltu Horde'yi aynı merkez anlamına gelen fakat sonrasında bir aile ismi '*hane*'ye dönüşen '*yurt*' (ikamet yeri, yuvarlak bir çadır) ile irtibatlandırır.

Süt (Tong)

Uchiraltu süt anlamındaki Hunca '*dong / tong*' sözcüğünü yeni baştan kurmuş ve onun Moğolca '*sün*' (süt) ile olan bağlantısını belirtmiştir. O, aynı zamanda Doğu Moğolca gorlos lehçesindeki süt kelimesinin bu lehçeyi konuşanların '*s*' yerine '*t*' kullanmasına binaen '*tun*' ya da '*tün*' olduğunu bildirmiştir. Bu veri Macarlar için de ehemmiyet arzedebilir. Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna süt sözcüğünün Moğolca ve Macarca biçimleri arasındaki koşutlukları sezmesine karşın onların birbirleri ile nasıl bağlantılı olduklarına tam manasıyla ikna edici bir izahat getirememiştir. Uchiraltu şimdi izahatı ortaya koymuş durumdadır. Gerçekten de, Macar Czuczor-Fogarasi etimoloji sözlüğü kıymetli bir veri sunuyor: süt, Sekel lehçesinde '*té*' biçimindedir. Orta Asya Çağatay dilinde üstte zikredilen Hunca tabir ile bağlantıya sahip '*sai*' sözcüğünü buluyoruz.⁴⁰ Çağatay dili Eskicil Moğolca'da bulunabilen pek çok sözcüğü

³⁴ CLAUSON 1972: 46.

³⁵ Macarca '*hit*' sözcüğü kimi Macarca dilbilimciler için bilinmeyen bir kelimedir. Eski Türk ve Moğol dilleri sözbaşı h' sesini muhteva etmişlerdi, bu sebepten, eski biçim '*hid / hit*' olabilir.

³⁶ Dobrev, 2006. 347.

³⁷ Éva Aradi'nin malumatı. Hint kökenli sözcüklere gelince, onları kadim İskit ve İskit-Hun ya da Hun mirası olarak saymalıyız.

³⁸ Clauson, 1972. 203.

³⁹ Clauson, 1972. 203.

⁴⁰ TESz III. 876.

muhteva etmektedir. Etimolojik sözlüğe göre Macarca'daki süt kelimesi İrani kökenli bir ödünçlemedir ve 'emmek' anlamına gelen Eski İranci 'dhayati' fiilinden gelir. Ayrıca sütanne kelimesi ile de ilintilidir; zira sütanne ve göğüsteki süt yakinen irtibatlıdır. Moğolca veri ayrıca 'sayı'nın 'sağma' ve 'dolu'nun 'iki kere emzirilmiş kuzu' manasına gelmesiyle de benzer bir uyuşma gösterir. Ben bir dilbilimci değilim fakat yüksek derecedeki benzerlikten dolayı hem İrani hem de Moğolca biçimlerin Macarca ile ilintili olabileceğine bunun da bu sözcüğün ortak bir kaynağa yani Hunlara kadar uzandığı manasının çıkarılması gerektiğine inanmaktayım. Bu tamamıyla akla yatkın durmaktadır çünkü tüm hayvan adları ve süt ile alakalı terimler Avrasya bozkır dünyası kökenlidir ve sıkı bir biçimde Hunlarla bağlantılıdır.

Ayran

Etimoloji sözlüğü 'ayran' için Macarca kelimeyi, en erken şekli *irago' biçiminde olan eski bir Çuvaşça ödünçleme olarak görür. Uchiraltu'nun metninde Çine özgü bir süt mamülünü lao olarak bulabilmekteyiz. Katalin Csornai Çin halkının o dönemlerde süt ürünlerini tüketmediğinden, onun yaygın kullanımına ve şimdilerde başlıca tüketilen mayalı ürünlerden biri olduğuna son birkaç yıldır müşahede edildiğinden hareketle bu sözcüğün de Hunca menşeli olduğu sonucunu çıkartmıştır. Geçmişte süt ürünleri esasen bozkır halkları tarafından tüketilmekteydi. Bozkır halklarıyla alakalı etnografik gözlemlerden ve tarihi kayıtlardan ekşimsi süt mamüllerinin oldukça yaygın olduğunu, bununla beraber, taze sütün yalnızca çocuklar, yaşlılar ve manevi önderler tarafından içildiğini bilmekteyiz. Ayran kelimesine dönecek olursak, Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna onu biçimsel ve sesçil nedenlerden dolayı Moğolca *airag*⁴¹ (mayalanmış süt kabı) ile bağlantılı görür. Sonrasında, György Kara Macarca 'író ya da ayran ile Moğolca *agurag*, *uurag* arasında bir bağlantı tesis etmiştir. Şahsi düşüncem Szentkatolnai'nın tetkikinin Kara'nunkinden daha doğru olduğu yönündedir zira kelime ürünün mayalanmış olması gerektiğine işaret etmektedir.

Bú ya da Sihir

Bú (sihir) ve *báj* (tılsım) kelimeleri kimi eski tedavi yöntemlerini imlemektedir. Sadece kelime değil aynı zamanda Avrasya kökenli tüm tedavi usulleri bir zamanlar Hunlar tarafından mesken tutulmuş geniş topraklar içerisinde varlığını sürdürmüştür. Onun değişik biçimleri İç Asya ve Macar entellektüel kültürü ve hatta halk tıbbı içerisinde hala gözlemlenebilmektedir. *Bú*, kadim doğa dini yani şamanizmi uygulayan, büyücü manasındaki Türkçe ve Moğolca 'böge' sözcüğü ile koşutluklara sahiptir.⁴² Tibet'de bu eski inanca Bön (Batı yazınında bon) denir. Bu kelime zümresinin en batı üyesi, akademisyen Arnold İpolyi'ye göre esasen "afsun" manasına gelen Macarca 'bú' sözcüğüdür.⁴³ Czuczor-Fogarasi Lügatı

⁴¹ Szentkatolnai, 1877. 24.

⁴² Şaman eski dinsel lideri ifade eden Tunguzca kökenli bir sözcüktür. Eski İç Asya kaynakları onun için bõ, bú, ya da bõn sözcüğünü kullanmışlardır.

⁴³ Macar Etimoloji Sözlüğüne göre, bú, búv (tılsım) Eski Türkçe kökenlidir ve Uygurca böğü (sihir) ve Çağatayca büyü'ye yakın durmaktadır fakat Moğolca böge ve Kalmukça bö'yu de listeye dahil etmeliyiz. TESz I. 405.

aşağıdaki izahatı veriyor: bizi gizem ve merak içerisinde bırakan bir çekicilik. Bir kimsenin ya da birşeyin, hayranlık duyulacak bir sevgi uyandıran ve kendisine bağlayan cinsten sevimli özelliği.⁴⁴

Tüm bunlar büsbütün Avrasya bölgesi dahilinde İskit ve Hunların dini olan doğaya ait kadim bir inancın var olduğunu ve buna da 'büyü' denildiğini göstermektedir. Kimi araştırmacılar inanç büyüünün, kaynakların sıklıkla sihirli bir kadın 'Wu'dan bahsettiği Kadim Çin medeniyetinde de var olduğu konusunda mutabıktırlar. Maspero, Uchiraltu, MacKenzie ve diğerleri Eski Çin kaynaklarına istinaden yalnızca Çince 'wu' kelimesinin değil aynı zamanda tüm tedavi yöntemlerinin bozkır halklarından çıktığı iddiasındadırlar.⁴⁵ 'Bü' sözcüğünün, 'büyü', 'sihirbazlık' anlamına gelen Eski Türkçe kökenli olduğu kabul edilir. Czuczor-Fogarasi sözlüğü 'bü' ve 'báj'ı ortak bir kaynaktan türemiş iki kelime olarak tanımlar. Ve akademik düzeyde iki dilbilimci her iki sözcüğü 'gizemli, sihirli şeyleri kavrama konusunda mahir' anlamındaki 'bölc's'('akıllı') sözcüğü ile irtibatlandırmıştır.⁴⁶ 'Báj' kelimesi hususunda Macar Tarihi Etimolojik Sözlüğü onu sihir manasına gelen Eski Türkçe kökenli olarak tarif eder.⁴⁷

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⁴⁴ Czuczor-Fogarasi, 2003.

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*LANGUAGE TEACHING
METHODOLOGIES*

MOLNÁR, Zsolt & MOLNÁRNÉ CZEGLÉDI, Cecília

The Creative Hungarian Language and Its Special Teaching Method

Part 6. : History of Hungarian Language Teaching¹

The teaching of mother-tongue in the distant past meant the teaching of reading and writing: literate people passed their knowledge onto the next generation. They presented the components of the language, made the pupils practice the method and the rules of writing, with the help of shorter and longer texts. According to our knowledge, grammar teaching in the modern sense did not happen. It has only developed later from teaching of the basis of literacy.

Teaching of the Hungarian language, literacy followed a very specific way.

Old Hungarian writing

Unfortunately, very few data are available but the few subsisting sources suggest that Hungarians had their own writing system already in the distant past.² The so-called runic writing system was in use by the time of monarch Árpád (9th century), and probably even before that.

The Old Hungarian writing is a phonemic writing system; its signs have evolved according to the requirements of the Hungarian speech: each Hungarian phoneme is denoted by a single sign. (The short and long vowels were not distinguished.) However, the Latin alphabet did not meet this basic requirement.

According to tradition, the old Hungarian writing was widely spread; it was used by the "educated" people (scholars, bureaucrats, etc.) as well as by the common people (e.g. shepherds). The knowledge was passed from father to son, from master to disciple.

A trauma occurred in writing-reading when the Hungarians were forced to use the extraneous Latin alphabet. Literally, with fire and sword was the Old Hungarian writing system eradicated; it was forbidden to use it under severe punishment and the existing documents written in Old Hungarian were all burnt or destroyed. The most important problem with the Latin script is that there are not enough symbols for the Hungarian phonemes, because the Latin alphabet contains only twenty-four symbols. Therefore, an age-long "wrestling" began with the Latin symbols for adapting them to the Hungarian

¹ Authors' homepage is: <http://www.tisztamagyarnyelv.hu/>

² Vékony Gábor: A székely írás emlékei, kapcsolatai, története (The Memories, Relationships, History of Székely Writing). Nap Kiadó, 2004.

phonemes, which has only calmed down to some degree by the beginning of the twentieth century, but the results are in many cases rather questionable. In the course of the centuries the transcription of Hungarian phonemes by Latin symbols has changed significantly, especially of those phonemes which are absent from the Latin alphabet.

Initially, the greatest difficulty was that the Hungarian phonemes were transcribed by people who spoke hardly any Hungarian and used an insufficient, inappropriate symbol set, consequently leading to doubtful results.

The other major difficulty was that only the official Latin script was allowed; solely the Latin was instructed at school, and instead of teaching the Hungarian language only the Latin was taught. Until the end of the 18th century the education system- firstly exclusively, later predominantly - taught Latin and Latin writing system. Until 1844 Latin was the state language and the exclusive language of official documents.

But how did the Old Hungarian writing survive?

It subsisted amongst the common people, similarly to the Hungarian language. The wise and simple sons of the people preserved it and passed it onto the next generation. The Old Hungarian writing subsisted, so much so that at the second half of the nineteenth century it was still in use in the salt mines of Transylvania, in farmland accounts, or on shepherd's crooks, and folk woodcarvings. The knowledge was transferred from father to son, and it was pushed to the frames of folk art only with the introduction of compulsory primary education at the end of the 19th century. Nowadays its use is booming again though only in a complementary, tradition-reserving manner.

History of language teaching

Teaching of Latin was "the" language education from the era of King St. Stephen (11th century) until the middle of the 18th century. The alphabet books contained only the Latin alphabet and Latin texts (mainly religious texts, most of the time quotes from the Bible). This education –similarly to other parts of Europe- ran in church schools, within religious confines. Here the students were instructed to parochial ministrations.³ Usually it proceeded as follows: first, the priests gathered all the boys who wanted to learn, and then they taught them to read and sing in Latin, familiarized them with the basic vocabulary of ecclesiastical Latin, introduced them to the church rites, and taught them the Latin liturgy texts and songs.

⁴ After that, the bishop could consecrate them.

Broadly this was the method of education until the age of King Matthias (15th century). In the era of the Turkish occupation (16th to 17th century), in the spreading Protestant church schools, it was considered necessary to learn, beside the Latin, also the Greek and Hebrew languages. However, Latin education was first and foremost, and in the higher classes Latin was the language of communication between students.⁵

³ Pukánszky-Német: Neveléstörténet (History of Education). <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/nevelestortenet/index.html#03>

⁴ *idem*

⁵ Pukánszky-Német: Neveléstörténet (History of Education).

In the eighteenth-century Hungary, next to the traditional Latin education, the genteel circles started to claim for Hungarian teaching. Beside the dominating Latin alphabet books, there appeared popular scientific editions in Hungarian, which could be used as study-aids. In some city schools mother tongue teaching was initiated.⁶

During the era of Maria Theresa and that of Joseph II (18th century), as part of the Germanisation scheme, German language teaching appeared in elementary schools. On one page of the alphabet books there was a text in Latin, while on the other page –exactly the same text- in German, and thus learned the students on these “mirror-pages”.

Apart from one or two sparse examples, it was no earlier than in the 18th century, most notably at the end of it, and in the beginning of the 19th century that Hungarian texts started to appear in the schoolbooks, in the “mirror-pages”, as a counterpart of Latin or German. Naturally, with Latin characters, the use of which fluctuated strongly at that time.

Therefore the "Hungarian language teaching" followed the Latin and German language teaching models, it was derived from them.

Its effectiveness was doubtful. Czuczor Gergely complained in his essay “A ‘magyar nyelv’ állapotja Gymnasiuminkban (The status of Hungarian language in our grammar schools)” dated from 1828: “... countless finish both elementary and secondary schools without a Hungarian word to enter church or civil function”.⁷

It is worthwhile to review the changes of the legal context of education:

Maria Theresa released the first educational decree (*Ratio Educationis*) in 1777, drawn with an explicit intention to centralization. It aimed to strengthen the status of the Latin and German languages. There was no place for Hungarian language teaching in secondary and higher education. According to the decree, Latin had to be the language of education henceforward. In the first years of secondary school education, the mother tongue acted as an adjunct language, until the students would be able to understand the unilingual explanations. In contrary to this, German language teaching got prominent role on every level. Only in the first classes of the elementary schools was it possible to learn Hungarian language, and exclusively by the “mirror-pages” method.

Obviously, Joseph II favored German too; he even wanted to replace Latin with German in the Hungarian National Assembly. According to his decree, nobody could start secondary grammar school without German writing-reading knowledge. German had to be taught in every school at every level, and German even became the language of secondary school education in Hungary.

The second *Ratio Educationis* was released in 1806. This eliminated the previous compulsory education of German – issued under Joseph II. German was taught only to the students who wanted it. The second *Ratio Educations* above all pushed Latin education.

⁶ *idem*

⁷ Nádor Orsolya: A magyar nyelv politikai státusváltozásai és az oktatás (Political Status Changes of Hungarian Language and Education). Adalékok a magyar nyelv tanításának történetéhez. Anyanyelv-pedagógia, 2009. évi 2. száma, <http://www.anyanyelv-pedagogia.hu/cikkek.php?id=158>

In 1845 the Governor's Council issued the decree "The rules of elementary schools of Hungary". According to it, education in the two lower grades of the elementary school was provided in the mother tongue of the students, while Latin was taught only to students on third grade, who aimed to study in secondary grammar school.

In the draft of the education law of 1848 it was stated that firstly, Hungarian language would be a core subject in all elementary schools, and secondly, that it would be the language of instruction.⁸

However, after the lost War of Independence (1848-1949), in the mid-19th century, the Austrian government increasingly sought to Teutonize the lower level of education. The teaching of German language became compulsory. Books with patriotic inclination were banned from schools, and instead the use of Austrian textbooks translated into Hungarian was ordered.⁹

After the 1868 reconciliation between Hungary and Austria, the new public education law stated that all children should be taught in their native language in public schools.¹⁰

The first public school curriculum, issued in 1868, declared the priority of sounding and the parallel teaching of writing. Gönczy Pál prepared his alphabet and guide book with this intent, and a teaching method, still in use today, was developed at that time: at first the phoneme is taught and then follows the letter.

Later the only change was in Hungarian language teaching that the law of 1958, based on the Soviet model, ordered the sounding-analysing-synthesizing method. Luckily this was more or less the same as the earlier writing-reading method. Nevertheless, the textbooks were all standardized and the diversity of textbooks was eliminated.

In 1963 the subject 'intellect and speech exercises' was cancelled, which used to be an important core subject from 1868 to 1963 in the curricula. The number of mother tongue classes was reduced, the education grew poorer, the foundation of reading weakened.

Major changes were brought in the new curriculum in 1978. This gave way to a variety of language teaching methods. After that time the road was free for the non-"sounding-analysing-synthesizing" methods. The alternative methods included the "word-shape-based" (global) method and some mixed methods. This curriculum reduced further the number of mother tongue classes.

After 1990 the education became freer. The National Basic Curriculum issued in 1995 reinforced the 1978 law on free choice of method. However, most of the mother language teaching methods reverted back to the "traditional" sounding-analysing-synthesizing letter-based method. The frame curriculum issued in 2000 gave further support to it. The subsequent changes have not affected the foundations of the Hungarian language teaching; they solely placed greater emphasis on competency-based education.

⁸ Pukánszky-Német: Neveléstörténet (History of Education). <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/nevelestortenet/index.html#03>

⁹ *idem*

¹⁰ *idem*

Origin of problems in mother tongue teaching

Teaching of Latin was “the” language education from the era of King St. Stephen until the mid-18th century. The alphabet books contained only the Latin alphabet and Latin texts (mainly religious texts, most of the time quotes from the Bible). This education –similarly to other parts of Europe– ran in church schools, within religious confines.

During the era of Maria Theresa and that of Joseph II, as part of the Germanisation scheme, German language teaching appeared in elementary schools. On one page of the alphabet books there was a text in Latin, while on the other page –exactly the same text– in German, and thus learned the students on these “mirror-pages”.

In the 18th century, most notably at the end of it, and in the beginning of 19th century Hungarian texts started to appear in the schoolbooks, in the “mirror-pages”, as a counterpart of Latin or German. Naturally, with Latin characters, the use of which fluctuated strongly at that time.

Therefore it is not surprising that “Hungarian” language teaching is derived from the Latin and German language teaching models, because it has originated from them. Over time it has developed importantly, but we still pay the piper.

There are two big problems with derivation from Latin (and later, German) teaching:

1. Insufficient Latin characters. Early scholars tried to fill this shortage by the transformation or supplementation of the signs. Unfortunately –despite all their good intentions– in many cases the result is doubtful. This causes problems in language teaching today. Let’s see, for example, the difficulty of handling double-character phonemes. There are many children who –subconsciously– think that the double-character letters are in fact aggregations of single phonemes, because this is what the form indicates. But phonetically this is not true. However, the written form suggests that. The teachers know well what problem this causes in teaching. It would have been better not to invent such “mule” letters, but to create entirely new ones. Unfortunately, these deficiencies cause a lot of problem in teaching practice.

For example Sz is not the aggregation of S and Z, Zs is not derived from Z and S, Cs –if needed– would be rather the ensemble of T and S, than that of C and S. Ty, Gy, Ny, Ly could be seen as co-soundings of some alveolar consonants with palatal J, meanwhile Y could be taken as a softening sign, but in this case the D → Gy connection does not follow the order. In this sense Gy was originated from G, but in fact Gy stands much closer to D. (There are more deficiencies, but now we do not discuss them all in detail.)

2. Hungarian is an agglutinating language; Latin, German (and the other languages which served as models) are not. Hungarian language starts with roots, and then glues the other parts to it: creators (derivators) –in series, if needed–, signers and relators. These elements, especially the creators, have very clear and distinct meanings (contrary to the non-agglutinating languages), that by addition or derivation confers the word new meaning. (Please see in detail in our book.¹¹) Hungarian is a creator language; this

¹¹ Molnár Zsolt és Molnárné Czeglédi Cecília: A tiszta magyar nyelv kincseinek megőrzése és tanítása (Preserving and Teaching the Treasures of the Pure Hungarian Language). Püski Kiadó, 2009.

feature should have been emphasized in language teaching. Unfortunately this was not the case until today. Non-agglutinating languages do not know the phenomenon of word-creation, word-construction below word-level, therefore their teaching is different. However, this is what Hungarian teaching should be based on! Unfortunately, earlier language teaching methodologies have not recognized the basic feature of our language and therefore they only followed it in an approximate, unconscious way. They neither emphasised the important difference between Hungarian and non-agglutinating languages nor employed it in language teaching with sufficient deepness.

Summary

In this essay we have discussed the history of Hungarian mother language teaching.

We have seen that the teaching of old Hungarian writing system disappeared almost totally from everyday use; instead of it Latin and later German was taught. Teaching of Hungarian en mass only started in the 19th century, however, with Latin characters. The teaching of Hungarian was based on the Latin and German language teaching models.

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(To be continued)



*ANCIENT WRITING SYSTEM
RESEARCH*

MELLÁR, Mihály

The Isopata Ring

The reading of the Isopata ring, the third in the series of Minoan signet rings so far decoded, gives an opportunity for a critical look at the presumably sacred, religious depictions on some Minoan artifacts. While the reason for analysing and decoding the Ring of Minos¹ and of the Ring from Mochlos² was provided in the essay *Minósz gyűrűje – miről regél? Értelmezés lehetősége...*³ compiled by three doctors (dr. Pásztor, dr. Móczár, dr. Tóth), the decoding of the Isopata Ring's message is a *critique of a critique*, namely the critical analysis of Genevieve Petty's essay: *The Construction of Religion: A Critique of "Dancing in the Dark"*.

The experts, on stylistic grounds, establish the manufacturing date of the ring to be the period 1550-1450 B.C. Nothing is known about its living context: we don't know who wore it, what role the owner of it played in the Minoan society and how the engraving of the ring reflects that role. Despite these uncertainties, scientists write brave narratives about the illustration on it and draw even braver conclusions about the Minoan religious life, and life at large on Bronze Age Crete.

C. D. Cain, in his essay, "Dancing in the Dark", rejects such use of free imagination in the interpretation of the engraving on this particular ring and on other items, which leads to unjustified and prejudiced conclusions. Pictures can have more than one interpretation, especially if taken out of context. The viewer must know the context and the inherently vague rules of the visual art to properly construe the narrative of the pictured scene. Cain takes one after the other all the women figures present on the ring to show how their gestures *can be and are* interpreted by the various researchers in many different ways and orders. G. Petty makes it clear that: "Interpretations differ because of our inability to translate the gestures, read the image and restore the proper sequence. No single reading of the image can claim precedence and all are defined by our socio/cultural context. Because we lack any writing on the art from Minoan times, we cannot read the image in their context. Roland Barthes "Rhetoric of the Image" supports this assertion of Cain's. Barthes asks if images convey meaning, and if they do, how does meaning get into the image. He uses an advertisement to demonstrate how our socio/cultural background enables us to read the ad image for meaning."

¹ *Minósz gyűrűjének tudós és/vagy ésszerű olvasata:*

<http://osmagyar.kisbiro.hu/modules.php?name=topics&file=lista&topics=kretakepirasa>

² *A Mochloszi gyűrű:* <http://osmagyar.kisbiro.hu/modules.php?name=topics&file=lista&topics=kretakepirasa>

³ Source: http://moczar.hu/pdf/minosz_gyuruje.pdf



Barthes uses this Panzani ad to illustrate the three messages an image contains:

– A *linguistic message*: a **denoted** message comprising of the caption and the labels on the produce, and a **connoted** message – the word ‘Panzani’ connotes Italianicity.

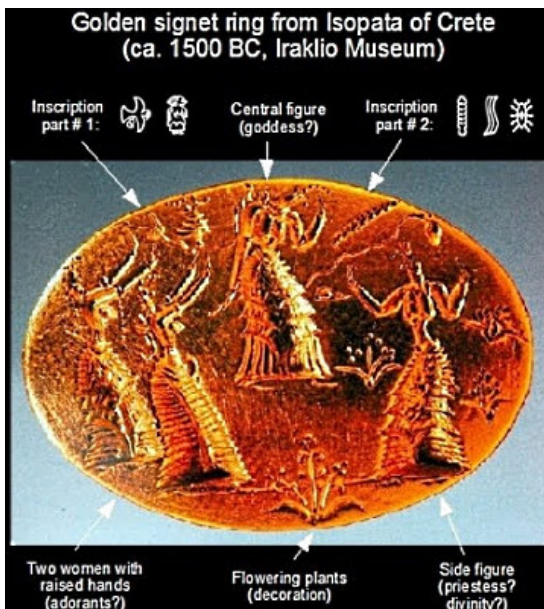
– A *coded iconic message*: four signs are identified as non-linguistic, *connoted* messages:

- The half-open bag signifies **return from market**
- tomatoes and peppers signify **Italianicity**
- the collection of objects signifies a **total culinary service**
- the overall composition is reminiscent of, and therefore signifies, the notion of a **still life**.

– A *non-coded iconic message*: the image of the tomato represents a tomato; the image of the pepper represents a pepper, and so on.

G. Petty does her best to convince us that the Isopata ring lacks the linguistic message. C. D. Cain is not so sure about this: “Modern viewers appreciate the assortment of floating symbols primarily as indicators of the sacred nature of the activity shown. But to the ancient viewer these symbols most likely performed a more informative function and had a specific relationship to the event pictured, ...” With this statement Cain is seemingly on the right track in recognising these “floating symbols” as a linguistic message, but in the continuation he ties the symbols to the favourite religious domain: “... possibly as

elements associated with the appearing deity or as references to offerings commonly given to her.”



András Zeke in his blog⁴ is a step closer to delivering a more plausible explanation, viewing the floating objects as hieroglyphic text. His failure however, is a common curse of the syllabary chasers: they all want to reduce the number of picture-signs by forcing a resemblance to a fix set of hieroglyphs, even where it is hard to find any common traits. The problem with this is that the set of hieroglyphs is not fixed by the Minoans themselves, but by the whim of researchers.

Here the flowers are also floating, but they are only ‘decorations’. Why?

G. Petty in her *Critique* provides no solution. She makes a clear statement, which is the corner stone in her construction of a religion: “The Isopata ring contains, therefore, only a coded iconic message. But we do not have the

⁴ <http://minoablog.blogspot.com/2010/05/mythical-figures-on-cretan-jewellery.html>

code from which to read this code.” If we could move this metaphorical corner stone ... as a matter of fact, we can! *We have the code to read both the iconic and the linguistic message at the same time, and in a manner the two reinforce each other.* Yes, there is a very clear and sound linguistic message on the Isopata ring.



The picture is from the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literature, Mainz⁵

The code which helps untangle the message on the ring is named the *rebus principle* by Sir Alan H. Gardiner and has been known for nearly a century, but is often ignored by the scientific world. The linguistic message is incorporated into the iconic message, and the same code-book opens both messages. *The contextual and meaningful linguistic message is the guarantee for the correct reading of the iconic message.* On the other hand, *without a precise and concise description of the narrative, without the correct wording of the iconic message the rebus principle cannot be applied and, consequently, the linguistic message decoded.*



Let us try to denote the narrative description of the first woman. She raises her hands in a longing motion. She expresses desire with her hands. Her head is crowned with a heart, the same heart as the one further up to the right, just a bit smaller. She stands in-between two pairs of flowers, *snowdrops* to be precise. The flowers, one pair (two) on each side, in exactly the same positions on both of her sides – and none around the other three (or four) women – are exceptional, so they too have to be noted and denoted:

⁵ <http://www.adwmainz.de/index.php?id=750>

Woman with longing hands, her head with heart, stands in-between two pairs of snowdrop bunches

Nő vágyó kezekke', feje szívve', két árva-csokor párban áll

NŐ VáGYó KeZeKKe', FeJe SZíVVe', KÉT áRVa-CSoKoR PáRBaN áLL

Note that the *in-between* (-ban/-ben) *two of the same signs*, is a commonly used formula in Minoan Hieroglyphics.



The snowdrop (*árvavirág, hóvirág*) looks very natural, both the leaves and the flowers are easy to recognize. Its former name *árva* 'orphan' has also the meaning 'lonely', now look at the picture on the ring: these flowers are lonely; they are the only flowers on the ring!

By applying the rebus principle – *resettling the vowels in the unchanged consonantal frame* – to the above description, and setting the words, we have got a probable narrative:

Nő VáGYaKoZiK FáJó SZíVVe', KiTáRú'Va CSóKRa, PíRBaN áLLó...

Nő vágyakozik fájó szívve', kitárú'va csókra, párban álló...

Woman is longing with aching heart, open(ly) for kiss, standing in glow...

Note: The description of the gesture: 'the woman with longing hands' (*nő vágyó kezekke'*) is a bit overdone with details, it has the same meaning as the expression 'woman longs' (*nő vágyakozik*), so we could use this description of the shown gesture, and get the same outcome without the rebus principle.


The small dots under the big heart symbolize desire as well, dreaming of love.

The expression '*kitárulva csókra*' means not just 'open' or 'ready' for kiss, but also - reflecting on the figure – 'thrown open one's hands' for hugging.

Picture-writing is a strictly phonetic consonantal writing system, in which beside the signs for single consonants, there are also signs for two, three, and more consonants contained in the frame of the name of the depicted object, picture element.

The decoded text goes hand in hand with the depicted one, moreover it grants a solid contextual background for further decoding, and it determines the status of the women figures: they are young women waiting for and courting the men of their heart's choice.

Some "odd" objects follow: an eye, a serpentine or 'Heaven Line', an almond shape 'Sacred Heart' and a vegetal frond 'Cypress Branch' in J.G. Younger's imagination. But one should remain grounded when deciphering these objects and view them as they really are:

- an eye, M04  SZeM
- a heart scooping or dredging a channel: '*kotuló szív*' KoTuLó SZíV



Note: on close examination one can see the inter-connected pot-holes making up a long channel. The heart standing at the end acts as if it is the cause which brings about and creates the channel.

- a stripe of salt crystals deposited on a string out of saturated water [recalled from a chemistry experiment in my primary school years]: 'sóvirág csík' SóViRÁG CSÍK



Note: On the photograph is a naturally occurring *sóvirág csík* 'salt crystal stripe', lit. 'salt-flower stripe' from the *Sóhegyek* 'Salt Hills' area in Transylvania. Now, who in his or her right mind would draw a hard to recognize SóViRÁG to a miniature bezel of a ring? Only someone who looks for an easy way to depict the word SóVÁRoG 'longs/years for sy/sg', just two vowels apart!

Put together, the three picture-signs reads as:

SZeM KoTuLó SZÍV SóViRÁG CSÍK

Keeping in mind the contextual value of the text we have already decoded, by resettling the vowels and by setting the words we can finish a sound and well turned phrase and start the next one:

SZeMe KuTaL, SZiVe SóVÁRoG. CSóK ...

... szeme katal, szíve sóvárog. Csók ...

... her eyes pry, her heart longs. Kiss ...

Note: "a kutat eredetileg *katal*, mint mutat hajdan mutal volt, pl. a Münch. codexben a képmutató mindig képmutaló." Czuczor-Fogarasi szótár (The original form for *kutat* 'look for' was *katal*.)



Now, the central figure is a goddess in the imagination of many researchers, but even the less devout are seeing her in an 'epiphany pose' and not noticing the sorrowfulness and pain expressed with her bent over and away from the right shoulder pose and the unnatural position of her right arm, which comes from the pain caused by the *scorpion* on her shoulder. As a matter of fact, researchers are so obsessed with religious interpretations that they ignore this large scorpion, well discernible by its pincers in the neck, the long, jointed stinging tail and the four pair of legs, as

it does not fit their preconceptions.

Woman is sorrow from the troubled shoulder-scars ...

Nő szomorú váll-sérelem bajától ...

Nő SZoMoRú VÁLL-SéReLeM BaJÁTÓL ...

By applying the rebus principle and adding the word after the question mark in the previous part, we get a further fully fitting sentence:

Nő SZáMáRa VaLó SZeReLMi BáJiTAL. (S>SZ)

Csók nő számára való szerelmi bájital.

Kiss for the woman is love-potion.

Here actually the text logically follows the line of the narrative and is coded into the description incorporating what the woman has on her shoulder, because from the miniature picture it is very hard to see the cuts, but we can imagine what a scorpion can do. The trouble with that shoulder is obvious from the lifeless, inert position of the hand ... but the four pads are too big for scars and scars don't have tail. What? Tail! Than what we see is not the scars, but their cause! ... the rest logically falls into place. Without proper control this doesn't work: the linguistic and iconic message have to complement each other. A drawing or carving is never the real thing, it only depicts what the artist chooses to include, what is part of the message. The right description when decoded fits the story line, like a jigsaw puzzle cut, interlocks fully with a contextual, meaningful content or moral of the whole story.

What we see next are two women with both their arms raised. C. D. Cain asks if the two women "*hold their arms up in gestures of worship, address, or invocation*" (after Matz, Sourvinou-Inwood, Krattenmaker and Wedde). The gesture is actually that of lifting something as hammer into or against the poor woman's troubled shoulder. Not exactly a ladylike activity, although it should be said in their favour or against – a matter of taste – that they not using sledgehammers, but about the strange thing they hammer with later.

... two women's hands easily lift against as hammer ...

... két nő keze emelít pörölyként neki ...

... KÉT NŐ KeZe eMeLít PÖRÖLYKÉNT NeKi ...

Note: This can be more prozaic, to the same affect: the hands easily lift against as carpet-beater (PoRoLóKéNT), or even more ordinary but women-like: *finger-pointingly* in a quarell (PÖRÖLÓKéNT)

With the rebus principle applied we get the following:

KiT Nő KiSZeMeLT PáRJaKéNT aNNaK ... (Z>SZ, LY=J)

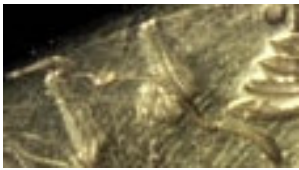
Kit nő kiszemelt párjaként, annak ...

Whom woman chose as pair/partner, to him ...

Note: in Magyar the noun stays in singular after numerals (sing. 'nő'; pl. 'nők'; but two women is 'két nő').

That the women are *easily lifting* 'emelit/emelint' can be concluded from the fact that they only touch the objects with their fingertips.

At the end, we have some smaller picture elements and hieroglyphic signs, not "*unidentified flying objects*" (UFO-s), as Kyriakidis sees them.



Not a soaring snake, just an ordinary snake slipping *in-between* two feathers, the formula (-*ban/-ben*) we have already used and mentioned as frequent occurring - twice on this ring. The rachis with quill and the blade or vane is well discernible, especially on the right hand feather.

- snake slipping in-between feathers: 'tollakban surranó kígyó' ToLLaKBaN

SuRRaNó KÍGYÓ



Not a "goddess approaching from afar", but a hieroglyph depicting a sorceress:

- the sorceress, mage, magus, magician or witch, the 06 sign from the Phaistos Disk, ph06 BÚVÖLŐ, B_V_L_

also on the sealstone with CHIC number #264 IRAKLIO S: AM 1938.792 (CS no. ?; 3APr of green jasper), on the illustration to the right, with the

same phonetic value.

- the scorpion already mentioned: 'szikeröppentő' SZiKeRöPPeNTő



Note: The descriptive name for the SCoRPioN is a compound word: SZiKe 'scalpel' and RöPPeNTő 'make sg flight/flit', as a matter of fact, the scorpion makes its scalpel-like sting to flit like an arrow into its pray. As you can see only the affix for the causative wearied off, but not one consonant has changed in the past three and a half thousand years. By the way SCALPeL itself is compound word: SeCa(teurs)+LeaF+edge 'SZiKe'+LaP'+éL'.

Together the three signs, in accusative, as case of the object (-_T), and finishing the sentence by stating that the women are doing the hammering or carpet-beating or finger-pointing on foot (*állva*):

... ToLLaKBaN SuRRaNó KÍGYÓT, BÚVÖLŐT, SZiKeRöPPeNTŐT, á'Va.

By resettling the vowels, keeping in mind the already decoded text, we get the following reading:

... *TaLá'káBaN SeRÉNYÜ' KeGYÉT BeVaLLoTTa SZűK-RoPPaNTaTóVa'.*

... *talá'kában serényü' kegyét bevallotta szűk-roppantatóva'.*

... *on a date, briskly her favour she confessed with the act of the crush of constriction.*

Note: 'The act of the crush of constriction' is a euphemism for defloration, as the *szűk/szűkület* 'constriction' is the factual description of the hymen.

Finally, the whole message on the Isopata signet ring – a coherent, intelligible, to an engagement ring well suited text, put in a roundabout manner so typical for young lovers – reads as follows:

Nő vágyakozik fájó szívve', kitárú'va csókra, pírban álló szeme katal, szíve sóvárog. Csók nő számára való szerelmi bájital. Kit nő kiszemelt párjaként, annak talá'kában serényü' kegyét bevallotta szűk-roppantatóva'.

Woman is longing with aching heart, open for kiss, standing in glow her eyes pry, her heart longs. Kiss for the woman is love-potion. Whom woman chose as pair/partner, to him on a date, briskly she confessed her favour with the act of the crush of constriction.

To complete the interpretation we can now formulate the *non-coded iconic messages* as well:

This is an 'engagement ring' given to the boyfriend by a 'young woman' (usually the man is reminded about the sacrificed virginity), and the 'heart' a symbol of love.

To conclude:

- In respect to Cain's uncertainties of interpretation: the narrative and proper sequence of events can be scrutinized and reinforced in the course of decoding, the right narratives will fall into a meaningful, contextual story line.
- As for Barthes' paradox, according to which the picture is a message deprived of a code, it is not just defeated with the decoding of the message on the Isopata ring, but is shown as an organic wholeness, *a unity of tonal and visual expression only picture-writing can accomplish.*

The description of the picture elements and the textual message of it go hand in hand, as the two support and enforce one another. A narrative of an image is not a demonstration of the interpreter's free imagination. The description has to be 'realistic' whilst making note of the highlighted, the extraordinary, and the out of place details (as exemplified by the head with heart or the scorpion on the shoulder of the central figure of the ring): "A drawing (or any other piece of art), even when denoted, is always a coded message because a drawing does not reproduce everything, only what the artist chooses to include." (Petty).

But most importantly, when describing the image, one should exclude his/her imagination and be as concrete and concise as one can be. *"Indeed, it causes some concern to discover that the long-held conviction that in Minoan cult an ecstatic epiphany was achieved through the orgiastic dancing of female votaries or priestesses rests almost exclusively on the pictorial evidence presented by the ring from Isopata." - says Cain, and his footnote, added to this, is also worth of citing, as it is a good example in demonstrating how a baseless hypothesis can become a true "scientific" snowball everybody takes for unquestionable, self-evident fact: "As was noted above, Matz (1958, 6-10) is the seminal champion of the idea of the divine epiphany induced by orgiastic dancing. Matz based his notion on his reading of the Isopata ring, which was in turn taken to explain the activity pictured in the miniature Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco from Knossos. He has been followed by many other influential commentators, including Brandt 1965, 5-8; Hägg 1983, 1986; Warren 1988, 14."*

Contemplating the three messages an image contains is one thing and the facts about Minoan picture-writing are another. It would be very foolish, if not utterly stupid, for a Minoan artist to go into such details on a miniature oval-shaped bezel's surface, and not supply the code-book to read the message conveyed in that picture-writing. The conjecture of G. Petty's that *"no single reading of the image can claim precedence and all are defined by our socio/cultural context"* and Barthes demonstration of *"how our socio/cultural background enables us to read the ad image for meaning"* are very unstable and unjustified claims. Ask yourself, how would you read some of the celebrated artist's works of *our time and socio/cultural context*, say masterpieces such as Jackson Pollock's *No.5*; Barnett Newman's *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue?*; or Lawrence Weiner's *Bits & Pieces Put Together to Present a Semblance of a Whole, ...?* Ask yourself what the messages are of these contemporary masterpieces?



The preconception of Minoan “l’art pour l’art” or “symbolic expression” is nothing more than reflecting of our cultural utilities back on the Minoans. For the Minoans, *the images conveyed a meaningful and clear textual message encoded into the iconic code, with a very clever and always at hand, or should we say, at tongue, code-book: the rebus principle to decode it.*

Compare the above masterpieces with the primitive Australian Aboriginal cave painting from the Cape York Peninsula, Cooktown area. Willie Gordon explains the particulars on this cave painting as follows: “The Guurrbi man is like an estate manager, as he looks after a certain area, and the welfare of the people who enter that area. He has a big responsibility and is worthy of great respect. This man has markings within his body which show what he must use to do his job to the best of his ability. He has to use his mind for good reasoning, his heart for good decision making, and his gut for good instincts. There is another mark around his waist indicating that all good thought processes are made without carnal influences.”



From the description it is clear that this “X-ray” painting is a coded message: carnal feelings and perceptions should not influence ones decisions, one should be brainy (colloq. *intelligent person*), *hearty*, and have guts (colloq. *personal courage and determination; perseverance*). With the code – *name the viscera marked by the line* – the textual message has been easily decoded in English, although a bit differently from the original in Guugu Yimithirr language.

This is not an “art work”, not an “artistic depiction” of a man for *aesthetic pleasure*, nor a “symbolic expression” – no symbols are present, just lines indicating the locations of the viscera in question – this is a *coded message* about the qualities of a man, conveyed with *picture-writing elements* or *pictorial writing-elements*. Writing has very deep roots and it is practically the same everywhere: a textual message coded with the names of the depicted objects. By sounding the elements of the picture-writing, one is conveying a textual message which is different from the visual impression of the whole picture. Isn’t that what we call reading?

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PHILOSOPHY

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**Nationaler Geist und Volkseele in der Philosophie von
Bernát Alexander**

Vorwort

Die Tagespresse, die Benachrichtigungen, die Ereignisse beobachtend sorgen wir als europäischer Bürger immer mehr, dass in zahlreichen Ländern unseres Kontinenten die Intoleranz gegen die nationalen Minderheiten, gegen die gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, die von Mehrheitsgesellschaft abweichende nationale Identität haben, ein organisches Teil des Alltagslebens, manchmal der nationalen Politik bildet. Die ethnischen Konflikte kommen in zahlreichen Ländern Europas immer mehr in Vordergrund. Die Geschichte des XX. Jahrhunderts macht uns mit den Worten von Pilinszky „in die Hände der Welt gehämmerte Nagel“ aufmerksam, wozu die menschliche Dummheit, der Egoismus, die Habgier, Intoleranz fähig sind. Alles muss unternommen werden, damit nicht einmal die Ereignisse, die den nie vergessbaren Grauen ähnlich scheinen, in unserem Allgemeindenken gewurzelt werden können.

Was können also Philosophen mit ihren bescheidenen Mitteln tun?

Wir denken, allzu sehr viel. Im Folgenden können wir durch die Gedanken eines berühmten ungarischen Philosophen, der an der Wende zum XX. Jahrhundert tätig war, auf die wesentlichen Fragen eine Antwort bekommen: Was heißt eigentlich, tolerant zu sein? Üben wir Gnade aus, teilen wir Almosen unseren nur eben geduldeten Mitmenschen aus, wenn wir gegen sie Toleranz zeigen, oder geht es da um viel mehr? Oder um etwas ganz anderes? Eventuell darum, dass die Mehrheitsgesellschaft in einer engen Beziehung mit ihren nationalen Minderheiten Existenzinteresse hat.

Unserer Ansicht nach ist es ein Irrtum zu denken und zu behaupten, dass unser einheimisches philosophisches öffentliches Leben auf die berühmten Menschen, die internationale Systeme gebildet haben, fokussieren soll. Bernat Alexander schuff kein philosophisches System, aber er übte eine besonders vielseitige, weitverzweigte, wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit aus und schuff nicht nur auf dem Gebiet der Philosophie, sondern auch auf dem der Ästhetik, der Literaturwissenschaft, Psychologie etwas Unvergängliches.

Éva Gábor bemerkt in ihrer Kleinmonographie über den Verfasser¹, wenn Alexander nichts anderes getan hätte, nur an den 29 Bänden der Sammlung der philosophischen Schriftsteller gearbeitet, die er zwischen 1881 und 1919 mit Joseph Bánóczy zusammen redigiert hat, dann hätte er seinen Namen in die Geschichte der Philosophie auch tief eingeschrieben. Alexander hat aber darüber hinaus auch viel mehr getan.

¹ Éva Gábor: Bernát Alexander, Budapest, Akadémiai Verlag, 1986 [Gábor Éva: Alexander Bernát, Bp., Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986]

Bernát Alexander wird von der ungarischen Philosophiegeschichte so in Evidenz gehalten, wie der an der XIX. – XX. Jahrhundertwende im philosophischen, kulturellen Leben eine bedeutende Rolle eingebracht hat. Er akzeptiert seine Institution schaffende Rolle und seine Einbürgerung anstrebende Rolle zu den europäischen Traditionen der Philosophie, nämlich mit jener langsam zu allgemein werdenden Überzeugung, dass er nicht als ein besonders ursprünglicher Schöpfer zu betrachten ist, der tief gedankliche Inhalte ausschöpft.

Wir denken, dieses herausgebildete Bild über Alexander beschränkt sich auf weitere Nuancierung, in Betracht genommen, dass es hier um so einen Autor geht, dessen Bibliographie nicht einmal vollkommen bekannt ist. Die gegen ihn schon von den Zeitgenossen formulierte Beschuldigung „wissenschaftliche Oberflächlichkeit“ gewinnt im Falle eines solchen Verfassers, der auf einem so breiten Spektrum wirkt, unvermeidlich Gewissheit.

In seinen wirklich bedeutenden Werken aber: wie *Das Leben und die Entwicklung von Kant* (1900), *Der Pessimismus des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (1884), *Diderot-Studien* (1900), und in der *Spinoza Monographie* (erschienen in München 1923) ist keine Spur der erwähnten Oberflächlichkeit zu sehen.

Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass einen wichtigen Teil Alexanders Tätigkeit die Problematik „der nationalen Philosophie“ und „der ungarischen Philosophie“ bilden, an den zwei Wendepunkten seiner Laufbahn – bei seiner Wahl zum Akademiker und als er die Führung von Athenaeum übernimmt – thematisiert er ja diese auch alleine. László Percz in seiner Studie „Der Topos der nationalen Philosophie in der ungarischen Philosophiegeschichte“² bestimmte schon früher den Platz von Alexander in der bedeutenden Tradition der ungarischen Philosophiegeschichte.

Dieser Vortrag will vor allem nicht von dieser Problematik handeln, sondern von jenen Begriffen, die die Achse der „über die nationalen Philosophie“ gezeigte Auffassung Alexanders bilden. Die sind nun die Begriffe „der Volksseele“ und „des nationalen Geistes“.

Wir bemühen uns darauf hinzuweisen, welche Verfasser die wichtigsten Quellen Alexanders waren, wie die Gedanken dieser Verfasser in Alexanders Interpretierung erscheinen und zu was für einer Ableitung einer Folgerungen uns der Inhalt, die Alexander zu diesen Begriffen hinzufügt, bewegt.

Unsere Arbeit bleibt ohne jeden Zweifel schuldig damit, den Verfasser im Kontext des ungarischen geistlichen Lebens zu versetzen. Es hat zwei Ursachen. Einerseits möchten wir in diesem Vortrag ausdrücklich auf die Eingriffspunkte zu der westlichen Philosophie von Alexander hinweisen, andererseits würde die Beleuchtung dieses Gedankenkreises, die im Kontext des ungarischen geistlichen Lebens nach Authentizität und Vollständigkeit strebt, die Rahmen dieser Studie zu sehr auseinanderspreizen und es könnte das Thema eines anderen Vortrags sein.³

² László Percz: Varianten auf die ungarische Philosophie: Topos der „ungarischen Philosophiegeschichte“, in der *Ungarischen Wissenschaft*, 2002/9. 1242-1251. [Percz László: „Változatok a magyar filozófiára: A »nemzeti filozófia« toposza a magyar filozófiatörténetben“, *Magyar Tudomány*, 2002/9. 1242–1251.]

³ Zum Kennenlernen des Themas im ungarischen Kontext ist die Sekundärliteratur: Béla Mester – László Percz (redigiert): *Annäherung an die ungarische Philosophiegeschichte – Rezeption und Kreativität*, Áron Verlag, Budapest, 2004 [A téma magyar kontextusának megismeréséhez ajánlott irodalom : Mester Béla - Percz László(szerk): *Közelítések a magyar filozófia történetéhez - Recepció és kreativitás*, Áron Kiadó, Bp., 2004]

Nationalismus im XIX. Jahrhundert

Der nationale Gedankenkreis, dessen nationalgeschichtliche Gründe vor uns bekannt sind, ist in Europa in der 2. Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts von großer Bedeutung, Der Nationalismus im XIX. Jahrhundert ist mehr als nun eine politische Doctrine, ursprünglich die bestimmte Form der Kultur, auf einmal Ideologie, Sprache, Mythologie, Symbolismus und Bewusstsein.

Darin äußert sich genauso der Gedanke des Europäertums sowohl in unserem Land als auch in den anderen europäischen Ländern unserer Zeit als das Bedürfnis der nationalen Absonderung. Die nationale Selbsterkennung und die westeuropäische Orientierung führten nirgendwo in Europa zu einer beträchtlichen Konfrontation, und deswegen, weil die moderne Nationwerdung nicht nur in unserer Heimat, sondern auch in den anderen Ländern Europas, die sich in einer ähnlicher Lage befinden, die Nachfolge und die Verwirklichung der westlichen Modellen auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt hat.⁴

Der Standpunkt von Széchenyi, den er im Jahre 1830 in seinem Werk „Kredit“ dargelegt hat, stellt das Treffen des ungarischen nationalen Gedankens und das Ethos des Europäertums gut dar. Hier stellt er das Modell der Engländer vor als ein nachzufolgendes Beispiel für unser Land. Mit seiner Meinung war er bei weitem nicht alleine, die in der großen Welt reisenden, anderen zeitgenössischen Reformpolitiker denken über die folgenswerte westliche Welt, die schon damals Europa bedeutete, seinesgleichen. Diese Auffassung – sind wir der Meinung – spiegelt auch Alexanders Einstellung, als er seine Ansicht zum Ausdruck bringt, demnach „der ungarische nationale Geist mag die Klarheit wie der französische, die Realität wie der englische, und vertraut auf den Gedanken wie der deutsche“.⁵

Es ist also zu sehen, dass die internationale Atmosphäre jener Zeit Alexanders Denken, sein Verhältnis zum „Nationalen“ und „Europäischen“ beeinflusste. Der Gedanke des Europäertums ist im Denken genauso anwesend, wie die Verpflichtung und Verantwortungsbewusstsein für „das Nationale“.⁶

Es ist wichtig, zu bemerken, dass in Europa in der zweiten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts zwei verschiedene Nationbegriffe gebräuchlich waren. Der eine ist in der Geschichte des Nationalismus unter dem Namen „französischer Nationbegriff“ apostrofiert und hat den Begriff der Nation mit den Rahmen des Staates identifiziert; während der andere der „deutsche Nationbegriff“ ist – der die kulturnationale Auffassung nach Meinecke inbegriffen hat, und als Kriterien der Zugehörigkeit zur Nation die gemeinsame Sprache, die Kultur mit gemeinsamen Traditionen betrachtet hat. Natürlich ist es kein Zufall, dass der vorige Nationbegriff eben im ethnisch ziemlich homogenen, territorial dazugehörigen Frankreich geboren wurde, der letztere aber auf dem deutschen Gebiet, das auf mehrhunderte, kleine Fürstentümer zerstückelt ist, und gerade der Nationbegriff hat die Entstehung des einheitlichen Deutschlands gefördert. Alexander gebraucht den Begriff der Nation im Sinne „des deutschen

⁴ Sekundärliteratur – Zoltán Kántor (redigiert): Nationalismustheorien (Textsammlung), Rejtjel Verlag, Budapest, 2004 [Ajánlott irodalom-Kántor Zoltán(szerk): Nacionalizmuselméletek(szgy.), Rejtjel Kiadó,Bp, 2004]

⁵ Siehe: Bernát Alexander: Ungarische Philosophie, Athenaeum, 1915, S. 21. [ld.: Alexander Bernát: Magyar filozófia, Athenaeum, 1915, 21. o.]

⁶ Siehe ausführlicher: Kristóf Nyíri: Über das geistliche Leben der Monarchie – Philosophiegeschichtliche Studien, Gondolat, 1980 [ld. bővebben Nyíri Kristóf: A Monarchia szellemi életéről - Filozófiatörténeti tanulmányok, Gondolat, 1980]

Nationbegriffs“.⁷ Nicht nur deswegen, weil die deutschen Auswirkungen und Beziehungen auf die Gesamtheit der ungarischen Kultur die bedeutendsten waren, sondern weil ihn seine persönlichen Existenzerlebnisse als Kind einer jüdischen Familie, das sich in die vielnationale Monarchie, in die ungarische Gesellschaft integrieren wünschte, auch dazu angespornt haben.

„Was ist der nationale Geist?“

-stellt Alexander die Frage in der Einleitung seiner akademischen Antrittsvorlesung.⁸ „Es existiert unleugbar solch eine „Urkraft“, die Schaffenskraft hat,“ - lautet die kurze Antwort des Verfassers in der ersten Annäherung. Jene Begeisterung, mit der der Bürger am Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts in millennischer Stimmung auf den nationalen Geist blickt, steht im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufschwung des nationalen Gefühls, und wir können nach Alexander in Verbindung mit diesem Begriff auf zahlreiche irreführende Feststellungen kommen.

„Die Form jedes wesentlichen Lebens wurzelt im Geist des Volkes. Der Geist der Nation gibt der Wissenschaft die nationale Form. Die Seele des Volkes kommt auch in der Philosophie zur Geltung, in der es zum klaren Selbstbewusstsein erwacht, und sich selbst erkennt.“ – kann man aus der Feder von Moritz Lazarus lesen, in der ersten Nummer der von ihm und Hermann Steinthal redigierten Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft. Das war die erste Fachzeitschrift von diesem Thema, die zwischen 1860 und 1890 erschienen ist und auch danach noch ausgegeben wurde, nur das Format und der Titel haben sich geändert und die war eine wichtige Quelle des Verfassers. Alexanders Auffassung über den nationalen Geistes ist mit den Ansichten von Lazarus in Verwandtschaft zu bringen. In der Abfassung von Alexander hat der nationale Geist die größte Rolle im Leben einer Nation, dessen erstes und bedeutendstes Produkt die Sprache, sein eignetestes Heiligtum die schöngeistige Literatur ist. Der nationale Geist äußert sich in der Sagewelt und Volksdichtung eines Volkes, durchaus in jedem wichtigen Aspekt des gesellschaftlichen Wesens. In der Auffassung Alexanders ist alles der Teil irgendeines Beziehungssystems, die Erscheinungen der Welt sind in sich selbst nicht richtig zu deuten. Der nationale Geist ist also auch eine Art Beziehung. Über Beziehungen kann man nun so viel sagen, dass sie zwischen Dingen bestehen. In erster Annäherung des nationalen Geistes ist also so eine Beziehung, die zwischen den Teilen der Nation besteht. Der nationale Geist ist kein platonisches Seiende, das über uns steht und nur wir daran teilhaben. Der nationale Geist ist zwar zu uns als zu dem die Gesellschaft bildenden Individuum hinzugebunden, aber nicht als Einzelgut, sondern als Gemeingut der Gemeinschaft, der Gesellschaft.

Bei der Herausbildung dieses Denkens in Beziehungen hatte Professor Robert Zimmermann eine große Rolle, der - Alexander nach - seine Studenten an der Wiener Universität mit der Metaphysik von Herbart allzusehr gut bekannt gemacht hat. In der Auffassung von Herbart setzen sich alle Dinge in der Welt aus den Beziehungen „der Realien“ zusammen, die am meisten mit den lebnizer Monasen

⁷ Zum besseren Verstehen des „deutschen Nationalbegriffes“ empfehlenswert – János Kelemen: Historistisch Nationalbegriff von Herder, In: Magyar Tudomány Nr. 4., 1996 [a „német nemzetfogalom“ jobb megértéséhez ajánlott- Kelemen János: Herder historicista nemzetfogalma, Magyar Tudomány 4.sz., 1996]

⁸ Bernát Alexander: Nationales Geist in der Philosophie, Franklin Társulat, Budapest, 1893 [Alexander Bernát: Nemzeti szellem a philosophiában. Franklin Társulat, Budapest 1893]

vergleichbar sind.⁹ Alexander ist zwar dieser – seiner Meinung nach – viel zu gezwungenen Metaphysik abgeneigt, aber dieser Gesichtspunkt der Dinge im System der Beziehungen und der Anspruch der sehr genauen Klärung und Bestimmung der Begriffe, den auch der Verfasser selbst als eine seiner Tugende von seiner Arbeit betrachtete, sind genauso die Charakterzüge Alexanders Philosophie wie auch Herbarts, mit dessen Tätigkeit er in eine so enge Beziehung geraten ist.

Volkseele

Das Programm der Volksseelenkunde im XIX. Jahrhundert war nicht anders wie die vergleichende historische, gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Psychologie. Sein Schlüssel-gedanke ist, dass die primäre Form der menschlichen Zusammenhänge die kulturelle Gemeinschaft, das Volk, in der die Persönlichkeitsentwicklung des Individuums hervorgeht.

Es war ein vergleichendes und historisches Studium der gesellschaftlichen Wechselwirkungen von solchen objektiven Produkten, wie die Sprache, Mythen, Gewohnheiten.

Es kann eigentlich gesagt werden, dass es in dieser Zeitepoche um zwei geistliche Zentren institutionisiert hat. Einerseits ist um die im Jahre 1860 von Moritz Lazarus und Hermann Steinthal gegründete Fachzeitschrift (Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft). Diese Richtung steht mit den Bestrebungen nach dem deutschen Nationalstaat in einer engen Beziehung. Mit seiner Individuumzentrischen Auffassung, die die Natur der menschlichen Gemeinschaften bestritten hat, wollte das zum Ausdruck bringen, dass man sich den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhängen zumeist von der Seite des Individuums annähern kann. Andererseits aber um Wilhelm Wundt¹⁰, den geistlichen Vater der klassischen Bewußseinspsychologie, nach dessen Vorstellung, mit der Ausnahme der elementarsten Prozessen keine menschliche Erlebnis oder Tat von deren gesellschaftlichen-kulturellen Kontexten getrennt werden kann. Das nennt er eine moderne sozialpsychologische, gesellschaftsorientierte Auffassung. Die zwei Richtungen stehen einander gegenüber, aber ihre Zentralfrage stimmt grundsätzlich überein: Wie ist die Natur der Beziehung von Individuum und Gemeinschaft?

Die Auffassung Alexanders kann eindeutig als gesellschaftsorientiert qualifiziert werden, wie auch sein Denken über die Sprache zu Wundt Ansichten näher steht. Nach Wundt ist die Sprache das Produkt der gemeinsamen (seelischen) Tätigkeit, das während der Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft ausgeübt wurde und der Forscher muss die sich hinter dieser Tätigkeit steckende psychologische Aspekte untersuchen. Die Sprache kann nur mit den Mythen, der Religion und den Künsten, Traditionen, dem Recht und der Kultur, also in enger Wechselwirkung mit allen Äußerungsformen des gemeinschaftlichen Daseins untersucht und gedeutet werden. Alexander betont bezüglich der Herausbildung des nationalen Geistes auch die Wichtigkeit des Daseins der menschlichen Gemeinschaften und daraus hervorgehend

⁹ J.F. Herbart: Hauptpunkte der Metaphysik, Leipzig, 1852 – in mehreren Ausgaben (erste Ausgabe 1808) Zum besseren Verstehen von Herbarts Metaphysik ein Werk: H.A. Fechner: Zur Kritik der Grundlagen von Herbarts Methaphysik (Leipzig, 1853) [J. F. Herbart: Hauptpunkte der Metaphysik, Leipzig, 1852 –több kiadásban, (eredeti megjelenése 1808) Herbart metafizikájának jobb megértéséhez ajánlott munka: H. A. Fechner, Zur Kritik der Grundlagen von Herbarts Metaphysik (Leipzig, 1853)]

¹⁰ Siehe ausführlicher Csaba Pléh: Zeitgemäßheit von Wundt. In: *Pszichológia*, 1990/2. 279-316. [Ld. bővebben Pléh Csaba: Wundt időszerűsége. In: *Pszichológia*, 1990/2, 279-316.]

die Wichtigkeit der Sprache, die die Funktion des gesellschaftlichen Verkehrs einfüllt. Der Mensch ist ein gemeinschaftliches Wesen. Die Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft wirken notwendigerweise aufeinander, zwischen den menschlichen Seelen treten auch Beziehungen auf, die sie in eine eigenartige Einheit fügt. Soviel ist gewiss, sobald die Menschen eine gemeinsame Sprache hatten, war der Keim des nationalen Geistes in ihnen – können wir in Alexanders akademischer Antrittsvorlesung lesen. Von was für einer Natur diese eigenartige Einheit ist, das wird bei der distinkten Begriffsunterscheidung von der Volksseele klargestellt.

Es muss bemerkt werden, dass sowohl die akademische Antrittsvorlesung, als auch im Athenaeum erschienene Programmstudie einige kleinere und größere logische Widersprüche enthalten. Von diesen würde ich im Folgenden zwei hervorheben.

Unterschieden zwischen der Volkseele und dem nationalen Geist

Für Alexander ist die historische Ansichtweise besonders wichtig, was die Äußerung der positivistischen Wirkung zeigt. Es kommt auch in der im Jahre 1878 geschriebenen Habilitationsschrift zum Ausdruck, in der er ausführt, dass dem philosophischen Denken selbstverständlich nur historisch nahe zu kommen ist („man kann nur mit der Denkweise der Geschichte weit sehen, der Gegenstand der Annäherung ist ja selbst der Mensch in Veränderung und seine Arbeit. Diese Ansichtweise spiegelt sich auch in Alexanders Auffassung über die Nationen, in der er wieder auf westliche Wirkung, die Menschheit so betrachtet, deren Gegliedertheit auf Nationen eine historische Notwendigkeit ist. Laut der Konklusion seiner akademischen Antrittsvorlesung, da die Menschheit sein Leben auf Nationen gegliedert lebt, kann seine Gedanken auch auf Gedanken gegliedert denken. Aber im Bezug auf diese besonders kühne Konklusion ergibt sich unvermeidlich die Frage, unter was für Ausgangsbedingungen man eigentlich zu dieser Schlussfolgerung kommen kann. Falls wir die Frage gründlicher untersuchen, wird uns klar, dass Alexander zu dieser Konklusion in gültiger Weise nicht kommen konnte, also ist die Konklusion falsch. Nicht deswegen aber, (wie es einige Studien, die sich mit Alexander beschäftigen, erwähnen), denn es widerspricht den so genannten „Vernunftbegriff“ der Aufklärung, sondern weil Alexander noch nicht zu der sprachphilosophischen Auffassung gekommen ist, die als modern betrachtet wird und die die Sprache mit dem Denken selbst identifiziert. In der Monographie von Spinoza spricht Alexander offen über die Gedanken vor der sprachlichen Prägung. In zweiter Linie aber bestimmt er den Begriff des nationalen Geistes einerseits so, wie die Gesamtheit des nationalen Geistes der Gemeinschaft, anderorts aber lenkt er unsere Aufmerksamkeit darauf, dass die geistlichen Beziehungen einer Gemeinschaft auf relativ dauerhaftere oder sich besonders langsam ändernde und sich relativ schneller ändernde geistliche Beziehungen aufgeteilt werden können, und der nationale Geist ist nun der Inbegriff der letzteren, bis die Volksseele selbst der Inbegriff der vorigen Beziehungen ist.

Das ist aber Alexander nach auch der wichtigste Unterschied zwischen der Volksseele und dem nationalen Geist.

Die Volksseele ist also der Inbegriff deren dauerhafteren geistlichen Beziehungen, die während mehr tausend Jahren zur Charakteristik einer Gemeinschaft geworden sind, infolge des Klimas ihres Wohnortes, ihrer Bodenverhältnisse, also mit einem Wort infolge ihrer natürlichen Umgebung,

ursprünglich ihrer charakteristischen Berufe. Diese Beziehungen ändern sich unter Berücksichtigung der Lebensdauer des Individuums nur unwahrnehmbar langsam. Die Qualität, die ursprüngliche Eigenart der Volksseele in ihrer klarsten, ursprünglichsten Form ist in den niedrigeren Schichten, in den Schichten unter der Hochkultur der Gesellschaft am meisten zu finden. Die Volksseele bindet das zerfetzte / abgerissene Gewebe der Gesellschaft einer Nation in eine anthropologische Einheit. Der nationale Geist aber bedeutet eine viel lockere, kulturhistorische Einheit. Der nationale Geist, obwohl er auf dem Grund der Volksseele aufwächst und mit ihr in Verbindung steht, ist damit trotzdem nicht identisch. Ihre Beziehung ist die Beziehung von Form und Inhalt. Die Volksseele ist Kraft, der nationale Geist obgleich ist das Produkt dieser Kraft.. Der nationale Geist ist ein Historikum, hat eine Geschichte, ist periodisierbar (also der hat Herausbildung, Blütezeit und Untergang), nicht unsterblich und man kann sich davon verfremden. Wie der Geist einer Nation in vollem Glanze ist, zeigt sich in seiner Vollständigkeit „in seinen berühmten Menschen, Repräsentanten“.

Solche Repräsentanten unseres eigenen nationalen Geistes sind Giordano Bruno, Hume, Descartes, Kant.

Diese ausgezeichneten Verfasser waren unter dem Einfluss ihrer Zeitepoche gezwungen, sich an die historische und philosophische Lage anzupassen, aber trotzdem haben sie in ihrem philosophischen System ein hervorragendes Charakteristikum ihrer Nation geltend machen.

Alexander hat Bruno als einen der am meisten griechischen, modernen Philosophen dargestellt, in ihm hat er die Person gesehen, die die dichterische Zuneigung zur Natur verkörperte.

Im philosophischen System von Descartes sind zwei solche Momente aufzudecken, die so charakteristische Eigenschaften jenes französischen nationalen Geistes sind, dem auch er seine Größe danken kann und zu dessen Größe er als Schöpfer beigetragen hat. Das eine Moment ist der Glaube an die Notwendigkeit der Autonomie des Menschengestes, das andere ist jene Eigenschaft, dass sein philosophisches System das Sklavenjoch genauso nicht erträgt, wie auch der französische nationale Geist nicht.

Durch Hume's Philosophie äußert sich der einzigartige praktische Sinn des englischen Geistes, jene Eigenschaft, mit der er sich bemüht, die Wirklichkeit zu ergreifen und die Wirklichkeit zum Gegenstand der wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung zu machen. Das ist auch kein Zufall, dass eben der englische Hume derjenige ist, der auf die höchste Stufe des philosophischen Skepsis' kommt.

Der deutsche Kant ist in der Philosophie der vortrefflichste Vertreter, der sich in die Tiefe der menschlichen Seele vertieft. Für sein philosophisches System sind zahlreiche Eigenschaften der deutschen Volksseele charakteristisch, geduldiger Kunstfleiß, mit dem er allem gründlich nachgeht, und Treue, mit der er unter allen Umständen fähig ist, auf seine Theorien zu bestehen.

Die obigen Beispiele weisen auch darauf hin, dass in der Konzeption von Alexander das Individuum als Schöpfer in der Philosophie keine Rolle haben kann: die Rolle des Individuums beschränkt sich nur darauf, dass es die Gedanken seiner Nation formulieren kann. Die schöpferische Rolle des Individuums versiegt bloß darin, dass es den Inhalt im nationalen Geist explizit machen kann.

Mit etwas Ironie können wir die Frage stellen, was der französische Bauer im XVI. Jahrhundert über Descartes' geistliche Freiheit wohl gewusst hat. Alexander hat aber auch darauf eine Antwort. Da der

Inhalt des nationalen Geistes das kulturelle Gemeingut einer Nation ist, sind die von Hochkultur gar nicht betroffenen Schichten der Gesellschaft nur durch die Sprache, die Gewohnheiten, die Volkskunst, die Moral und bestimmte gesellschaftliche Institutionen die Träger des nationalen Geistes.

Die Reihe der Repräsentanten der oben genannten Philosophen beabsichtigt vorzustellen, dass der nationale Geist auch in der Philosophie zur Geltung kommt, aber die Äußerung des Anspruches auf die Philosophie ist ein notwendiges, aber ein sehr spät auftretendes Stadium. Alexander erklärt „den Abscheu gegen die philosophischen Abstraktionen“ des ungarischen Charakters - gegen die Menschen, die das verkünden. Das Bewusstsein der heimischen Rückständigkeit hat für ihn auch große Herausforderung bedeutet, wie es auch früher für Gusztav Szonntag oder János Hetényi. Alexander nach ist die ungarische Philosophie „in schlechter Zeit und unter ungünstiger Bedingungen“ geboren. In schlechter Zeit, weil sich dann - seiner Meinung nach - die Philosophie bemüht, in die Untersuchung eigener Geschichten fliehend den Anschein des exakten Wissens zu erwecken; bis unter ungünstigen Bedingungen, weil es bei uns am infrastrukturellen Hintergrund mangelte, jenes stabilisierte Institutionssystem, das das ungarische Philosophieren mit wissenschaftlichem Anspruch ermöglicht hätte.

Alexander behauptet in einem Brief an György Lukács: „Ich stehe auf ungarischem Identitätsgrund Ich tausche keine Nationalität, ich kann den nationalen Gesichtspunkt nicht hinaus reißen. Mein Glaube ist, dass die Philosophie im nationalen Geist wurzeln muss.“¹¹ Das obige Zitat legt auch die andere Seite Alexander's Auffassung klar. Wir müssen nicht den nationalen Sovinismus, sondern die Äußerung des nationalen Verantwortungsgefühls und des ungarischen, nationalen Bewusstseins zwischen den Zeilen hören, dessen Zwangskraft der Verfasser für jedes Mitglied des Körpers der Nation gültig denkt.

Wir sind mit jenem Standpunkt von Zoltán Bretter nicht einverstanden¹², dass die oben ausgeführte Meinung von Alexander in die Dimension einer allgemeinen politischen Stellungnahme hinüberkäme. Alexander den heimischen großen Vorläufern ähnlich hat im apolitischen Geist geschaffen, für ihn hat die Grenze des politischen Interesses die Kulturpolitik bedeutet.¹³ Davon gar nicht zu reden, dass „jene Äußerung, dass: „ich auf nationalem Grund stehe“ hat zu seiner Zeit und für ihn etwas ganz anderes bedeutet, wie was es heute bedeutet, wie wir heutzutage darüber denken.

Schlussfolgerung

Worin ein bestimmter nationaler Geist hervorragend ist, ist er darin auch universalgültig. – Das behauptet Alexander bezüglich des Verhältnisses zueinander bei einem bestimmten nationalen Geist. Das Treffen eines bestimmten nationalen Geistes mit anderen nationalen Geistern ist gar nicht schädlich,

¹¹ Georg Lukács: Briefwechsel 1902-1917., Bp, Magvető, 1981, 316. [Lukács György levelezése 1902–1917., Bp., Magvető 1981, 316.]

¹² Siehe: Zoltán Bretter: Der Briefwechsel von Bernát Alexander und Károly Böhm über die erwünschte Richtung der Ausbildung von der ungarischen philosophischen Kultur, 2004 [Id.: Bretter Zoltán: Alexander Bernát és Böhm Károly levelezése a magyar filozófiai kultúra kifejlesztésének kívánatos irányáról, 2004]

¹³ Siehe darüber ausführlicher Róbert Somos: Politische Wegsuche der ungarischen Philosophen vor und nach Trianon, Kairosz Verlag, Bp, 2003 [Id. erről bővebben Somos Róbert: Magyar filozófusok politikai útkeresése Trianon előtt és után, Kairosz Kiadó, Bp, 2003]

sogar erwünscht. Die unterschiedlichen nationalen Geister bekommen nämlich beim Treffen mit anderen Kulturen immer neuere Impulse, und alleine diese kontinuierliche positive Gegeneinanderstellung, der Dialog sind die, die den Fortbestand und die Entwicklung der einzelnen nationalen Geister sichern.¹⁴

Das spornt uns zur Ableitung einer sehr wichtigen Konsequenz, der mit einem bedeutenden heutigen Problemkreis verbunden ist, nämlich mit dem Problem der Aufbewahrung von dem kulturellen Diversität und die in ein ganz neues Licht gesetzt. Der Begriffskreis der Nation hat Alexander und seine Zeitgenossen beschäftigt, das hat sich aus der historischen Situation ergeben, aber wir entstellen Alexanders Ideegehalt nicht, wenn wir den Begriff der Nation mit dem Begriff des Kulturkreises ersetzen. In diesem Fall wird es uns klar, wenn wir uns gegen unseren Mitmenschen, die in einem anderen Kulturkreis sozialisiert sind, die eine andere Weltanschauung und andere kulturelle Wurzeln haben, mit Toleranz benehmen, dann üben wir eigentlich keine Gunst von liberalem Geist aus; und es geht dann lediglich nicht darum, dass wir erkennen, dass weder die Inhalte in unserer Kultur noch die in anderen Kulturen vollkommen absolutisiert werden können. Hier handelt es sich viel mehr davon, dass der Verkehr mit anderen Kulturen, der ständige Dialog, die Aufnahme unserer elementaren Bedürfnisse sind, da ohne die impulsiven Wirkungen aus anderen Kulturen sowohl unsere Kultur und als auch die Kultur von anderen nicht mehr entwicklungsfähig sind und zu einer langsam ersterbenden Kultur werden. Wir sind der Meinung, dass dieses Argument von jenem Argumentsystem viel stärker ist, das Locke in seiner Arbeit „Brief über die religiöse Toleranz“¹⁵ im Namen der Toleranz formuliert hat, und das von seiner Geburt an zum Grundwerk dieses Gedankenkreises geworden ist.

¹⁴ Empfehlenswert die neueren ungarischen und ausländischen nationalcharakterologischen Werke zu diesem Themenkreis auch in Betracht zu ziehen: Dean Peabody: *National characteristics*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1985; Ferenc Pataki: *Nationalcharakterologie?*, In: *Magyar Tudomány*, 1997, 169-179.; György Hunyadi (redigiert): *Nationalcharakterologie*, die Arbeiten von Jácint Rónay, Hugo Münsterberg und Kurt Lewin, Osiris, Budapest, 2001 [érdemes szemügyre venni az újabb keletű magyar és külföldi nemzetkaraktológiai munkákat is ehhez a kérdéskörhöz- Dean Peabody: *National characteristics*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1985; Pataki Ferenc: *Nemzetkaraktológia?*, *Magyar Tudomány*, 1997, 169 – 179; Hunyadi György(szerk): *Nemzetkaraktológia: Rónay Jácint, Hugo Münsterberg és Kurt Lewin írásai*, Osiris, Bp, 2001]

¹⁵ John Locke: *Brief über die religiöse Toleranz*, Akadémiai Verlag, Bp, 1973 [John Locke: *Levél a vallási türelemről*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Bp. 1973]

ZÓKA, Péter & NAGY, Szilvia : National Spirit and People Soul in the Philosophy of Bernát Alexander

The Hungarian philosophical history considers Bernát Alexander to be one of the defining figures in the cultural life of the late 19th and early 20th century Hungary.

It is without doubt that most of Alexander's work is concerned with the notions of "people's spirit", "national spirit", "national philosophy" and "Hungarian philosophy", since on the two turning points of his career, he thematized them by themselves.

"If a national spirit is outstanding in something, then it is universal in that notion as well." – states Alexander considering the relationship of different national spirits with each other. The contact between a given national spirit and other similar entities is not harmful at all; on the contrary, it is highly desirable. The different national spirits indeed get new impulses on the contact with other cultures, and only this positive competition and discourse can secure the survival and development of the different national spirits.

This leads us to deduct a conclusion concerning an important social issue of today: the problem of preserving cultural diversity.

The basic, even "existential" interest of a majority society is to help the cultural development of the minorities it comes in contact with, with every available instrument, because each of them needs the discourse and the positive "competition", which happens inevitably during the meeting of different cultures. Every society needs this incentive, fertilizing effect since that is the only way to provide middle- and long-term progress for both minority and majority societies. The society which closes itself away from such discourse forces both its own and its disclosed minority culture for stagnation and slow death. The more minorities the majority society keeps itself aloof from, the stronger the above mentioned effect will become, and thus on the long term forces those who shelter themselves to become a distant historical memory.

Thus, the preservation of cultural diversity gets into a new light of research.

We think that this argument is far stronger than the one set by John Locke in his work titled "*A Letter Concerning Toleration*" written in the name of tolerance, which is considered to be the foundation of this argument ever since its birth.



ETHNOGRAPHY

WANI, Mohd Younus

Religious Customs, Tradition, and Shamanism
in Pre-Soviet Kyrgyz Society

Abstract

Central Asia had been the cradle of the most visible and socially recognized religions such as Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam, transcending both time and space. Millions followed both ritualistically and through prayers in the so-called local mazars and mosques. Local cults, however, provided enough primacy supported by both the people and leaders particularly among the nomadic population of Central Asia. These cults, above all, survived and flourished not because of the religious goading only but for their role that was woven in the historical and cultural route called the "Silk Road." Sufism also survived to some degree.

The major religions remained strong only in those areas, which either were the centers of flourishing economies or around the Silk Road. However, most of the peripheral regions, especially Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, the ancient religious practices, mostly shamanistic, were in tune neither with Buddhism, Islam or any other religion. During the pre-Soviet period Kyrgyzstan presented a prime area for studying the practice of such antique culture. On one hand the dominant religious practices of the contemporary period were rather uniform, but on the other hand, this social atmosphere reflected the religious compositeness of both new and ancient religious beliefs. The ancient religious influence in Kyrgyzstan was felt not only in the religious practices, but even in their epic called Manas.

Key words: Nomadism, Shamanism, Sufism, Silk Route, Ritual, Manas, Mazars, Kyrgyz.

* * *

Because their culture was predominantly nomadic Kyrgyz culture was not visibly defined and homogeneous in nature prior to the Soviet period. The Kyrgyz were —and still are— multiethnic. Constantly on the move, part and parcel of many regimes as a natural result, these political moves influenced their culture by default¹ and not to a small degree by the Silk Road.²

¹ Kyrgyz ousted Uigurs in 840 A.D but remained under the yolk of Arabs, Mongols, Uzbek Khans, Kokand Khanates, for quite long time. They still retain some of their old Tartar names; James Hutton, *Central Asia, from Aryan to Cossacks*, Manas publication, Delhi, 1875, p. 346.

² For long time Kyrgyzstan (Talas) was an important station on the Silk Route and traders of different nations, religions drove their caravan to China and India through the Kyrgyz territory. Mohamed Taher, *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*; Anmol Publication, New Delhi, 1997, p. 113.

Hence, Kyrgyz culture was far from uniform. Generally speaking, Central Asia encountered a mosaic of religions. Before Islam arrived to Central Asia, the major religions in the region were Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity³, which went hand in hand with the shamanistic practices. Like in other regions of Turkistan, these religions penetrated into Kyrgyzstan where the dominant religion during the pre-Islamic period was also shamanism. Shamanism is dated to be the world's oldest belief system.⁴

Shamanism is a belief system consisting of variety of practices based on the idea that everything on earth and in the heavens has a spirit. Its believers hold that the shaman, the religious leader, prevails upon the spirits for the multiple necessities of life. It is through the efforts of a shaman that the spirit world can be contacted to help human beings in the activities such as herding cattle, knowing about the future, to go to the battle and come out with excellent results. A shaman is also a healer. He or she wards off the evil spirits by the performance of certain ceremonies to ensure the safety and security of humans. The Kyrgyz from, inhabiting the Altai and Yenisei regions, followed the shamanic tradition since ancient times.⁵

These practices dominated their culture, like those of many other nomadic societies of the region. They adopted Islam from the 9th-12th centuries⁶ through the amicable efforts of wandering Sufis,⁷ and it took stronger roots in the beginning of the 17th century.⁸ Most Kyrgyz follow the *Hanfia* order—a school that is regarded more tolerant to pre-Islamic practices but not contradicting the basic tenants of Islam.⁹

However, Kyrgyz are said never to have been orthodox in their Muslimhood.¹⁰ They have never been ardent followers of the five pillars of faith. Even though the five daily prayers¹¹ or the Friday noon prayers were not strictly adhered to,¹² the month long Ramadan fast was mostly observed.¹³ It is also true

³ Recent archeological findings at Taraz (Talas) and other areas bear out the fact that the surrounding people were personifying the Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism; Denis-Sinor, *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge university press, London, 1990, p. 344.

⁴ David C King, *Kyrgyzstan*, Marshall Cavendish, U.S.A, 2005, p. 84.

⁵ M.A. Czapllick, *The Turks of Central Asia*, Oxford University Press, London, 1918, p. 30; R Vaidyanath, *The Formation of Soviet Central Asia Republics*, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 15-16.

⁶ It is the same period that brought them to Fergana, south of Kyrgyzstan, which had been under the umbrella of Islam since Arab invasion, and then by the 18th under the regime of Kokand khanates the Kyrgyz widely began to choose it their faith, even if on a rather superficial level. Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 23.

⁷ Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge University Press, London, 2000, p. 37.

⁸ T Tchorov, *Kyrgyzstan*, C Adle, Irfan Habib, *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, Vol. 5th, UNESCO Publication, London, P. 112. 2003.

⁹ P L Dash, *Emerging Asia in Focus*, Academic Excellence, Delhi, 2008, p. 498.

¹⁰ Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 23.

¹¹ Elizabeth E Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian rule*, London, 1966, p. 42.

¹² P L Dash, *Emerging Asia in Focus*, Academic Excellence, Delhi, 2008, p. 497.

¹³ Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 23.

that at times they ignored the *Qura'nic* and the *Shar'iat* inductions and preferred traditional laws to solve the problems of daily life.¹⁴

It has been found that Kyrgyz at times adopted only those Islamic beliefs and practices that suited their lifestyle, while ignoring others.¹⁵ At times, it looked as if they were pagans inside and Muslims outside.¹⁶

It was so when they were following shamanistic practices, in spite of their being Muslims. Compared to the mainstream Islamic societies, shamanic practices were more widespread among the Kyrgyz than in other nomads in Central Asia, giving rise to a culture that seems more composite than orthodox. Many of the practices may have changed as a result of the adoption of Islam and the process of Sovietization but nevertheless many remained.

One such practice was the hanging an animal carcass or part of it from a tree or a wooden pole at grave sites.¹⁷ This practice is a remnant of the practice of sacrifices that were made at graves in ancient times. The Chinese chronicles recorded that ancient Turks used to make human sacrifices by the graves of great men and affixed severed heads of victims upon poles.¹⁸ It was a practice among the people to hang the tails of animals like that of a horse¹⁹ at certain places to commemorate this ancient practice.

Another common practice was the tying votive pieces of cloth to chosen trees, usually close to a stream or a waterfall en-route to a traditional holy site, like the tomb of a Muslim saint.²⁰ It is said that this practice was prevalent in the pre-Islamic period as well when the Biblical tombs were visited.²¹ Many people used to go to the city of Osh for a visit to these tombs called *obo*.²² Great importance was attributed to these visits and to springs and healing waters. They were considered them sacred for praying and for purification of hopes. While at the cemeteries people tied bits of cloth to trees branches, at the springs and other waters the throwing of coins, buttons, and beads was a habitual activity of visitors.²³ The "*babos*"

¹⁴ Traditional Kyrgyz leaders called Bii's and Manap's resolved their conflicts over land pastures, livestock, family and kinship through *Adat* (Customary law). Melvin Ember, *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender*, Springer publication, U.S.A, 2003, p.572.

¹⁵ They celebrated Islamic holidays, took relish in Islamic feasts and constructed Mosques and madras'es particularly in the south. Tom Evert Heath, *Central Asia*, Rutledge, 2003, P. 122. ; David C King, *Kyrgyzstan*, Marshall Cavendish, U.S.A, 2005, p. 77.

¹⁶ P L Dash, *Emerging Asia in Focus*, Academic Excellence, Delhi, 2008, pp. 497-98.

¹⁷ Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p.25.

¹⁸ C P Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, London, 1926, p.182.

¹⁹ The Turks sacrificed horses at the funeral of the chief, hanging up skin over the grave. Some Kyrgyz in the eastern Turkistan were keeping skull of the favourite horse on the graves with a view to get young ones from their mares. The horse, being from Heaven and mark of immortality, and in earlier times Shamans probably practiced propitiation rituals designed to appease the spirits of animals needed for survival, Hope Werner's, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal symbolism in Art*, Continuum International Publication, 2004, p.69; Horse helped the Shamans to enter into a trance state and was believed to travel to other worlds. When trees were associated with Shamanistic practices, they reflect the mythological attributes assigned to trees in the Shaman culture. Since Shamanism believe in all plants have spirits, the souls of trees may be enlisted as spirit helpers in Shamanic work; Mariko Namba Walter, *Shamanism*, ABC-CLIO, 2004, pp. 12, 147-48, 263-64.

²⁰ Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 25.

²¹ David C King, *Kyrgyzstan*, Marshall Cavendish, U.S.A, 2005, p. 85

²² David J Philips, *People on the move*, William Cary Library, London, 2001, p.19.

²³ Gulnara Aitpaeva, *Kyrgyz religious beliefs: popular conceptions of Mazar worship and Islam* Aigine Cultural Research Center, Bishkek, 2007, p. 413; www.jstor.org

(*mazar* visitors) often associated their visits to receiving energy from the dead, a Shamanistic approach of believing in the living sprits.²⁴ Some were of the view that *mazars* were harbingers of good fortune for the mentally ill and non-pregnant woman. They went there along with goat and sheep, and sacrificed animals, boiled their meat and ate it. Same was true of springs, for animal sacrifice was too a part of the respect for the springs.²⁵ People even visited the graves and read there the *Qur'an* for the dead in order to prevent the spritis of their ancestors from evil.²⁶

Belief practices like these were a part of Kyrgyz culture but others came from the various other practices. For example, we would find that totemism played a definite role in their earlier life and as such one would find spiritual kinship existing between them and some of the animals like wolf, bear or snake. The wolf for example was regarded by many tribes as a totem protector of all Turkic tribes²⁷, and some Kyrgyz believe that their ancestors were saved by a deer (*Buru*), while Kazaks held that their protector is a golden eagle (*Berkut*).²⁸ Some of the birds (eagle, hawk, goose) were likewise venerated and played an important part in shamanic ceremonies. Their images appeared in different forms and as such became the dominant themes for the Central Asian carpets, yurts, and decorations.

Veneration apart, most of the religious symbols were used for certain other purposes. For example burning of juniper branch to rid a house or *yurt* of bad spirits was frequent²⁹, as was the fire used to ward off an evil when a woman was due to give birth. This Zoroastrian symbol was burnt day and night in the house or *yurt*.³⁰ At the same time, women carried amulets written with verses from the *Qur'an*³¹ again to protect the pregnancy from the evil eye. The shamanistic symbols were in forms of amulets bearing the shapes of the claws of owls or eagles.³² Such symbols and practices existed side by side, resulting in a composite culture, visible in many other ways in the Kyrgyz life.

²⁴ Gulnara Aitpaeva, *Kyrgyz religious beliefs: popular conceptions of Mazar worship and Islam* (Edt.), Aigine Cultural Research Center, Bishkek, 2007, p. 414; www.jstor.org

²⁵ Gulnara Aitpaeva, *Kyrgyz religious beliefs: popular conceptions of Mazar worshipping and Islam* (Edt.), Aigine Cultural Research Center, Bishkek, 2007, p. 414; www.jstor.org

²⁶ Gulnara Aitpaeva, *Kyrgyz religious beliefs: popular conceptions of Mazar worshipping and Islam* (Edt.), Aigine Cultural Research Center, Bishkek, 2007, p. 414-415; www.jstor.org

²⁷ According to legend, after a terrible war and a disastrous series of battle; foreign invaders massacred a whole tribe including women and children. Only one little boy was survived. He was protected, fed and brought up by a wolf. When the boy grew up, he entered into sexual intercourse with the she wolf. This wolf gave birth to ten boys who later founded ten powerful tribes. All of them remembered their protector and placed the image of the wolf on their banners; Julian Baldick, *Animal and Shaman*, I.B. Tauris, USA, 2000, p. 40.

²⁸ Rafis Abazov, *Culture and Customs of Central Asia*, Green wood publishing group, Australia, 2007, p. 63; This is also supported by a Chinese source ,a Hsiung-nu boy was thrown into a marsh, rescued by a she wolf and brought up by her ,after they had an intercourse and became the ancestor of Turks. When the she wolf became pregnant there was an attempt to kill her and she fled to a cave in a mountain where she gave birth to ten sons, one of these became a king who put a wolf's head on his flag; Julian Baldick, *Animal and Shaman*, I.B.Tauris, , USA, 2000, p .40.

²⁹ Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 25.

³⁰ David J Philips, *People on the move*, William Carey Library, London, 2001, p. 319.

³¹ www.svetlanasbrides.com/kyrgyzstan/culture/folklore.html, p. 7.

³² www.svetlanasbrides.com/kyrgyzstan/culture/folklore.html, p. 9.

Like other nomads of Central Asia, the Kyrgyz greatly enjoyed celebrating *jentek toi*, the birth of a child (both boy and girl). The 40th day celebration of the birth, called *kyrkan chygaru* and the party thrown open by the family to the friends and relatives on the birth day, called *tushoo-kyrku,i*³³ were the occasions of joyful celebrations. However certain practices were relentlessly obeyed and followed for protection. For example a pregnant woman was required to hold the *Qur'an* on her head so that a child is not born on account of the visit of the female demon called *albarste* with crooked feet.³⁴ Similarly, gunfire and barking dogs were considered to scare the demon away. The blind faith in such beliefs necessarily gave rise to certain superstitions that required some kind of treatment which were always available from a shamanism even if help was also sought from Islam.

For relief one was required to seek help from a class of priests, be he a *bakshi* or a *mullah*. This class of men was readily available³⁵. The *mullah* in Kyrgyz society led prayers daily or at funeral, delivered sermons at weddings, but also protected people from evil. He was always prepared to write amulets for pregnant ladies or sick persons.³⁶ On the other hand, there were also the *bakshis*³⁷ who were serving the people in Kyrgyzstan during the same occasions, but of course in different ways. By invoking spirits, a shaman would heal a person, foretell the occurrence of disease afflicting cattle,³⁸ weather conditions and success or failure for crops or the outcome of war.³⁹

Islamic mysticism and shamanism blended together in such a way that it became at times difficult to separate the two. Often a Sufi and shaman was one and the same person who could simultaneously fulfill both functions. For example in one of the shamanic ritual called *kamlanye*, both functions mingled⁴⁰ even after ideological differences.

In Kyrgyzstan the beliefs and rituals that have evolved during the preceding centuries were sometimes referred to as Sufized Shamanism, - a syncretism of Sufi Islam and a form of shamanism. Shamans, who were mostly referred to as *Bakshi*, *Babu* (spiritual healer or clairvoyance), or *Tabib* (Persian meaning doctor) were assumed to possess special powers that enabled them to drive out the *jinn*, (evil spirits) from the body of the sick. Shamans, dressed especially for the occasion, used a knife, a stick or a horse whip gesticulating and chanting in the vicinity of the ill in an attempt to cure him.⁴¹ At the same time Muslim

³³ David C King, *Kyrgyzstan*, Marshall Cavendish, U.S.A, 2005, p. 117.

³⁴ David J Philips, *People on the move*, William Cary library, London, 2001, p. 319.

³⁵ While going to a doctor the rural Kyrgyz consulted Shaman to address a medical problem; Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 23.

³⁶ www.svetlanasbrides.com/kyrgyzstan/culture/folklore.html, p. 5.

³⁷ Shamans, both men and women, who were usually referred as Bakshi in Kyrgyzstan were consulted and treated ill to do away with the ailments by dint of using herbs and chanted incantations. Even today many Kyrgyz do not feel reluctant to treat a medically based problem through the expertise of bakshi; Lawrence Mitchell, *Kyrgyzstan*, Bradit Travel Guides, U.S.A, 2008, p. 25.

³⁸ David C King, *Kyrgyzstan*, Marshall Cavendish, U.S.A, 2005, pp. 84-85.

³⁹ R Meserve, religions in the Central Asian environment, Editors, C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov, *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, Vol. 4th, part 2nd, Unesco publication, London, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁰ Mariko Namba Walter, *Shamanism*, ABC-CLIO, 2004, p. 240.

⁴¹ Farideh Heyat, Re-Islamisation in Kyrgyzstan: gender, new poverty and the moral dimension, *Central Asian Survey* (December 2004) 23(3-4), pp. 275-287.

saints well known for *karamat* (a concept half-way between miracle and blessing bestowed by God) attained titles similar to those of shamans: *wali* (Arabic word walliullah, he who is close to God), *khawaja*, *baba*, or *awaliya* (plural form of wali).⁴²

In Central Asia a strong syncretic characteristic of Sufism resulted by accommodating numerous pre-Islamic customs, traditions, and belief including that of the shamanism. What before had been practiced in the name of an earlier belief system came to be practiced in the name of Islam. This process was not limited to the integration of earlier belief system but involved the acceptance of popular cultic places like tombs, springs and trees, many of which had belonged to shamanism.⁴³ The important Islamic *tariqs* (orders) that gained currency in Central Asia were *qadriya*, *yassaviya*, *kubriviya* and *naqashbandies*.⁴⁴ The cemeteries of the last three have turned into shrines and therefore invited people of all classes of people for pilgrimage, from rulers down to common folk.⁴⁵ These places were held in high esteem.

In practice the Kyrgyz have tended to mix and match their religious practice with animistic elements of pre-Islamic religions, along with other cultural practices that reflect Buddhist and even Zoroastrian influences. Though earlier the Kyrgyz cremated their dead according to Zoroastrian rituals and later they started to bury them as a mark of Islamisation, they continued to use fire for purification during important events.⁴⁶ A shaman would, therefore, hardly blow the candle out but extinguish it with two fingers.⁴⁷

It was in their culture to adopt according to needs, but they hardly abandoned customs even if some of the rituals or customs required redesigning these to the extent of social acceptance. These were the reasons why some of the earlier religious beliefs continued. From ancient times the Kyrgyz worshiped the skies, the sun, the stars, the moon, and the mountains. *Arbak* was a ghost of ancestors, *umai ene* the holy mother, and *tengri* was heaven.⁴⁸ Even with the advent of Islam most of these names have continued as

⁴² Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge University Press, London, 2000, pp. 37-39.

⁴³ Tree worship and respect for the elements like wind too existed there. R Meserve, religions in the Central Asian environment, Editors, C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov, C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov, *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, Vol. 4th, UNESCO Publication, London, part 2nd, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁴ Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge University Press, London, 2000, pp. 37-39.

⁴⁵ Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge University Press, London, 2000, pp. 37-39.

⁴⁶ R Meserve, religions in the Central Asian environment, Editors, C.E. Bosworth and M.S. Asimov, *History of civilization of Central Asia*, Vol. 4th part 2nd, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁷ James Hutton, *Central Asia from Aryan to Cossacks*, Manas publication, Delhi, 1875, p. 52.

⁴⁸ P L Dash, *Emerging Asia in Focus*, Academic Excellence New Delhi, 2008, pp.497- 98. The most powerful god in the pre-Islamic era was *Tangri*, God of the sky, to whom animals were sacrificed. Although it has disappeared but there are still some remnants of the belief in the power of the sky in the way, for example, *Tangri* is invoked in statement to bless or to curse a person. Another deity still acknowledged by the Kyrgyz, is the Goddess *Umai ene* (mother Umay), also revered by Mongolians, in whose language the word Umay means a Womb. She is believed to be the protector of the house, representative of motherhood and the saviour of children and women giving birth. Her image is invoked to dispel evil eye against children and associated with festive occasions such as harvesting. However, the people of the 7th and 8th century associated it with the cult of nature; Faridah Hayat, Re-islamisation in Kyrgyzstan: gender, new poverty and the moral dimension, *Central Asian Survey*, (December 2004), Vol. 23, (3-4), pp. 275-287.

Allah became *kok tengri* (sky), (a combination of the Turkic *tengri* and Persian *khuda*).⁴⁹ Likewise *jerly* (the earth) *sua /suw* (water) and *umai-ene* (the mother protector of women and children) continued to exist in the vocabulary.



⁴⁹ T Tchorov, *Kyrgyzstan* C Adle, Irfan Habib and Anara Tabyshalieva, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. 5th, UNESCO publication, London, p. 114.

GEOPOLITICS & ECONOMY

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Socio-Economic Dimensions of Globalization :

A Case Study of Labour Mobility in Uzbekistan

Abstract

Globalization, of course, isn't developing in an even-handed way, and is by no means utterly benign in its consequences and, therefore, is a comprehensive process with both positive and negative dimensions. Globalization is the increased mobility of goods, services, labor, technology and capital throughout the world and proceeds in various dimensions including economic, cultural, formation of world opinion, democratization, and political globalization. This paper portrays approaches towards globalization by various generations in Uzbekistan according sundry dimensions. Attitudes headed for the utilization of new technologies are reflected along the way since technology is viewed as a means to further globalization. The event of May 13 (known as the Andijan Massacre) is also discussed throughout the paper as these events greatly influenced the evolution of all dimensions in Uzbekistan. The labour migration which is having both positive and negative consequences has improved the socio-economic situation in rural areas by reducing the level of unemployment, encouraging market relations and raising the living standards. The problem of how to employ those who lost their jobs in the restructuring in rural areas, and also the problem of unemployment in the cities, is partly resolved through the temporary labour migration of rural inhabitants to the cities and also rural and urban inhabitants to other countries. The various sociological dimensions of labour migration related to family, marriage, kinship, wages, education, residence, economy, citizenship, religion, women, children, etc. are the primary concern of the present paper.

Key Words: globalization, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, Central Asia, Russia, Eurasia, migration, labour, economy, mobility.

Glossary

<i>Dekhkanin:</i>	1) Farmer; 2) In Uzbekistan – an owner of a dekhkan farm
<i>Dekhkan farm:</i>	In Uzbekistan – a small family farm producing and selling agricultural products using the family members' labour on a household plot (<i>tomorka</i>) allocated to a household head as lifetime ownership with hereditary succession, either officially registered as a legal entity or not
<i>Mardikor:</i>	Daily workers/ worker having a casual, odd or seasonal job
<i>Mardikorbazaar:</i>	A place where temporary workers can be hired. As a rule, mardikor-bazaars are located either close to or inside big markets and main road junctions
<i>Makhalla:</i>	Territorial community, neighbourhood; In Uzbekistan –a self-government body

<i>Maslakhatchy:</i>	An established post in makhalla, an adviser on women's issues
<i>Posbon:</i>	An employee of a makhalla committee, a police officer
<i>Tomorka:</i>	A household plot
<i>Khokimiyat:</i>	A local government authority
<i>Shirkat:</i>	An agricultural cooperative

Abbreviations

<i>AFDE</i>	Association of farm and dekhkan economies
<i>CM</i>	Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>FSU</i>	Former Soviet Union
<i>GDP</i>	Gross Domestic Product
<i>GRP</i>	Gross Regional Product
<i>MDG</i>	Millennium Development Goals
<i>MLSS</i>	Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>NGO</i>	Non-government organization
<i>RUz</i>	Republic of Uzbekistan
<i>TEA</i>	Temporary Employment Agency
<i>UN</i>	United Nations
<i>UNDP</i>	United Nations Development Program
<i>UTC</i>	Urban-type community
<i>WISP</i>	Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper for 2008-2010 (analogue of PRSP)

Introduction

Human societies across the globe have established progressively closer contacts over many centuries but recently the pace has dramatically increased. Nowadays globalization is probably the most widely used word. It is "the big current buzzword"¹ in speech of politicians, in newspaper articles, in the daily talks of journalists and managers, and in the debates of academics, used to signify that something profound is happening, that the world is changing, that a new economic, political and cultural order is taking place and shape. Hardly is there a sphere or even an aspect, of our life that is not influenced or affected by the globalization. But, yet, when we are asked to depict or define this phenomenon, we find difficult to do it. The reason according to Douglas Kellner is that "the term is used in so many different contexts, by so many different people, for so many different purposes, that it is difficult to ascertain what is at stake in the globalization is problematic, what function the term serves, and what affects it has for the contemporary theory and politics".²

There is no single agreed definition on globalization. Some say "it is making something worldwide in scope", some say it is a distinguishing trend at the present moment" while others say a salient feature of our time". Anthony Giddens defines globalization in his book *The Consequences of Modernity* (1990) as the

¹ Don Kalb. 2000. *Europeanization and Globalization*. Plovdiv Summer University. P.1.

² Douglas Kellner. 1995. *Globalization and Postmodern Turn*. New York. Routledge. P.1.

intensification of worldwide social relations, which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shared by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of globalization as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space.³ According to Malcolm Waters “globalization is social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding”.⁴ According to Roland Robertson “globalization is the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.”⁵

‘The world is in a rush, and is getting close to its end’- thus spoke one Archbishop Wulfstan, in a sermon given in York, in the year 1014. It is easy to imagine the same sentiments being expressed today. Are the hopes and anxieties of each period merely a carbon copy of previous eras? Is the world in which we live, at the close of the twentieth century, really any different from the earlier times?⁶ It is. There are good, objective reasons to believe that we are living through a major period of historical transition. Moreover, the changes affecting us aren’t confined to any one area of the globe, but stretch almost everywhere.

The world, in which we find ourselves today, doesn’t look or feel much the previous century philosophers predicted it would. Rather being more and more under our control, it seems out of our control- a runaway world. Global climate change and its accompanying risks, e.g., probably result from our intervention into the environment. They aren’t natural phenomenon. Science and technology are inevitably involved in our attempts to counter such risks, but they have also contributed to creating them in the first place.

Globalization is restructuring the ways in which we live, and in a very profound manner. It is led from the west, bears the strong imprint of American political and economic power, and is highly uneven in its consequences. Globalization also influences everyday life as much as it does events happening on a world scale. That is why there is a strong debate and discussion of sexuality, marriage and the family. In most parts of the world, women are staking claim to greater autonomy than in the past and are entering the labour force in large numbers. Such aspects of globalization are at least as important as those happening in the global market-place. They contribute to the stresses and strain affecting traditional ways of life and cultures in most regions of the world. The traditional family is under threat, is changing, and will change much further. Other traditions, such as those connected with religion, are also experiencing major transformations.

In a globalizing world, where information and images are routinely transmitted across the globe, we are all regularly in contact with others who think differently, and live differently, from ourselves. Globalization may not be a particularly attractive or elegant word. But absolutely no one who wants to understand our prospects at century’s end can ignore it. Globalization is intensively being discussed in

³ Anthony Giddens. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. London: Polity Press. pp. 24-27.

⁴ Malcolm Waters. 1995. *Globalization*. London, New York. Routledge. P.3.

⁵ Roland Robertson. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London. Sage Publications. P.8.

⁶ Anthony Giddens. 2002. *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. London: Profile Books Limited. P. 10.

every country. In France, the word is *mondialisation*. In Spain and Latin America, it is *globalization*. The Germans say *Globalisierung*.

Central Asia and the Labour Mobility

Central Asia especially the area between the southern border of Russia and the northern borderland of Iran and Afghanistan has been relatively neglected on the demographic transition in less developed countries.⁷ One of the most important trends in international affairs in the early part of the 21st century is the transformation of economic and political relations that is taking place throughout Southwest Asia, the Middle East and Eurasia.⁸ For policy makers, scholars, journalists and other observers to see the natural connectedness of the countries of the region is simply a testimony to the fact that many of the conceptual categories that dominated a world divided between superpower rivals are now been reconciled to changes that have already taken place, propelling us away from the world of the recent past even as they are bringing us closer to the world of the more distant past.⁹

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Soviet system marked total control of the centre upon everything, strict rationing, coercive mobilization of labour, coercive requisition of labour, and coercive requisition of agricultural produce, elimination of market and spread of terror. In short we can say that the Soviet system was based on the centralised directive system of planned economy in its purest authority.¹⁰

The ILO was created in 1919 based on the premise that lasting world peace and harmony can be achieved only if the working classes are treated and looked after properly. The ILO is the global body responsible for drawing up and overseeing international labour standards. Working with its Member States, the ILO seeks to ensure that labour standards are respected in practice as well as principle. It has a unique tripartite arrangement which brings together representatives of governments, workers and employers to jointly shape policies and programmes.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is devoted to advancing opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. Its main aims are to promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue in handling work-related issues. In promoting social justice and internationally recognized human and labour rights, the organization continues to pursue its founding mission that labour peace is essential to prosperity. Today, the ILO helps advance the creation of decent jobs and the kinds of economic and working conditions that give working people and business people a stake in lasting peace, prosperity and progress.

⁷ B. A. Bhat. 1999. 'Fertility Trends and Differentials in Kyrgyz Republic'. *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*. Centre of Central Asian Studies: University of Kashmir. Vol. X, No. 1. p. 65.

⁸ Gregory Gleason. 2008. 'The Idea of Greater Central Asia'. *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*. Centre of Central Asian Studies: University of Kashmir. Vol. XVII, No. 1. pp. 1-2.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Kristian Gerner and Stefan Hedlund. 1989. *Ideology and Rationality in the Soviet Model: A Legacy for Garbachev*. London, New York. p. 35.

Labour migration, or a migratory movement of population seeking earnings and employment, is one of the prevalent and considerable phenomena of the present world. Although the labour migration has been intrinsic in humankind from the earliest times, however, in terms of its scale and qualitative characteristics the modern migration represents a completely new phenomenon. In 2005, the number of only registered migrants in the world amounted to 191 million people, or 0.35% of the total world population. With the exception of refugees (7.1% of the total number of migrants) the vast majority of migrants are labour migrants, and over one third of them migrate from developing countries to the developed ones.¹¹

According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in 2006 labour migrants formally transferred US\$232 billion to their home countries. The experts say that US\$167 billion out of this amount falls at the developing countries. In other words, the labour migration is another way to attract foreign currency – after international aid and foreign investments. For example, labour migrants provide 20% of GDP in such countries as Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Moldova, and 10% in Albania, Armenia and Tajikistan.¹²

The collapse of the Soviet Union and centralized employment system, the evolution of market economy and a reduction in the rural employment market in newly independent states in Central Asia have entailed considerable changes in labour markets and growth of internal and external labour migration. The regional migration has eventually affected all population strata, all age categories, both men and women, various occupations and social groups. According to the Central Asia Human Development Report (UNDP), only in the period from early 1989 to early 2002, nearly 3 million people, or over 20% of population, migrated from Kazakhstan; 694,000 people (11% of the population) – from Tajikistan; over 1 million people (4%) – from Uzbekistan; and 360,000 people (7%) – from Kyrgyzstan.¹³

Over the past decade the former Soviet zone turned into one of the major human migration regions in the world. The amount of remittances sent home by labor migrants grew significantly in the 2000s and peaked in 2008.¹⁴ Labor migration became a potential major force for integration among the former Soviet republics. However, official state responses are weak, as both sending and receiving states failed to cooperate on migration issues, neglected the benefits of migration and complicated the lives of migrants. Labor migration is treated as a political issue in Central Asia, with recipient countries – mainly Russia and Kazakhstan – using migrants to exert pressure on migrant-sending countries. Meanwhile, Uzbekistan, a major sending country, routinely blocks the discussion of labor migration issue at regional meetings. Russia and Kazakhstan have benefited from migration inflows but lacked any motivation to create more favorable conditions for incoming migrants. Remittances surged in 2006-2007, when the construction sector boomed both in Russia and Kazakhstan. Remittances to Tajikistan, for instance, increased from \$1.7

¹¹ See International migration and development report of the UN Secretary General, 2006. September 2006, *Habitat Debate*. Vol.12, No.3. p. 5.

¹² See Mirzaev G. 19 June 2007. "Vneshnyaya trudovaya migratsiya – vazhnyy ekonomicheskiy protsess". *Pravda Vostoka*. p. 2.

¹³ Komarova O. D., Tishkov V. A. 1996. "Migratsiya i migratsionnaya politika", in Tishkov V.A. (ed.) *Migratsii i novye diaspori v postsovetskikh gosudarstvakh*. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Science, p. 11.

¹⁴ www.laborsta.ilo.org

billion in 2007 to \$2.7 billion in 2008.¹⁵ In the meantime, although migrant remittances constitute a considerable share of sender country GDP, these money insertions do not contribute to local development, instead resulting in real estate bubbles and rising food prices. The long rise was followed by an abrupt decline in early 2009. Analysts therefore, shifted from examining the causes, implications, and scope of migration to focus on the economic and social consequences for recipient countries when migrants return home. To a great extent, the migrants' abrupt return was the only major manifestation of the current global economic crisis to affect Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the leading migrant-sending countries.

International Migration in Central Asia

The results of the studies provide general information on migration in the region with a highly mobile demographics of younger, unskilled workers from rural areas with secondary or technical education, most of whom intend to migrate temporarily for work. They know little about illegal migration and trafficking, their rights as migrants or the laws governing them in the destination countries. They feel that migration is a good thing (except in Kazakhstan), although the majority acknowledge that migrants abroad are not treated very well and do not work in professional jobs. While non-titular nationalities, in particular Slaves, remain highly mobile, indigenous nationalities (i.e. ethnic Kyrgyz in Kyrgyzstan), both unskilled workers and professionals, are showing increased mobility levels. Poor economic conditions, the lack of ability to earn a decent wage and the lack of a future for respondents and their families are cited as the prime motivating factors for migration.

Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are predominantly migrant-sending countries; the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan are the primary migrant destinations for migrants. For the three major migrant-sending countries, remittances constitute a considerable contribution to the national economies. The Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan governments officially encourage labour migration from the country. Kazakhstan receives migrants from throughout Central Asia, and also sends some number of migrants to Russia and other countries, making it both a source and destination country for migrants.¹⁶

Magnitude of Migration in Central Asia

By 2008 around 200 million people – about 3% of the total world population – lived outside their homelands. Although Central Asia represents only a fraction of the world's total migrant population, the region's economies are heavily influenced by migrant workers. Russia is part of major human migration corridors and links Kazakhstan and Ukraine, both major migrant sources and destinations. These corridors rank among the most significant pathways across the world, behind only the Mexico-U.S. route. Russia is the largest remittance-sending country, recording \$11.4 billion sent in 2006, compared with \$40

¹⁵ Evgeniy Abdullaev (ed.). 2008. Labour migration in the Republic of Uzbekistan: Social, Legal and Gender Aspects. Tashkent: UNDP Country Office in Uzbekistan.

¹⁶ S. K. Olimova and E. I. Sadovskaya. 2005. *Trudovaya miçratsiya vstranakh Tsentral'noi Azii, Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Afganistans i Pakistane. Analiticheskii obzor*. Almaty: European Commission and International Organization for Migration. p. 10.

million sent from the United States.¹⁷ All Central Asian states have a visa-free entry to Russia, but migrants need to register if staying for longer than three days.

Within Eurasia, Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan are the largest migrant recipients. During 2000-2007 Russia hosted on average 12 million migrants or 8-9% of its total population. Kazakhstan, in turn, had 2.5-3 million immigrants during the same period, which comprised 16-19% of its population. The gap between the number of permits and the estimated number of migrations suggests that the vast majority of these migrants are forced to work illegally. Each year Russian employers obtain over 300,000 work permits for foreigners, while even official figures count from three to five million guest workers coming to Russia annually.¹⁸ This quota applies only to professionals, not unskilled workers. After the United States, Russia is the second-largest migrant-receiving country in the world, while Kazakhstan ranks 16th. For the most part, Russia and Kazakhstan receive far more labor migrants than refugees. Both countries are also the largest sending countries, with 11.5 million Russian citizens and 3.7 million Kazakh citizens residing abroad in the mid-2000s.¹⁹ While large German and Jewish communities left these countries after 1991, millions of ethnic Russians moved to Russia and 300,000 ethnic Kazakhs to Kazakhstan from other parts of the former Soviet Union. For Kazakhstan especially, the exodus is sizable, comprising nearly 25% of the population.²⁰

Experts estimate there are between 600,000 and over one million Tajik migrants in Russia, who sent more than \$1.8 billion as remittances in 2007. This sum is substantial, especially compared with the \$400 million in salaries earned by Tajik citizens at home. The Tajik government usually reports some 400,000-500,000 labor migrants residing abroad. But according to World Bank data, roughly 800,000 Tajik migrants – nearly 12 % of the total population of Tajikistan – work in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan combined. IOM reports that up to 90% of Tajik migrants work in Russia. Estimates of Kyrgyz migrants vary from 500,000 to over one million. Most official sources cite 600,000 migrants working in Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey, United States and the Baltic States, which would be 11.7% of Kyrgyzstan's total population. Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan are also the leading former Soviet states in terms of remittances sent in proportion to their GDPs by labor migrants received by these countries. Over 270,000 Tajiks and Uzbeks travel to Kyrgyzstan for seasonal work, while Tajikistan hosts some 300,000 migrants, mostly refugees from Afghanistan and ethnic Tajiks from Uzbekistan. Labor migrants in Kyrgyzstan send remittances equal to 14% of that country's GDP abroad, while in Tajikistan the figure is 5%. By comparison, remittances sent from Kazakhstan equal to only 4% of the country's GDP.²¹

¹⁷ Evgeniy Abdullaev (ed.). 2008. Op. cit.

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Rios, R. 2006. Migration Perspectives: Eastern Europe and Central Asia. International Organization for Migration.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ K. Patzwaldt. 2007. Labour Migration in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: Current Issues and Next Political Steps. UNESCO Series of Country Reports on the Ratification of the UN Convention on Migrants.

Theoretical Framework

A traditional neoclassical approach assumes that migrants choose locations based on current and expected income differentials. These stem from varying economic and employment opportunities across countries where migration is considered an investment decision of rational agents whose overall gains from migration exceed the moving costs (e.g. Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969). The probability of migration, consequently, is expected to increase with wage and welfare gains and decrease with the rise of unemployment rates. Moreover, various permanent and transitory shocks, which differ in their persistence and predictability, influence migration through changes in labor supply. Most empirical studies, which are based on the traditional theories of migration (e.g. Pissarides and McMaster 1990; Greenwood et al. 1991; Barro and Sala-i-Martin 1991), analyze the relationship between current net migration and various labor market and non-market variables using, typically, aggregated data. Important labor market variables in these studies are wage and unemployment rate. Non labor market factors are controlled usually by a wide range of variables including, for example, geographic distance, satisfaction with the location of origin, attachment to local labor markets, institutional and legal aspects, family ties, customs and cultural differences between immigrants and natives (Enchautegui 1997, Konya 2007, Lazear 1999, Fertig and Schmidt 2000).

Many of the above-mentioned empirical studies, as mentioned by Gallin (2004), ignore the forward looking nature of migration, even though this nature is crucially important in the theoretical models. Specifically, Gallin argues that the estimated effect of the current variables on net migration can be largely biased due to identification problems, if the forward looking nature of migration decision is ignored, as is the case in many empirical studies. Recent studies in this area, which are known as "the new economics of labor migration", add new dimension of labor migration. Namely, market uncertainty and risks in family migration decisions are incorporated to the above-mentioned traditional models (Chen et al. 2003, Stark 1991). Focusing on a collective and interdependent decision-making, the authors emphasize household families as an important decision-making unit in which a migration choice stems from the risk diversification strategies of families. Collective migration decisions result in remittances from migrants to their families in their home countries. In this respect, income risks or income correlation between countries and regions are found to be key determinants of family migration decisions since negative correlation reduces the overall risk and strengthen incentives to migrate (Chen et al. 2003). Based on a comprehensive analysis of family migration in the framework of utility maximization with heterogeneous members, the authors argue that members with high earning potential abroad migrate even if they earn less and income risks are high in a foreign country. Thus, under the assumption of risk uncertainty, migration doesn't flow automatically in response to wage differentials, but it also depends on certain risks (country risks, economic and political uncertainty, migrations cost), which vary across countries, and market correlations between home and foreign countries.

Empirical studies covering the main determinants and future potential of migration flows between and within the CIS countries include Memedovic et al. (1995), Fertig (1999), Weiss et al. (2003), Andrienko and Guriev (2004), Patzwaldt (2004) and Rios (2006). Uncertainty and risk factors, which are important determinants of migration, are not, however, considered in these studies. Bauer and Zimmerman (in Memedovic et al. 1995), for instance, analyze the welfare implications of labor migration from the least

developed countries to Western Europe. The authors investigate empirically the structure of population and demographic trends for Europe and the least developed countries and outline two important facts. First, there is a stagnating and ageing population in the European Union (EU), while in the least developed countries there is noticeable population growth. Second, there is no statistical relationship between migration and the level of unemployment in the receiving EU member states. Incorporating these assumptions into a formal model of migration, they provide a scenario in which migration flows to Europe from the least developed countries will be concentrated among low-skilled workers. The present study attempts to empirically investigate the determinants of migration flows in the CIS, taking into account uncertainty issues and policies implemented by the major, migrant receiving countries, apart from traditional factors described in the above-mentioned studies. Specifically, the main factors and origins of migration, as well as the groups of migrants under the past migration flows are analyzed.

Objectives

The study is based on the following objectives:

1. To investigate the consequences of globalization on economic, political, demographic, educational and social aspects, etc. of Uzbek society.
2. To study the impact of globalization on labour migration in Uzbekistan with special focus on sociological indicators.
3. To research the socio-economic dimensions of labour migration on individuals and groups in Uzbek society.

Methodology

The study is principally pragmatic one and is pedestal on a comprehensive sociological examination. The study is footed on both primary and secondary sources of information giving representation to all major sociological variables. Though the study is of qualitative nature, multi-stage sampling technique was used for the present study. Sources of internet and published work of ILO, World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), UNDP, WHO, WTO, International Labour Rights Forum, Human Rights Watch, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), Environmental Justice Foundation UK, Human Rights Defenders in Uzbekistan and other UN agencies reports and studies are used as primary source of information. Personal interactions in the field with germane people in Uzbekistan were made to corroborate the information bequeathed by the above mentioned sources and also to catch the first hand knowledge regarding the ground veracity. Primary source information was also collected in the present research work through formal and informal discussions, and collateral contacts. Discussions were also held with scholars in Uzbekistan with understanding and knowledge of the globalization and labour migration especially its socio-economic dimensions in Uzbekistan. Besides, relevant data was also collected from published documents, policy notes, reports, dissertations, etc. The secondary source of data was collected from books, periodicals, journals, articles and newspapers. The study is primarily an

extensive sociological investigation. Plan of data collection was devised to have more unswerving information and rejoinder to assorted questions. The data and information unruffled from various sources, was statistically treated and sociologically analyzed with logic and in the radiance of the facts of other studies.

Globalization and Labour Migration in Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan and Globalization

Attitudes toward globalization in Uzbekistan take different forms depending on various sociological factors that also affect Uzbeks' use of new technologies. Such factors include age, migration, social background, education, and the surrounding environment. For example, older people and those in rural areas do not use new technologies, or use them less and have less affection for globalization than younger generation Uzbeks who have studied overseas and travel frequently. The latter group cannot imagine living without new technologies and most of them believe globalization is a requirement of the times and an engine for development. The more people migrate, use new technologies, and have access to better education, the less they believe that Karimov is irreplaceable and that Islamists are the only alternative to Karimov. According to state-sponsored propaganda, after all, Karimov's departure from leadership may lead to a civil war or the Islamization of the society.

Globalization and the Generations in Uzbekistan

In Uzbekistan, generations are not only classified into pre-Soviet and post-Soviet generations or older and younger generations. Generations are complex, with every decade producing a separate generation characterized by its own peculiarities and preferences. The generation of people aged 50 and older is characterized by a deeply rooted Soviet upbringing. People of this generation generally have unsuccessfully adjusted to new realities and new ideologies. In contrast, people of the generation currently in the 40-50 year old age bracket are the most entrepreneurial. Members of this particular age cohort were between 25-35 years old when the Soviet Union collapsed, and were able to use new opportunities to their advantage. The generation of Uzbeks aged 25 to 40 is the most flexible and, although people in this group remember the final years of the Soviet period, they have not stuck to its ideology and, hence, are open to new realities and try to adjust to the times. This is also the most educated and moderate group, both religiously and politically.

Another generation comprises those aged 18 to 25 years old. This generation is more influenced by the current Karimov-crafted ideology and has less loyalty to the Soviet past. It is the Latin generation as the people of this generation are more familiar with the Latin script than the Cyrillic alphabet. They have also prioritized the study of the English language over Russian and therefore speak little Russian. At the same time, this generation shares religious devotion with the oldest generation: those of the younger generation grew up with, or were often raised by, the latter and went with them to mosques. They are also still in a formative stage. Less Russian influence and exposure, more religious feelings, and more loyalty to the

regime make this group politically unpredictable. What this group will evolve into in the next 10 to 15 years will depend on the environment of the next decade and whether that period is characterized by the revival and long-term sustainability of Uzbek-Russian relations, the continued growth of corruption, continuing strong influence of the regime's propaganda, and further isolation of the country from the West due to severe travel restrictions.

A fourth Uzbek generation comprises those aged 1 to 18 years old. This is the most loyal group to the current regime because it is an easy and vulnerable target of Karimov's propaganda. The Soviet youth is a good comparison. It was raised on Soviet books, movies, newspapers, traditions, and socialized in a closed society. Karimov is using the same methods of propaganda, although there are differences between the former Soviet Union and modern-day Uzbekistan. Now there is mobile communication and Internet so Uzbekistan is not as closed as was the USSR. There are also more people migrating and bringing information from the outside with them into Uzbekistan. Conversely, there is also much more corruption than there was in the USSR, more prostitution, a higher drug use rate, and a clear division between the poor and the rich, even in schools and kindergartens. This was not the case in the former Soviet Union. Within each generation, there is also a gap stemming from the social background, educational level, frequency of use of new technologies, knowledge of foreign languages, and economic situation of each individual.

Economic Globalization in Uzbekistan

Economic globalization is the core of the globalization process. This is what drove European countries to form the European Union. Similarly, President Karimov prioritized economic development in Uzbekistan's bilateral and multilateral relations and with regard to Uzbekistan's accession to various regional blocs. Economic liberalization and the development of small- and medium sized businesses in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan have run counter to Uzbekistan's trend toward strengthening state control over the economy and monopolizing key economic sectors. This contrast has made it impossible for Uzbek private businesses to prosper and expand regionally. Concerns about inflation have also shut companies from neighboring countries out of the Uzbek market.

With the worsening of Uzbekistan's relations with the West and the United States in the aftermath of the Andijan events, Uzbekistan lost key partners and donors. However, some relationships began to sour before these events. For example, relations with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) were damaged the year before the Andijan events of 2005 after the bank made future economic pledges contingent on political progress in Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan also conceals its real macroeconomic figures from the World Bank and the IMF in order to continue receiving their aid. At the same time, Karimov has found new partners in Russia and China. Each country has pledged one billion dollars in investments into the Uzbek economy. Uzbekistan has received little in economic terms from the United States and Europe, especially since the country introduced currency restrictions in 1996. Since 1996, scores of American and European companies have left the Uzbek market and failed to return even after the currency restrictions were lifted in 2004.

The Andijan events forced the Uzbek regime to ally itself with Russia and China. This led to the abolishment of the Central Asian Economic Cooperation organization and to its merger with the

Russian-led Eurasian Economic Cooperation, once criticized by Karimov. It is still unknown what economic results these developments will bring to Uzbekistan. Investments from Russia and China may never come if both these countries decide to make investments contingent upon Uzbekistan meeting certain political and economic demands. In Uzbekistan's post-independence history, the leadership has tested various models of economic development—Turkish, Malaysian, Chinese, Korean, and has now adopted a model of its own, which, without certain political reforms, is also doomed to fail. Substantial investments from South Korea and Japan have not induced Uzbekistan to democratic changes, though they did not have such objectives to begin with. Neither of these two Asian countries risked ruination of their relations with Uzbekistan, even after the Andijan massacre, and have continued to render economic and other kinds of assistance to Uzbekistan. It is a Catch-22 situation. There is a general understanding in Uzbekistan that economic liberalization is an important factor for the country's development, especially because of the increasing impoverishment of the people. Although people of the older generation may still long for the Soviet system, they too understand the impossibility of a return to the past. Differences among the former Soviet republics—political, economic, and cultural—have widened since independence. With the further deterioration of the Uzbek economy and the failure of Karimov's gradual economic transition (which has become mired in large-scale corruption), even the older generation is open to change or a return to the pre-1996 policies. However, such changes may take a long time, perhaps even a regime change, considering the fact that major businesses in Uzbekistan are controlled by the elite and their families and any independent competition may hurt the interests of the elite.

While Uzbeks are generally in favor of economic globalization at a regional level, high tariffs, border closures, visa regimes, bureaucratic attitudes, and a generally condescending attitude among the main nations in the region hinder such cooperation. The post-1996 decline of the once-strong Uzbek economy and, in contrast, the rapid growth of Kazakhstan and Russia's economies due to increasing oil production and global oil prices have created a sense of inferiority among the various generations of Uzbeks and a growing anger with the government's policies. The flow of Uzbek migrant workers into Russia and Kazakhstan has only compounded this sentiment.

Cultural Globalization in Uzbekistan

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan and Uzbeks became vulnerable to external influences, including activists of the "Moonies," Saudi and Pakistani religious missionaries, American blockbuster movies, and Coca-Cola. Once the Soviet ideological framework was gone, Uzbekistan did not have a new ideology to fill the gap. Uzbeks, for long deprived of contact with the external world, were open to anything new. At the time, Uzbeks were open to globalization and did not know its implications. In 1993-1994, the government introduced a new ideology according to which Uzbekistan was to have a great future. The ideology was about praising the history, the famous scholars who lived in what is now Uzbekistan, and scientific and cultural achievements of distant historical periods. A lot of events were held to honor historic scholars and mark their jubilees. In particular, there were attempts and the desire to strengthen cultural ties with the neighboring Turkic states and Turkey. An attempt to impose Uzbekistan's historic greatness on neighbors, however, was met with resistance and irritation because it was clear that Uzbekistan was attempting to claim a position of regional leadership. But Uzbeks

welcomed such a policy, especially ethnic Uzbeks in neighboring countries who saw this as a chance to improve their situation in their respective countries. It was a period when Karimov was widely credited as someone capable of leading Uzbeks to a great future. But when such an aggressive ideology failed with its neighbors, Uzbekistan's relations with them cooled and contacts and communication in the region diminished.

Culturally, the collapse of the Soviet Union and post-1996 economic degradation greatly damaged the nation's self-confidence and spiritual morale, making the problems of prostitution, human trafficking, domestic violence, and suicide common and widespread. With the advent of the Internet and mobile communication, it became easier for information and different cultures from outside Uzbekistan to penetrate the country. U.S. government educational exchange programs and the Uzbek government's short-lived overseas scholarship program, *Umid* (Hope), exposed Uzbeks to different cultural environments. Depending on where they had studied abroad, these Uzbeks brought a new culture with them back to Uzbekistan. The flow of tourists, the illegal import of movies and music from different countries (mainly from the United States), and the rise of the Internet all contributed to the establishment of new cultures in Uzbekistan, mostly among young people. These cultures began widening the generational gap between young people, who were most affected by this process, and the older generation, which was raised within the Soviet-Russian-Uzbek culture and was protected from the new cultures by its infrequent use of new technologies and limited travel to other countries.

Cultural globalization would affect Uzbeks more if free and open media functioned in the country. State TV and newspapers now promote a new defensive ideology that preaches that Uzbekistan is a victim of the West's conspiracy. The ideology also advocates for a governmental alliance with Russia and China. Coverage of Western culture and values is limited in the Uzbek media, especially since the Andijan events and the improvement of relations with Russia. The activity of independent electronic media has been curbed and put under the control and jurisdiction of the NAESMI organization (National Association of Electronic Media), which claims that it is independent from the government but in fact was created by the government to take independent TV and radio stations out of their partnership with the American Internews group. This process was influenced by the president's eldest daughter, Gulnara. However, the majority of Uzbeks are neither for nor against the West or Russia. On the whole, all of the generations believe that there should be a balanced foreign policy and that normal relations should be maintained both with the West and with Russia, if Uzbekistan can preserve its national colors and peculiarities. The religious sectors of society are naturally supportive of closer relations with the Islamic world. Everyone equally understands the need for closer ties with the countries of Central Asia.

Globalization and the Formation of World Opinion

Most Uzbeks who have been overseas, and especially those in the West, are surprised to discover that not everyone in foreign countries knows about the existence of Uzbekistan. And almost every Uzbek tries to educate his or her new friends about the country. Uzbeks take criticism and negative attitudes painfully, but those who stay in a foreign country for a length of time realize that criticism of a regime does not necessarily equate with criticism of the people and the country. The Uzbek regime, especially after the Andijan massacre, has developed a very negative attitude toward Western-led globalization

because globalization usually intensifies interaction among states and the more the Uzbek government interacts with the Western states, the more its domestic problems become an international concern. This is especially true if each new leader of a Western country sees the same autocratic ruler stay in power in Uzbekistan. Pressure from international human rights organizations force these leaders to raise Uzbek domestic issues at bilateral and multilateral meetings. Therefore, the Uzbek regime has come to prefer globalization processes led by Russia and China, where questions of internal politics are considered each government's own business. One of the reasons why Karimov opposes Western globalization is because he does not want to be embarrassed as a leader because this could undermine his reputation and position among Uzbeks. The May 2004 EBRD annual meeting in Tashkent was a good lesson for him. Live on TV, at the opening of the meeting, President Karimov looked down like a student as he was "lectured" about democracy by an EBRD official. In contrast, in Russia and China following the Andijan events Karimov was treated with respect and supported, as both Vladimir Putin and Hu Jintao welcomed the measures Karimov took against demonstrators in Andijan. Karimov's actions were a message to the opposition in Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Russia that an alternative to the color revolutions exists. The use of new technologies has been very influential in shaping world opinion, especially since the Andijan events.

Almost all people in Uzbekistan who lack access to outside information (due to the practice of online censorship and filtering) are—regardless of their age—less aware of the real situation with regard to global opinion on Uzbekistan. They get most of their news from government-run media organizations and pro-government web sites and therefore believe that there was a conspiracy against the Uzbek government in Andijan in May 2005. To them, this seems particularly plausible given the color revolutions in other CIS countries, including neighboring Kyrgyzstan. So these Uzbeks, influenced mainly by official propaganda, approve the government's measures because they still do not have accurate information about what happened in Andijan. After hearing the government story about the threat of religious extremism and terrorism in Uzbekistan after the February 1999 and spring and summer of 2004 bombings, many Uzbeks found the government's response in Andijan adequate and believed the official explanation that "those" in the Ferghana Valley are usually more religious and therefore tend to cause trouble. It should be noted that the younger generation (those aged 18-25) of Uzbeks have less interest in politics and world affairs, including world opinion of the processes in Uzbekistan. These Uzbeks are more concerned with their schooling, their economic well-being, fashion, their surroundings, and possibilities to go overseas. Their use of mobile phones is limited to long, empty conversations and they use the Internet mainly to make new friends in chat rooms, download songs online, and send e-mails.

Since there is a higher percentage of believers and Islamic resurgence among Uzbeks over the age of 45, the U.S. policy in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Muslim world contributed to their acceptance of the government's conspiracy scenario. The percentage of believers among the youngest generation may be as high as among the oldest generation because older Uzbeks, although formerly atheist and communist, found it imperative to return to Islam during the general resurgence of religion in the country and also to teach the youngest generation about Islam. For some Uzbeks Islam has been a popular trend, and for others it's been a comfort; for yet others, it has signified the re-discovery of their forefathers' religion, or become a vehicle to oppose a government viewed as oppressive. Other generations may not be as religious as the youngest and oldest generations are because these other groups may be preoccupied with economic problems.

Negative global opinion of the Uzbek government's policies—both political and economic—has made Uzbeks leave the country. They try to settle overseas and bring their families later, expecting no well-paying jobs in Uzbekistan and a worsening political situation. Most of the time, it is these Uzbeks that feed information to people in Uzbekistan via private channels.

Globalization and Democratization in Uzbekistan

Globalization plays an important role as a vehicle to advance democratic values because globalization processes create more communication, accountability, and certain standards among its participants. The interdependency of globalization also allows for a greater degree of influence to be exerted on participating states.

Regardless of their age, actively practicing Muslims in Uzbekistan have been most vulnerable to state propaganda. Their opinion of the Western/U.S. model of democratization is in concert with that of Muslims in other Islamic countries. Although Uzbekistan's Muslims do not take their disagreements and protests into the streets like Muslims in Iran, Pakistan, or Indonesia—because of Karimov's concerns with Islam and the Uzbek regime's secular nature—Uzbek Muslims can be a major factor should Karimov decide to use them in public demonstrations to show Uzbekistan's rejection of the United States and Europe. However, fearing another "Andijan" and the possibility of losing control of the crowd, Karimov will never allow a public protest with religious tones against the U.S. policies in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Karimov has used the Islamic factor as a trump-card to assure some states and his own people that early democratization of society can only hurt the society and cause civil unrest, even unrest that could lead to a takeover by Islamist groups that lack peoples' political consciousness. Uzbeks were far removed from radical and political Islam for the following reasons: The majority of people who lived behind the Iron Curtain during the Cold War and that now exist under the authoritarian Uzbek regime, have been deprived of uncensored information. Uzbekistan blocks news coverage of the Middle East by Islamic sources like Al-Jazeera. Muslims of Uzbekistan get very little information about the lives and struggles of Muslims in the Middle East or elsewhere in the world. It is for this reason that political Islam cannot emerge or survive inside the country. Uzbeks are isolated from politically active Muslim countries and are not affected by the developments in those countries. Another reason for this situation is Uzbekistan's distant geographic location from conflict zones involving Muslims and representatives of other religions (e.g., the Middle East, Kashmir, and Bosnia). There is no common enemy to consolidate against. Although Uzbekistan is geographically very close to places like Afghanistan and Iran, neither of them has been openly involved in conflict with non-Muslim countries since Uzbekistan's independence. Since the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, all the conflicts in Afghanistan have been intrastate and among various Muslim groups. Uzbeks do not identify with a political structure based on Islam as the preferred political model. The Taliban, for example, was the worst example for Uzbeks of what radical Islam can result in. Relatively low standards of living in Islamic states as compared to those in the West are also important factors in Uzbeks' rejection of radicalization. However, social and economic factors that the government refuses to acknowledge are internal factors increasing the potential politicization and radicalization of Islam in Uzbekistan. The impact of these factors should not be overlooked.

Democratization is a debatable issue for representatives of any generation in Uzbekistan for many reasons, including: 1) Some believe that the notion of democracy is vague; 2) Democratization is interpreted as Westernization and Westernization is, especially in light of the European Union's exclusionist policy toward Turkey, equated with Christianization; 3) Official propaganda against this notion has contributed to these debates; 4) Criticism in the United States and Europe of the Bush administration for lacking a vision and a strategy for victory in Iraq and Afghanistan further complicates the situation; and 5) Since Uzbekistan's independence, Uzbeks have mostly valued economic benefits over political ones. If economic growth does not result from the color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan, Uzbeks will find the Bush Doctrine of democratization less appealing.

Uzbeks' problems understanding the notion of democracy may be related to the fact that Uzbekistan has never been a democracy, but people living in Central Asia have heard of, and longed for, the type of just society and just rulers they hear about in old tales and poems of great scholars like Navoi. Historians and chroniclers of many rulers in Central Asia always praised these qualities and the rulers themselves wanted to be described as just. So the notion of democracy must be replaced with the notion of a just society or a just leadership for the people in the Muslim world, including Uzbekistan. This is something that the United States should seriously aim for in public diplomacy efforts headed by Under-Secretary of State Karen Hughes. If in some Islamic and CIS states the notion of democracy has come to mean a regime change or a military invasion, these states will continue to resist this concept. However, no leader and no country can deny the notion of a just society or just rule, as both are considered universal concepts throughout the world. Specifically for Uzbekistan, an ideology that promotes a just society and is empowered by local history, historic facts and tales, poems, stories, and aphorisms of great philosophers could successfully replace the interpretation of democratization that causes irritation and a boomerang effect in the country. Perhaps if this notion carries as much meaning as democracy it will be perceived with cynicism by younger generation Uzbeks, however, it should be realized that by ridiculing the idea of a just society these Uzbeks would be ridiculing the great scholars and historic personalities that they all praise and admire.

Uzbekistan and Political Globalization

For many years it was Karimov's policy not to join unions and associations of states with political or military objectives. For that reason Uzbekistan left the CIS Agreement on Collective Security; was skeptical about groups such as the Eurasian Economic Community led by Russia; did not join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the beginning; and became less active in the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) once it felt that there were indications of the ECO's politicization. The Uzbek leader always put economic interests over political or military concerns.

Cool relations with Russia began improving with Putin's rise to power because Putin expressed interest in Central Asia, unlike his predecessor Boris Yeltsin. Russia's renewed interest in Central Asia flattered Karimov. Further, Karimov saw an opportunity to use Russia to counter increasing criticism from the West. After hosting the 2004 EBRD annual meeting in Tashkent—which resulted in the suspension of the Bank's engagement with the government and made future credits contingent upon improvements in political reform and human rights—Tashkent for the first time did not send a delegation

to the Bank's annual meeting in 2005. In late 2005, NATO's foreign ministerial summit in Brussels, which also included NATO's partner-states, was also conducted without Uzbekistan, despite the fact that the Afghan issue that Uzbekistan was interested in was high on the agenda. Following Uzbekistan's decision to deny further use of the Khanabad airbase to the United States, Uzbekistan also asked some NATO member-states to stop using Uzbekistan's land and airspace for future operations in Afghanistan. Germany, however, was an exception and was allowed to keep its military presence at the Termez airbase because of historically warm relations between the two countries. Uzbekistan has also always supported Germany's candidacy for the UN Security Council's permanent membership.

When political globalization connected to the West and the United States came to a halt, Uzbekistan began developing these links with Russia, China, and other CIS states that supported Karimov after the Andijan massacre and invited Uzbekistan to join their organizations. As a result, Karimov and other Central Asian leaders decided to merge the Central Asian Cooperation Organization with the Eurasian Economic Community. It is also possible that Karimov will return to the CIS Agreement on Collective Security. Uzbekistan may also follow Russia's example and use its gas resources as leverage to control politics in certain countries, and most of all, in Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine.

Although the majority of Uzbeks of all generations evenly support closer relations with Russia, they do not want these relations to occur at the expense of relations with Europe and the United States. People expect real economic benefits from foreign relations and if ties turn out to be based on narrow personal interests supporting only the regime's security, support for relationship is likely to dwindle. The U.S. State Department recently re-organized and moved Uzbekistan from the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs to the re-organized South and Central Asian Bureau. It is not yet known how this development will change U.S. policy toward Uzbekistan. However, neither the Uzbek government nor the Uzbek people categorize themselves as part of South Asia—either mentally or politically. There has been little interaction with major South Asian countries such as Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan because of the instability in Afghanistan and due to the Uzbek government's mistrust of the Iranian and Pakistani regimes for their alleged support of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. Religion and the distant past are the only factors connecting Uzbeks to South Asia. Economically, Uzbekistan has not had active bilateral interactions with countries in the region, and has also avoided interaction through the Organization of Islamic Conference and the Economic Cooperation Organization.

Globalization and Labour Mobility in Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan's emigrant population is the largest in Central Asia in absolute numbers. Over 2 million immigrants from Uzbekistan reportedly reside in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, South Korea, the United States, and Europe. These migrants send over \$1.3 billion home in remittances annually, making up to 8% of Uzbekistan's GDP. The real number of Uzbek migrants and the actual size of remittances is believed to be considerably higher than reported by official sources. Roughly 60% of Uzbek migrants work in Russia, making them one of the major immigrant communities there, alongside Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Kazakhs, and Azerbaijanis. Of all the Central Asian countries Turkmenistan has the lowest number of emigrants working abroad. Some 250,000 persons in this population are reported to be working in Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Iran, and the United States. Turkmenistan also hosts 223,000

immigrants from Uzbekistan, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan. Therefore Turkmenistan's net migration is fairly insignificant.

Half of Central Asia's residents live in Uzbekistan. With an overwhelmingly rural population and heavy government control of the economy, Uzbekistan inevitably became a major migrant-exporting country. According to various estimates, between 2 million and 8 million Uzbek citizens work abroad. The vast majority of labor migrants work seasonally, travelling abroad only during warm months, and come from rural areas and the Karakalpakstan autonomous republic. The Uzbek government is notorious for denying the very existence of labor migration among its citizens. The IOM is not accredited in Uzbekistan, but several government-controlled organizations (officially registered as NGOs) manage projects in conjunction with the IOM office in Almaty, Kazakhstan. These organizations collaborate actively with law-enforcement structures and work on the grassroots level. Local government and makhallas (local communities) help organize trainings with potential and returning migrants on how to acquire legal status abroad, the migrants' rights and responsibilities. Istiqbolli Avlod (Future Generation), for instance, coordinates projects on migration and human trafficking under the supervision of IOM Almaty. Since 2004, the organization has been able to build good contacts with NGOs in Kazakhstan, Russia and Kyrgyzstan. According to Istiqbolli Avlod staff, their efforts were not in vain, as government employees now see migrants in a very different way than just a few years ago. When the organization first began working, migrants were perceived as outcasts of society who were at fault for any trouble abroad. Trafficked women, for example, were treated as criminals and social pariahs. Today, that view has changed, with law enforcement being more empathetic towards migrants and victims of trafficking. Cases of harsh treatment of victims still exist, but law-enforcement structures also occasionally collaborate with Istiqbolli Avlod. Although the NGO has been actively working with the government and claims to have achieved constructive results, the organization is hardly independent. Following the Andijan massacre in May 2005, the Uzbek parliament began to administer all donor grants allocated to civil society groups, giving the government strong leverage over the work of NGOs. Such government-NGO collaboration is indeed at times productive, but it also fosters a false perception of a free and successful civil society. The government allows other NGOs to exist on the same terms, including the youth group Kamolot and the Fond Forum. Uzbekistan works far more closely with Russian law-enforcement structures and NGO partners than with those in Kazakhstan. Since the Uzbek government denies that migration problems with Kazakhstan exist, Uzbek citizens are the most common victims of sexual and labor exploitation there. Because the Kazakh police is often involved in covering up human trafficking in Almaty and other large cities, Istiqbolli Avlod has been unable to repatriate Uzbek trafficking victims. Even when the NGO has information on the possible location of a victim, the Almaty police refuse to collaborate. Along with labor migration, the Uzbekistan's internal and external human trafficking rates are the highest in the region. The Uzbek government continues to be reluctant to build a regional dialogue on migration issues. Many local experts believe Tashkent fears negative international publicity from the migration issue. Uzbekistan's collaboration on migration is best with Russia, and the Uzbek government continues to build contacts with Middle Eastern programs. Yet, cooperation with Kazakhstan, one of the largest recipients of Uzbek migrants, is far from adequate.

Cotton Farming and the Patterns of Out-migration

The process of agrarian reform initiated a new period of hardship for rural populations (according to 2005 figures 64% of the population live in rural areas and the agricultural sector employs about 32% of the workforce).²² In the initial stages of de-collectivization, *shirkats* were chronically in arrears of wages. Rural households were only able to survive through a combination of livelihood activities in the informal sector and the second crop economy. As privatization proceeded and *shirkats* were dismantled rural households started to lose their toehold in the second crop economy and many joined the ranks of a casual labour force of male and female *mardikor* (daily workers) (Kandiyoti 2003b). Without the direct and indirect benefits of membership in collective enterprises, the livelihoods of rural households became increasingly precarious.

The population responded to these hardships through seasonal migration to wealthier countries with a high demand for labour, primarily Kazakhstan and Russia. Experts estimate that the total number of labour migrants (legal and illegal) from Uzbekistan to varied destinations such as Russia, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Turkey, UEA and others reach 1–1.5 million and account for up to 8% of the GDP in remittances.²³ The higher wages labourers are able to earn by becoming migrants (an approximate average monthly wage of US\$300–500 per month as compared to US\$200 per harvesting season in Uzbekistan) act as a magnet for able-bodied men and women who can no longer subsist in the agricultural sector of Uzbekistan.

This has increased the pressures on the operations of the cotton sector. The administration now has to combat two different types of centrifugal tendencies in order to keep up levels of production: **a)** the attempts of farmers to get out of cotton production in favour of more profitable crop mixes; and **b)** the attempts of labourers to exit Uzbek agricultural production altogether in favour of more lucrative jobs elsewhere.²⁴ This conjuncture has led to increasing levels of coercion and policing of both land use and of the agricultural labour force, pushing up demand for a cheap substitute labour force. The combination of factors detailed above points to a new set of constraints that condition the demand for child labour. If anything, the relative contribution of child and other forms of coerced labour to total output could increase unless the Government of Uzbekistan adopts a new mix of agricultural policies that can successfully break the vicious cycle of reliance on compulsion to keep up production levels. Likewise, diversification of the economy and decreasing reliance on cotton as a key export commodity could, in the longer term, assist in alternative job creation.

²² Government of Uzbekistan, *Welfare Improvement Strategy Paper* (Tashkent, 2007), 21.

²³ According to Russian Central Bank figures, migrants from Uzbekistan transferred US\$1 billion in 2006. However, it must be borne in mind that many also use informal channels for money transfers. <http://www.ferghana.ru/news>.

²⁴ According to some reports, although the current economic downturn is translating into a lower volume of remittances, there is no decline in the number of Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Tajik citizens seeking jobs abroad. See Erica Marat, "Shrinking Remittances Increase Labour Migration from Central Asia", *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst* Vol.11, No. 3 (11 February 2009) 7-9.

Migrant Working Conditions and Health Issues

The lack of interstate cooperation on labor migration and the corresponding low interest among public officials has led to widespread abuse of migrants' rights. Without official procedures, both Russian employers and labor migrants are forced to establish informal contracts. Over 65% of employment agreements among Tajik migrants in Russia are brokered without any written contract.²⁵ Among them, only one-third have legal employment authorization in Russia. The employers, in order to legally employ guest workers, must pay a deposit to the authorities that would cover the deportation costs for migrants who break the law. They must also pay higher taxes and take responsibility for the civic rights of these workers.

According to sociological surveys, most Central Asian migrants in Russia work up to nine hours per day, with over 10% working more than 12 hours. Moscow and Saint Petersburg are the highest-paying cities, with monthly salaries ranging between 3,000 and 9,000 Roubles (\$100 to \$300). Higher salaries in both cities, however, also make them prime places for fraud and corruption. Roughly 35-50% of migrants in these cities are not paid for their work. Migrants in Astrakhan receive the lowest salaries (less than 3,000 Roubles/month) and live in the worst conditions. Over 44% of all migrants live in adverse conditions, while 80% of migrants lack access to healthcare. The registration process in Russia for citizens from former Soviet republics is lengthy, taking up to 30 days. However, a migrant must register within three days upon arrival in Russia if they want to continue the legal registration process. Labor migrants arriving by airplane or train from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are accustomed to paying bribes to the custom control officers. Upon arrival in Russian cities, migrants must bribe another set of customs control officers. Then when they leave Russia, migrants are pressured to pay bribes if they want to travel back home with their remaining wages. Surveys of migrants show that most would indeed prefer legal registration.

Starting in 2003-2004, several international organizations began to work with NGOs in sending countries to develop special manuals for migrants informing them of their rights and responsibilities, the necessary documents for legal registration and pertinent immigration regulations in Russia. Such attention to migrant needs was provoked after the death and deportation rates among migrants in Russia spiked in the early 2000s. Over 400-1,000 migrants die in Russia and Kazakhstan each year, due to poor working conditions, a lack of access to health care and violence against migrants. Labor migration also damages the migrants' health. According to the Bishkek IOM office, half of all migrants return home with worsened health conditions. Heavy lifting, freezing temperatures, insufficient health care and poor living conditions are the leading causes of worsening health. After working in Siberia, where temperatures drop as low as -60 degrees Celsius, most returning migrants meet the government criteria to be considered handicapped. In the 2000s mostly young men migrated to Russia straight after finishing secondary school, creating a generation of citizens with severe health problems. Since winters in Russia are colder than in Central Asia and the construction sector slows down then, most labor migrants who travel without families return home during the winter period, usually for 1-2 months. But the energy crisis and abnormally prolonged sub-zero temperatures during winters 2007-08 led most migrants to remain in

²⁵ Ali Mansoor and Bryce Quillin. 2006. Migration and Remittances: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. The World Bank.

Russia and even summoning their families from Central Asia. Usually after working in Russia for over five years migrants bring their families to Russia. In Tajik and Uzbek families, women tend stay at home even while living in Russia. The lack of a second income affects the cost of living. To obtain a legal work permit in Russia and Kazakhstan, migrants must prove that they are in their good health. Any person with potentially infectious diseases will not be able to work legally. Although migrants are required to collect necessary medical documents prior to leaving to work abroad, they do not have a medical examination upon their return home. Yet many return with far worse health than when they departed. Since the majority of labor migrants are young, often unmarried males, they may be exposed to numerous STDs from paid sex services. Respiratory transmitted infections such as tuberculosis are also a common problem among migrants living in cramped quarters. Lacking access to health care abroad, migrants might be unaware of their diseases, delay treatment and spread infection among their fellow co-workers and families. A compulsory medical examination upon arrival home will serve as a buffer.

Global Economic Crisis and Migration: Outlook for 2009-2010

According to Uzbek experts, Uzbekistan will likely be less affected by the global economic crisis due to the country's low external borrowing. Along with falling global prices for cotton, migrants' shrinking remittances can potentially become one of the sizable negative impacts on the economy. Experts estimated that \$2 billion remittances will drop by half in 2009. Regional economists unanimously believe that returning migrants will shake the very economic foundation of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Yet, although overly pessimistic forecasts prevail, analysts are divided into three general groups when assessing the impact of the crisis on labor migrants' remittances. The first group warned that the crisis will shake the very fundamentals of the migrant-sending counties. Namely, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and to a lesser extent Uzbekistan, will suffer tremendously from abruptly decreased remittances. Returning migrants will increase unemployment and exacerbate the ongoing energy crisis in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. But the most feared implication of returning migrants would be their potential political mobilization against the ruling regimes in the three states, which could consequently lead to instability or even government collapse. As one Tajik opposition leader commented in spring 2008, the migrants "will either join our party or turn against us. It is an unpredictable crowd". The second group argues that migrants will not return from Russia and Kazakhstan en masse, and thus remittances will decrease only gradually. The impact of the economic crisis will be sizable, but no strong shocks will be felt. Labor migrants who lost jobs in Russia, for instance, will try to stay in Russia and find jobs in other sectors. In the meantime, only a small share of migrants will return.

Finally, the third group concludes that the economic crisis will affect labor migrants' remittances over a short period in 2009. But the overall volume of remittances will stabilize in late 2009 and during 2010, as more migrants travel to Russia and Kazakhstan to find jobs and substitute for the shrinking remittances from other family members. However, job opportunities will be scarce, work conditions and salaries will decrease, while migrants will seek to maximize their earnings and allocate larger sums for remittances. The pressure to earn money will be felt the strongest by the poorest strata. According to Ganiev, the common misconception about the impact of the economic crisis on migration is that migrants will be returning en masse into the region. Russia's labor market is complex and multilayered. A large proportion

of Central Asian migrants are moving from western Russia to the east and north. Northern Siberia and Russia's Far East have become more popular destinations for migrants who previously preferred to work in large cities in the west. Migrants working in Kazakhstan's construction sector had to move into the agricultural and retail sectors as building projects dried up. Remittances indeed fell dramatically in late 2008 and early 2009, but they decreased not only due to the loss of jobs and employers' delays with payments to guest workers. The Russian government's efforts to stop the devaluation of Ruble affected the volume of remittances as well. As of fall 2008, migrants could transfer money only in Rubles, but Uzbek banks do not accept deposits in rubles. As a result, the remittances' real value has dropped as the Ruble's value decreased. The Ruble's 40% decline between fall 2008 and winter 2009 affected the real volume of remittances sent from Russia. The currency market in Uzbekistan was being overwhelmed with Rubles and Sums, while the U.S. dollars' value was increasing. In a matter of a few months the dollar strengthened by 40% in Uzbekistan, and to a lesser extent in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

Conclusion

Economic problems are the key reason for migration and do not only rivet unemployment; it also embraces dissatisfaction with the income level and untimely wage payment. The main prompt to Kazakhstan and Russia is due to the acquaintances helping with accommodation and adaptation though there are also cases of migration outside the FSU. Generally, an opportunity to migrate comes unexpectedly, and the respondents formally start living there as usual tourists or students.

Majority of the families can not invest in a labour migrant as that would exhaust all the resources of most extended families. Also, problems related to residence in a host country: search for inexpensive housing (which often means lack of basic living conditions), registration, employment and adaptation to new, unusual environment. Registration is of special importance since its lack means not only the risk of deportation, but also lack of access to health services and social safety net. Thus, migrants depend on people providing them with registration (usually acquaintances and intermediaries. There are some gender differences in migrants' labour division. Urban women usually work as sellers in the market. Some of them who have university education and computer operation skills find jobs as secretaries. Rural women mostly work as housekeepers and babysitters. Urban men sometimes find employment at private enterprises or in catering industry. Rural men are mostly employed in construction industry. The women working as housekeepers usually live at an employer's house. The men, recruited by intermediaries to work as construction workers, usually work in brigades and live in barracks. Migrants try to minimize their spending in host countries to set aside more money. In Uzbekistan, these savings are spent mainly on food. The second important expenditure item is construction or house repair. The third one is weddings, mainly daughters' as parents want them to get married before sons. Due to labour migration, a number of families have improved their well-being. Migration affects families both in terms of family relations and children upbringing.

By approaching migration from a developmental perspective, states move beyond tackling problems of human movement towards enriching the fabric of their societies. Researchers, governments, NGOs and international organizations must collaborate towards a regional migration scheme that recognizes migration and the protection of migrants' rights as a positive tool for economic and social development.

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МАРАШ, Ласло

«Казахстан на пути к демократии»

Скоро закончится очередной пятилетний срок правления Президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева. Лидер огромной Центрально-Азиатской Республики Казахстан (по размеру девятая в мире), который руководит страной с 1990 г., недавно привлек к себе огромное внимание. Н.Назарбаев отклонил выдвинутое своими сторонниками предложение по проведению общенационального референдума по продлению полномочий Президента еще на 10 лет до 2020 г. Президент Казахстана предпочел предоставить электорату Казахстана определить насколько велика его неслыханная на Западе популярность на выборах, намеченных на 3 апреля текущего года. Ожидается, что Н.Назарбаев легко победит на выборах и будет переизбран. Некоторые западные наблюдатели обвиняют Н.Назарбаева в авторитарном поведении. Это не только несправедливо, но также и неразумно. Н.Назарбаев может стать для Казахстана тем, кем для турков является Ататюрк. Лидер, который свою молодую страну поставил на верный путь демократизации и модернизации.

«Казахский Ататюрк»

Главнейшим вкладом турецкого генерала Мустафы Ататюрка в истории Турции было то, что ему не только удалось на руинах Османской империи после окончания Первой мировой войны основать независимое турецкое государство, но и проложить путь к модернизации. Ататюрк, которого турки ласково называют «отцом турков», избрал путь, по которому до него никто не ходил. Он объединил внутреннюю турецкую культуру, в которой важную роль играет умеренный ислам с западными идеями верховенства закона и гражданских прав. Наследие Ататюрка можно назвать успешной. Турция в настоящее время современное процветающее государство, в котором умеренный ислам считается важным религиозным направлением. Страна является маяком стабильности, которая граничит с беспокойным Ближним Востоком, и важным мостом и союзником запада в обеспечении стабильности.

Параллели между Президентом Казахстана Н.Назарбаевым и Турецким Президентом Ататюрком несомненны. Н.Назарбаеву удалось обезопасить независимость Казахстана на развалинах Советского Союза в середине 90-ых.

Хотя страна в основном является мусульманской, 47% населения исповедуют ислам, Н.Назарбаеву удалось нейтрализовать экстремистский вариант ислама. Кроме того, он смог построить толерантное общество, которое предоставляет пространство разным этническим группам, где казахи с 53% и русские 30% являются самыми большими. В результате ему удалось обуздать этническую напряженность. Этого не удалось добиться в соседних Узбекистане и Киргизии, где этническая напряженность привела к насилию, нестабильности и кризису. Под

руководством Н.Назарбаева Казахстану наряду с демократизацией удалось далее формировать и путь к модернизации. В этой стране помогли большие запасы углеводорода и полезных ископаемых в казахстанской земле. Газ Казахстана также представляет собой важный вклад в такую желанную для ЕС энергетическую диверсификацию, которая обеспечит снижение энергетической зависимости от России.

Казахстан прошел путь очень быстрого экономического и социального роста. С 1993 г. страна привлекла огромные иностранные инвестиции в размере 120 млрд. долл. Огромной разницей с соседними среднеазиатскими государствами является еще и то, что население Казахстана пользуется благами экономического роста. ВВП на душу населения (16 млн.) в пять раз выше по сравнению с Киргизией, в которой проживают всего 5 млн. человек. Можно сделать вывод, что Казахстан является островом стабильности и экономического процветания в регионе, который преимущественно характеризуется нищетой, этнической напряженностью и слабыми государствами.

Роль моста.

Н.Назарбаев также добился того, что Казахстан занял свое место между тремя великими силами: Западом, Россией и Китаем, которые в последние десятилетия пытались добиться влияния в Центральной Азии. Путем искусного маневрирования Казахстан функционирует в Средней Азии как мост между этими великими силами. Чтобы добиться этой позиции Н.Назарбаев принял ряд разумных решений. После развала Советского Союза, Казахстан стал четвертой страной в мире с унаследованным от СССР ядерным арсеналом, большим, чем Китай, Франция и Великобритания вместе взятые, но Президент сразу же отказался от этого ядерного арсенала. В результате этого он уже не представлял угрозу ни для окружающих стран, ни для международных политических отношений. Н.Назарбаев увеличил торговлю с Китаем, Россией и Западом, в которой богатые резервы углеводорода и полезных ископаемых играют решающую роль. Наконец, Казахстан получил доступ к евроатлантическим и евроазиатским структурам, и он открыт для западных идей верховенства закона и прав граждан. Эту политику моста Н.Назарбаеву удалось увенчать в 2010 г., когда Казахстан стал председателем в ОБСЕ, и обратить внимание Запада на казахскую модель толерантного общества.

Выборы пройдут 3 апреля и на них, без всякого сомнения, с огромным преимуществом победит Н.Назарбаев. Для прозрачности и легитимности выборов Президент Казахстана поступил разумно, допустив наблюдателей ОБСЕ. Этим самым он смог выбить почву из под ног своих критиков. После 3 апреля Запад сможет продолжить успешное сотрудничество с Казахстаном, как стратегическим партнером, в котором ставкой станет дальнейшее укрепление демократических институтов в этой стране. Своим новым президентским сроком Н.Назарбаев войдет в историю как Ататюрк Казахстана.

MARÁCZ, László : Kazakhstan on the Path of Democracy

The Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev (70) is leading his country since 1990. The leader of Kazakhstan refused to hold a referendum proposed by his supporters in order to lengthen his mandate until 2020. Rather the Kazakh president prefers to run in open elections on April 3. Nazarbayev has been successfully developing Kazakhstan in the past twenty years by adopting Western concepts of democratization and law state. The economic situation is prospering due to rich energy resources and minerals to be found in the country. Nazarbayev has also skillfully positioned his country in the Central Asian geopolitical field between the West, Russia and China all seeking for influence in the Central Asia. Kazakhstan did a responsible job chairing the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). If Nazarbayev will be elected and this is what most observers expect to happen he will go into history as the Kazakh "Atatürk". Nazarbayev just like the first Turkish president Mustafa Kemal prepared the democratic path and modernized his country.



LITERATURE & ARTS

EKUKLU, Bülent

Identification of Cultural Structures in the Turkish Society through the Films of Yavuz Turgul

Introduction

Last December Yavuz Turgul released his latest film "*Av Mevsimi*" (*Hunting Season*). As a writer and director of many outstanding films, Turgul has an important impact in cinema and it wouldn't be an exaggeration if we say he is one of the major figures in Turkish cinema and cultural environment.

In the present article, we investigate the cultural changes of the Turkish society from 1980 up to the present through the main characters of Yavuz Turgul's films.

Depending on the social context being analysed and on which of the three parts of the producer-product-consumer triangle we are concentrating on, we can talk about 'content analysis' and 'communication research'¹. The method applied in the present study is based on the 'content analysis' approach, described by Lowenthal (1961) and Williams (1986). This approach focuses on cultural product(s) with a consideration of their social context(s). According to it, the social meaning of any cultural product cannot be determined by solely characterizing the 'product' or the 'consumer' and his ways of perception of the product (in other words, to be contented with the effects of the product). In Lowenthal's view, producer, product and consumer must be examined in the socio-historical context in which the product is revealed (Lowenthal, 1961). According to Raymond Williams, a cultural product is differently perceived by different individuals or groups of different status. Assessment of the different comments proves insufficient in evaluating a cultural fact in its social complexity. The structure of a cultural product can be determined by exposing how the related social and cultural norms and conventions were created, what they are; and considering "the flow" of that cultural practice (Williams, 1986: 14-15). The present study is based on Williams's definition, and approaches 'product' and 'consumer' from the producer-product-consumer triangle and also relates the 'social context' to both 'product' and 'consumer'. In this study, 'modernisation', the fundamental concept in Yavuz Turgul's films, is used in Marshall Berman's definition². According to it, modernisation is the totality of capitalist industrialization processes. (It is very different from the alternative definition of modernisation as 'enlightenment'.)³ Hence social, artistic, cinematic, political, cultural and individual factors will be examined in relation to Yavuz Turgul's cinema. Eight films, released between 1984 and 2010, of which Yavuz Turgul was the director and/or scriptwriter, will be in the focus of our investigation. Special features of the characters standing at the centre of the dramatic occurrences as well as the common sides

¹ A full description of the methods of content analysis according to the producer-product-consumer distinction is found in Rosengren, 1981.

² Berman, 1978

³ Berman, 1978: 54.

of the characters of the different films will be clarified. In addition, the new social tendencies of the post-1980 period are interrogated through the stories and characters.

Yavuz Turgul is a scriptwriter and director who create excellent portrays of contemporary Turkish society and culture. The changing social structure of the '80s and '90s (characterized by the arabesque culture, urban changes, emigration, media, alteration in social and individual values, new relationships among social groups in cities, etc.) form the background and the common theme of all his films. Turgul's characters represent the dominant tendencies and values of the above period. He forms the stories of his films from the time and society he lives in. The plots and characters have strong connections -even if they have some fictitious elements- to social, geographical and historical concepts. Consequently, in order to understand Yavuz Turgul's cinema, we need to consider the special environment in which his films are produced and the constituents of the socio-cultural situation that appear in the films.

Looking back at the recent history of Turkey it is generally accepted that it was the 12 September 1980 coup d'état which triggered a series of sweeping changes in the political and cultural structure of the Turkish society. These changes turned Yavuz Turgul's attention to social questions. Although he did not speak about the 12th September event directly, or about political individuals affected by the 12th September event, he did feature the conditions that appeared after that and its direct and indirect effects on the individuals and on the values of the society. In conclusion, the 12th September 1980 event was one of the most important sociological, historical and cultural factors that underpin Turgul's films.

Political, Social and Cultural Background of Yavuz Turgul's Films

Considering the social, political and cultural conditions after 12th September the most remarkable thing is the speed and profoundness of the transition. Turgut Özal, prime minister of the period, radically transformed the country's economy and subsequently liberated all fields of social life. The changes that followed were not unequivocally positive. On the one hand it was the beginning of liberation. On the other hand it was a period of intense pressure, governmental violence, prohibitions and censorship. It was a time when poverty and luxury (various luxury products, mostly imported, exhibited in shiny shop-windows); commercialization and exposure to primitive market rules; the continuous destitution of certain social groups and the disappearance of parties, organizations, associations; the desire of people to express themselves, and the concealing of true feelings; intermingling of personal and public life and the lack of refinement of the latter; were all present simultaneously in the society.

The rise in economic power resulted in cultural segregation: people who could access "high culture" were able to lead a cultural life according to western standards; while "lower culture" consumers were more prone to the discrepancies of the cultural change. One of the fields where sweeping changes occurred is the social situation of women. The way women were described in literature, cinema and popular media (in newspapers for women, magazines, etc.) has changed profoundly⁴. Women became more visible to society. They emerged as one of the main topics in everyday conversations, subjects to arguments and to all kinds of politics.

⁴ Concerning the involvement of women in mass media, see: Foss and Foss, 1983; Smith, 1982; İmançer, 2001.

In this period, while culture became available to a wider audience, it has also become subject to market conditions more than ever. On the one hand Turkey aimed at westernization, at becoming European and modern; on the other hand the government posed serious limitations, prohibitions and conservative rules due to certain anxieties for the country's unity. While the society tried to benefit from the possibility of unlimited communication brought about by means of satellite broadcasting, the party in power struggled to control and censor both its own communicational institutions and mass communication in general.

In the 80's, sexuality became a common topic in public conversations, often spiced with details that had been considered "confidential" a short time before. People started to talk about sexuality deliberately, possibly because they felt in it a promise of liberalization, individualization and even modernization.

In the 80's the sectors of media and advertising expanded and gained power. They exerted a powerful influence on a wide range of people, influenced the language, and affected the public opinion. These two sectors brought thousands of new concepts, images, people, and metaphors into circulation. With them the outward aspect, the image (whatever short-lived) became fundamental. "Appearing like that" rather than "Being like that" dominated the time. An extreme example is the importance of outward appearance in intellectual life. Intellectuals were sometimes insulted because of their independent opinion, culture, life style, and –above all- independent thinking, and were sometimes exposed to the roughest descriptions (such as hick, 'kiro'). In contrary, those, who -regarding their qualifications or their way of thinking- did not merit the adjective 'intellectual', would gladly accept this title. In the 80's and 90's, cultural activity mostly consisted of shop-windowing, representation and some commerce. There emerged a society where things existed as far as they were seen, and gained value as far as they were watched.

In the view of many, the 80's became the stage for two different cultural strategies. Meanwhile it was a period of pressure and prohibitions; it was also a time when a more modern, more formative, more besieging cultural strategy, aiming at transformation rather than prohibition, implication rather than destruction, provocation rather than pressure, was about to emerge. "On the one hand, it was a period of rejection, denial and suppression; on the other hand it was a period of opportunity and promise when people's desires and appetites were provoked more than ever. On the one hand there was a Turkey which was silenced and where the right to talk was hindered; on the other hand a "Speaking Turkey" providing new canals, new frames for speech. The 80's were one of the hardest times of the late history as far as its institutional, political and humane results were concerned, but at the same time, a period of relaxation and liberty when people got rid of their political obligations." (Gürbilek, 1992: 8-9).

In addition to the above mentioned discrepancies there are further aspects that merit our attention. For instance, the spirit of cooperation, the struggling together for a common goal and the utopia of the 60's and 70's were replaced in the 80's by a desire of individualism supported by the media and advertising sectors which took its intensity from its postponement and uncontrollability.

Emigration from the rural areas to big cities which have started in the 50's and culminated in the 60's was still going on after 12th September although at a slower rate.

A new idea of freedom was born, disseminated by the press, visual media and advertising sector, which concerned the freedom of consumption, of speech, of expression and seclusion, the freedom of sex,

the freedom of personal and cultural preferences and the freedom of shifting political views and political institutions, even sometimes by jeopardizing the freedom of others.

The period which began in the 80's promised many things to people. It propagated the idea that people could satisfy their -previously suppressed- desires (and moreover, easily); the idea that they could talk freely -almost uncontrollably- (through private TV and radio channels, new magazines, discussion programmes on TV broadcast live); that they did not need to feel ashamed for their cultural or personal background (e.g. the success of the arabesque music star, İbrahim Tatlıses); that they could be free from any kind of institutional or political bonds; that they could become rich and that they should not feel uncomfortable in any way about this ascent (the 'new rich'). In this period the mainstream media parroted that a big change was taking place and that all the promises were to come true.

Main Components – Elements of the Change

Cultural pluralism, outburst of lower culture, competence, identity search, discovery of other cultural-social groups and the relationships between urban associations

One of the most important aspects of the great change is the cultural pluralism which was evidenced above all in the concepts of "competence", "cultural identities" and "social groups". The period was characterized by an antagonism between governmental pressure and cultural freedom. In spite of the pressure cultural identities were gradually disengaged and an exciting cultural polyphony popped up. It has now become possible for different ethnic groups, women and homosexuals to appear publicly under their own names, to establish their own popular languages and subculture.

An important reason for this change is that politics has lost its specific basis, attraction and therefore, the power it used to exert. As the politics retracted from everyday life, the social flow was redirected towards culture, and there brought about a multiplication of forms. Those who previously expressed themselves through a common language have now found new, independent identities.

As part of the modernisation process, culture has been reduced to a market article. It became subject to provocation by the media and advertising sector and channelized (thus pressed) by the market. This commercial content is one of the reasons behind the newly occurring cultural variety (or, in a sense, cultural division).

Turkish society both created and discovered its plurality, colourfulness and inner variety. In the 80's the inhabitants of big cities discovered many new -previously ignored or suppressed- worlds and life styles, which survived inside them, survived openly or "underground" (as lower culture; local, and more reserved). Big-city dwellers discovered "the third world" inside and outside themselves. First of all they had to notice the "provinces": e.g. Kurdish people who were now urging their ethnical freedom. Not only that, they also discovered "the third world" inside themselves, the things which they had suppressed to get modernized, westernized and to live appropriately with the modern culture which the Republic have brought to them. Therefore, in the rise of İbrahim Tatlıses, one of the most powerful icons of this period, there is not only the demand of the Kurds to express their identity more directly, but also the hope to escape from the pressure of power, the pressure of a modernist government, the pressure of the

distinguished⁵, and the pressure of a cultural idea foreign to them. In general, the cultural difference between city and province diminished. The accepted, desired, valid life style and common cultural elements for both city and province created an equilibrium state as long as the province submitted to the idols of the city: money and success.

Cultural pluralism came into prominence after the second half of the 80's. This change, in a sense, could be called the outburst of "lower culture". The formation of mass culture in Turkey went back to the 60's and the arabesque music appeared in the 70's. However, in the course of the 80's the presence of lower culture elements increased enormously. Furthermore, this took place in a period when emigration to cities decreased, not when emigration sped up. However, what should be considered here is that "the outburst" also contained a moderate resistance to the modern western identity that the society was building up loudly and directly. That was one of the reasons behind the lower culture's success. It was not only the discovery of the province, ethnicity, the East, religion, but also of sexuality and individuality. In a society that was so attached to its confidentiality and so unfamiliar with disclosure, the expression of sexuality or private matters was a revolutionary deed.

Naturally, next to the outburst of mass culture a strong upswing in higher culture was observed as well. Higher culture was transmitted by many channels, such as literature, cassettes, media, and cinema. The '80s gave chance to all kinds of marginal cultural elements that were previously put aside or excluded. Hence we may call it a "provincial" cultural development. Many subcultures developed next to each other, all claiming for equal rights and social recognition.

At this point was the Kemalist Ideology of modernization issued. It is based on seven fundamental principles aiming to define the basic characteristics of the Republic of Turkey. The Kemalism "required to represent more than it was, to act in the name of all the society and to represent a common modern identity. This, of course, was experienced as a pressure of the rich not only on the masses, but also on themselves. Rising oneself up to the level of 'wisdom', being a candidate to represent others, being the centre is based not only on power, but also on official duty and self-sacrifice. It requires to stay away from everything that is threatening the demands of modern identity and to retreat" (Gürbilek, 1992: 106).

The modernization plan offered (imposed) by the Republicans had two main dimensions. One concerned the economic development, and mainly included globalization plans; the other involved the acknowledgement of modernist values.⁶ This was the high culture which formed the essence of the common modern Kemalist identity. However, the efforts of Republican intellectuals, "the distinguished", to propagate and integrate modernism (which formed the essence of the high culture) was often obtrusive, even dictatorial in hopes of quick results. Moreover, the values proposed by the distinguished were mostly idealistic; therefore they were doomed to fail from the beginning.

Osman Ulagay emphasized the difficulty of transition from village life to modern urban life: "Transforming a society whose majority came from the tradition of nomadism and villages to a society

⁵ The term "the distinguished" is defined by Aydın Uğur as "the other name of being in a position to command substance and/or intelligence; it has no connection with human superiority" (Uğur, 2002). In other words, it is the definition of having power, position and control in a social hierarchy.

⁶ Concerning the cultural modernization project of the Republicans and the propagation of their ideology, please refer to: Özbek, 2002: 40-41.

whose majority was from the city; springing a provincial society to the level of 'contemporary civilization' which cannot be considered independently from industrialization and urbanization; and cramming the great transformation which emerged from a social and cultural foundation of western communities and which is spread into centuries completed after a painful period, into a few decades. It is apparent that this is not an easy thing." (Ulugay, 1989:16). Consequently, a reaction against modernization arose from the 60's when modernisation efforts were felt to have been accelerated. In the course of the 80's and 90's both the distinguished and the non-distinguished protested against the modernisation of the language and cultural idealism. The big success of certain musicians, such as Zeki Müren or İbrahim Tatlıses is due to the fact that they were able to give voice to the society's revulsion against this governmental insistence on decency and the Turkish language reform. The arabesque music served as the boiling cauldron where the different cultural elements could melt together and result in a new form of culture.

To be continued...

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MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

The Master of the Nigredo

The Art of Anselm Kiefer

Some time ago I saw the exhibition “Eating the Universe” in Düsseldorf¹. My inner hunger could not be satisfied with outdated fiddling around with food. The exhibit only arouse my appetite, and when not in the halls than in the bookstore, I found satisfaction to it. The following image caught my attention on the top of an album:



A. Kiefer: Star Picture (1996)

A naked man, lying on the naked ground under the sky dusted with *millions of stars*... Finally, there I recognized myself as a human, between Earth and Heaven, lonely and defenseless, exposed in an enormous universe. This was my first encounter with Anselm Kiefer. Without hesitation, I bought the album which introduced me an artist of an extremely wide palette whose works seemed to be all somber and thoughtful.

Few months later came the opportunity to see Kiefer's works in reality. Twenty-two artworks from the private collection of the Grothe family, dating from the 1980s to the present day, were exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp².

¹ “Eating the Universe” Food in Art, Kunsthalles Düsseldorf. November 28, 2009 - February 28, 2010.

² The exhibition is jointly organized by Antwerp City Museums, Museum for Contemporary Art in Antwerp (M HKA) and the Antwerp Royal Museum of Fine Arts (KMSKA). The exhibition is open from 23 October, 2010 until 27 March (extended by two extra months due to high visitor numbers).

Full of expectations, I entered the exhibition. It was a stunning experience. I saw huge and immensely dense creations. The monumental canvases, often reaching several meters in length and height, would include a wide range of materials: paint, plaster, earth, sand, straw, ceramic, lead, dried flowers. The whole collection exhaled an air of rust and decay and filled the space with the view of endless, monotonous, devastated, dark and lonely lands. However, these apocalyptic scenes were never empty: they were fully loaded with historical, mythical and spiritual references; most often Kabbalistic motifs. What was obvious at the very first sight: that Kiefer is an artist of extraordinary ambitions.



Bohemia Lies by the Sea (1995)

Whatever huge they are, Kiefer's creations are also extremely detailed. Every bit of them is intended to speak. What seems from the distance as a monotonous, devastated, destructed and infernal land proves to be an array of beautiful small worlds at a close view. It is in the nature of ruins (and most modern cities): they look tristful at first but they nurture miniature paradises when one gets near. Kiefer masterfully handles the different scales.

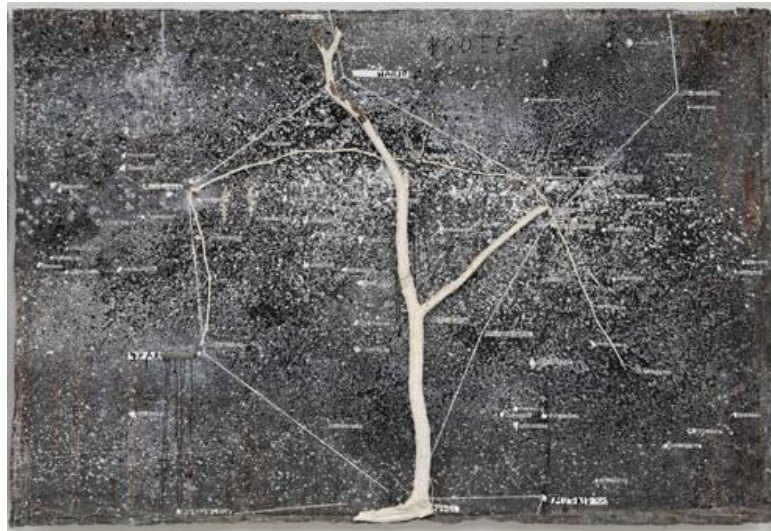
For many, Kiefer is a magician, an alchemist; the big kahuna of contemporary art. The German artist (born in Donaueschingen, in 1945) who abandoned his studies in law and literature in order to pursue art at the academies of Freiburg, Karlsruhe and Dusseldorf, entered the art scene in the '70s. He made name with performances reflecting on Nazism and German Nationalism, e.g. mimicking the Hitlergruß at the Coliseum or other landmarks. From the '80s he changed to more romantic, dark brown, earthy creations and from this time his themes include references to ancient Hebrew and Egyptian history and mythology. Although the general tone of his work has not changed ever since, his symbolism has gradually widened to almost cosmic scales.

Presently Kiefer is one of Germany's most lauded contemporary artists. And not just that. He inspires such mentions as "the most intellectually and spiritually ambitious creator in any medium at work today" or "Kiefer knowingly transcends the limits of any visual art"³. His paintings, drawings and installations appear all over the world in some of the most prestigious private and public collections. In 1990 he was awarded the Wolf prize, in 1999 the Praemium Imperiale. In 2007 Kiefer became the first artist to be given

³ Quote from Yale's Sterling Professor Harold Bloom, in: Cohen, D. (2003)

a permanent commission to install work at the Louvre since Georges Braque some 50 years earlier. In 2009 Kiefer was even commissioned to stage a piece for the Opéra Bastille in Paris.⁴

Kiefer is undeniably popular and it is despite the fact that beyond the more easily decipherable historical references interpreting Kiefer requires a good deal of mythology, theology, literature and occult symbolism. The art collector Hans Grothe, whose holdings were shown in Antwerp, confessed: "I identify with what I see, yet I don't understand it..." In order to provide some help for the average visitor, the organizers of the Antwerp exhibit compiled an electronic Kiefer dictionary⁵ and handed out a short description of each artwork (Flemish-speaking visitors favored). Much as they struggled to make it plain, they could not avoid saying in the hand-out: Kiefer's work "... often contains Kabbalistic visual motifs that are hard or even impossible to decipher." In the face of all that opacity or, maybe even for that very reason, people like him. The grandiosity of the works and their decorative values make them fit into the postmodern idea of the sublime: huge size, despair and relative emptiness.



The secret life of plants Nr. 12

Yet the round of applause encircling Kiefer is sometimes interrupted by critical voices claiming that there has been no major change in his art in two decades, that he has "succumbed to late-blooming health and happiness"⁶, that he is in "currency crisis"⁷ or simply refer to his "Boom and Bust"⁸. Has Kiefer really become excommunicated by the time the wide audience discovered him? Or, isn't it just the habitual unnecessary sesquipedalian loquaciousness and castigation that earmarks art critics?

⁴ "Am Anfang", accompanied by the music of Jörg Widmann, was staged in seven performances between 7 and 14 July, 2009.

⁵ Available at http://www.kmska.be/export/sites/kmska/content/Documents/Tentoonstellingen/Kiefer_woordenboek.pdf

⁶ Schjeldahl, P. (1998)

⁷ Cohen, D. (2003)

⁸ Saltz, J. (1999)

After having spent an hour in the Antwerp's exhibition among the heavily loaded, somber images a doubt started to lurk in the back of my mind: How sincere is Kiefer's art? Is he really feeling accordingly or, is it just modish intellectualism in a brave coating? ... Tiny content in a big mystic haze which has more to do with fiction than with reality, because it refers to forgotten myths that he is not able to re-animate? Is it the reason for the feelings of heaviness and fatigue at the exhibition? Can we believe Kiefer being a prophet?



Am Anfang (2008)

Talking about Kiefer, there may be no straight answers. His thinking is fundamentally converse: "Nothing in the world has one sense only. Truth is ... in a flux." "I would never say I am pessimist or optimist. I would say I'm desperate. I am desperate, because I do not know why I am here. We do not know. We cannot know. ... More we know, less we know. ... In this desperate situation I try to give, to create for myself to survive."⁹

Nigredo or, the black sate of the soul, is known as the first step in the process of individualization, the path leading to self-knowledge. The nigredo characterizes the undifferentiated, chaotic, unconscious mind, which is "the prima materia, the chaos"¹⁰. The 'prima materia' contains all the potential, all the dynamic oppositions in an undifferentiated mass. And Kiefer flings himself with inimitable energy into the dark and chaotic depths of the collective Western European unconscious. It is his unbeatable merit that he spares no pains on this voyage. There is no source of light there just the melancholic, earthy landscapes and the skinny reflections of some long-ago spirituality every now and then. And Kiefer has the capacity to give voice to this image beyond himself, to undertake this gigantic task of immersing into

⁹ Kiefer, A. (2007).

¹⁰ Jung, C. G. (1944)

the depths where no piety or beastly cruelty occur, only a brownish mix of the two. He takes us on this voyage, he holds mirror to our very present.

This voyage needs courage and sincerity and he has much of both. Just consider his show entitled "Twenty Years of Solitude" from 1993, where –as a sign of beginning a new phase in his life- he exhibited a junk pile of his huge collection of his own artworks and an equally impressive stock of self-made books stained with his own semen. It gave "bibliophilia" a whole new meaning, as Peter Schjeldahl¹¹ cuttingly remarks.

The alchemists say that nigredo lasts forty days. The number is rather symbolic. It may even last for four decades. Whatever long Kiefer's journey lasts, it does the work for us. The thin threads can be collected and woven into a new fabric.

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¹¹ Schjeldahl, P. (1998)

TRAVELOGUE

TAPON, Francis

Estonia — Revenge of the Nerds

Let's start with the basics: does Estonia even exist or is it just some made-up country? Like Albania, Estonia just doesn't sound real. Have you ever met someone from those two countries? Do you ever see those countries mentioned in the news? I didn't think so.

Estonia sounds so unreal that Scott Adams, the creator of the Dilbert comic strip, made up a bizarre country called *Elbonia*. It's no coincidence that Elbonia sounds like Estonia. According to the comic strip, Elbonia is a "fourth world" country where the national bird is the Frisbee. All Elbonians have beards (including women and babies), use cans attached with strings as their telephones, and fly Elbonia Air (a massive slingshot that launches passengers so that they land far away in the waist-deep mud that covers the entire country). Having recently overthrown communism, Elbonia is mired in civil war between left- and right-handed Elbonians. In an effort to increase tourism, Elbonia's dictator not only made gambling and prostitution legal, but he also made them *mandatory*.

Given this background, I was somewhat dubious when I bought a boat ticket in Finland to go to Estonia. Was this just a hoax to squeeze some money out of gullible tourists?

Meeting Maiu Reismann

On June 30, 2004 in Helsinki, I sat in the waiting room to board the Nordic Jet Line, which was not a jet going north, but rather a catamaran going south. The crew assured me the vessel was going to Estonia and not Elbonia.

It was 3:00 p.m. and I had no hotel or hostel reserved in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. I would arrive at 5:00 p.m. homeless. I did not panic because this was my normal routine; I rarely make reservations anywhere I travel. Instead, I carry a tarp and sleeping bag wherever I go. This eliminates the pressure to find a place to stay. In the worst case, I can happily sleep in a park. Having spent many months sleeping in the woods every day, I find it easy to spontaneously camp anywhere.

Although I was prepared to camp in some random park near Tallinn, I wanted to see what other options I had. I was flipping through my guidebook when a young lady sat near me. Although guidebooks are great, I often get local advice, so I asked, "Excuse me, are you from Estonia?"

"Yes," she replied with a soft, sweet voice. "I live in Tallinn," she said with a bit of an accent.

"Do you know of any cheap places to stay in town?" I asked.

"Yes. In fact, I have a degree in hotel management and I work in tourism."

And so began a 90-minute conversation on the turbulent catamaran with this 24-year-old named Maiu Reismann. Maiu was petite and had sparkling hazel eyes that reflected her gentleness. She wore her black

hair in a ponytail as if to advertise her simplicity. She nearly threw up on me because she thought I was so revolting, but she made up some story that it was the boat ride that was making her seasick.

Maiu was returning home after dropping off her American boyfriend at the Helsinki airport. They had been dating three years. Maiu offered to walk me to a nearby hotel. It was pouring sheets of rain when we arrived in Tallinn. We leaned into the wind and rain, while splashing through countless puddles. When we finally arrived to the hotel, soaking wet, the price was exorbitant. Maiu sighed calmly, demonstrating her patience.

“There is another hotel I can take you to, but it’s kind of far,” she said softly.

“That’s no problem for me,” I replied. I’ve walked and camped in torrential rain for days, so spending a few minutes in a downpour would be trivial. However, the weather was bothering Maiu, even though her stoic attitude hid it well.

“On second thought,” she said abruptly, “If you want, you can just stay with me. I am not sure what my brother will say, but we have a sofa you can sleep on if you want.”

What is up with me? Why do random women invite me to sleep in their couch? First in Finland, now here. Is this some Eastern European tradition I don’t know about?

On the one hand, I was thrilled. This would be a great glimpse into the lives of local Estonians and it might save me a couple of bucks. On the other hand, she could be some scam artist who will rob me during the night and have her big brother Herki toss me in the dumpster when they were through with me.

On the Appalachian Trail, I was invited to stay at strangers’ houses 12 times in 111 days, so the concept was not new to me. We call it Trail Magic—random kindness from a stranger. But I was a bit far off the Appalachian Trail. *Trail magic* for Estonians might be the expression the ax murderer uses when he gets lucky on the trail. Nevertheless, I accepted her generous offer because I figured I had nothing to lose except for my camcorder, a few hundred bucks, and my life.

Tallin’s Magic and Estonia’s mystery

Maiu’s brother, Herki, was a delight. Maiu took me to Tallinn, which was named the 2011 European Capital of Culture. As I walked into the medieval Old Town, I felt I should have brought chain mail, a steel helmet, and a sword. Tallinn’s Old Town feels like a Hollywood set for *Lord of the Rings*. A massively tall and thick stone wall encircles the Old Town, just as ready to receive a catapult projectile today as it was 500 years ago. Thoughtfully placed burning torches make the Tallinn’s Old Town irresistibly romantic. Charming cobblestoned streets lead you through inviting alleyways and passages that are too narrow for an SUV. Cars rarely use the bumpy streets, so pedestrians rule the Old Town. All you hear are soft footsteps, classical music, and the occasional drunk Finn.

However, we’re getting ahead of ourselves. Before we reveal Estonia’s highlights, let’s start with the basics. Where the hell is it anyway? To answer that, listen to what Triin Tammaru, an Estonian lady who lived several months in Florida, told me. Here’s a real conversation she had:

“Where are you from?” asked the American man.

“I’m from Estonia,” Triin replied.

“Where’s that?”

“Next to Finland.”

“Where’s Finland?”

“Next to Sweden.”

The brilliant American quickly exclaimed with all the confidence of a *Jeopardy* champion, “Oh, so you’re *Swedish!*”

From then on, the American introduced Triin to his friends as “the Swedish girl.” She wouldn’t tell Americans that Estonia was next to Russia because she feared they would classify her as “the Russian girl,” which might lead to even more misunderstandings. (“Oh, so you’re a *communist!*”)

Americans are so geographically challenged that it’s somewhat amazing we can find our way home every evening. Triin estimated that one in twenty Americans she met during her four months in America had heard about Estonia. About one in hundred knew where it was. What’s more appalling is that Triin met an American girl who thought Europe was just the name of *one big city* on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean! She also met a man who thought Europe was made up of one country: Germany. And no, that guy’s name wasn’t Adolph.

Before Europeans chuckle too much over ignorant Americans, it’s clear that Western Europeans aren’t geographic geniuses either. When one of my Lithuanian friends introduced herself to a Dutch man, he thought that Lithuania was in Moscow. Irina, a Russian friend of mine living in Spain, told me that Spanish people have asked her, “What language do they speak in Russia?” Here’s another gem: Irina told a Western European that she’s from Moscow. He got excited and said, “That’s awesome, because we have another friend who is also from *Sweden!*” Obviously, Americans aren’t the only people who need to be slapped around with a giant world map.

Given all the vast ignorance about Estonia, let’s review a few notable facts about this mysterious little country. Estonia is small, but it isn’t the smallest country in Europe. It’s bigger than Slovenia, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland. It’s about the same size as New Hampshire and Massachusetts combined. Despite its small size, it feels big because only 1.3 million folks live there. That makes Estonia one of the least dense countries in Europe, with just 32 Estonians per square kilometer. Their mountains are certainly small: Suur Munamägi, at a measly 318 meters (about 1,000 feet), is the tallest mountain in the country. Estonia’s relative flatness makes it a great place for Nordic ski training. One Estonian woman won two gold medals in Turin’s 2006 Olympic Winter Games and Estonians nearly bought every pair of skis available at the shops the next day.

Estonians are disappearing. In 1990, there were 22,304 babies born; in 2010, it’s almost half that amount. With the death rate increasing slightly, Estonians are vanishing at a rate of 0.4 percent per year. Meanwhile, only 46 percent of the population is male. However, before you single men book a flight to Estonia consider that the main reason for this disparity is that the men die off quickly—their average life expectancy is only 65 years.

Estonian has no sex and no future

In 2006, I returned to Estonia by plane. I sat next to a fat, friendly Finnish lawyer and asked, “What do you think of the Estonians?”

“They’re nice. We get along with them,” she replied.

“I suppose it helps that their language is so similar to yours,” I suggested.

“But it’s not. Finnish is a completely separate and unique language. Supposedly it has some similarities to Hungarian, but I’ve never heard it.”

“Wait, I know Finnish is unlike Swedish and Russian. However, I’m pretty sure that it is quite similar to Estonian. Why else would so many Estonians understand Finnish?”

“You’re right, they do understand and speak Finnish, but that’s mainly because the northern parts of Estonia get Finnish TV. So when you hear this language all the time, you come to learn it.”

She’s right about Estonians having access to Finnish TV. During the Soviet time, Estonians secretly picked up stray Finnish TV signals. It was their conduit to the free world—it was the only way to hear something other than Soviet propaganda. It was as if one rivet had popped out of the Iron Curtain, allowing the Estonians to peek through.

However, the main reason Estonians understand Finnish is that it’s a similar language. As you can see from the table below, Estonian and Finnish are similar, while Hungarian sounds like a distant bastard cousin. They all use the Latin alphabet, not Cyrillic (like Russian does). Judging by the numbers, Latvian seems related to Russian. However, Latvians shudder when you say that and will quickly observe that Latvian (and Lithuanian) is a Baltic tongue, not a Slavic one. Here’s how you count to ten in the following languages:

English	Hungarian	Finnish	Estonian	Latvian	Russian
One	Egy	Yksi	Üks	Viens	Ahdin
Two	Kettó	Kaksi	Kaks	Divi	Dvah
Three	Három	Kolme	Kolm	Trīs	Tree
Four	Négy	Neljä	Neli	Četri	Chyeetiryeh
Five	Öt	Viisi	Viis	Pieci	Pyahht
Six	Hat	Kuusi	Kuus	Seši	Shehst
Seven	Hét	Seitsemän	Seitse	Septini	Syehm
Eight	Nyolc	Kahdeksan	Kaheksa	Astoni	Vossyeem
Nine	Kilenc	Yhdeksän	Üheksa	Devini	Dyehvyahht
Ten	Tíz	Kymmenen	Kümme	Desmit	Dhehssyaht

In the 1990s, a Finnish linguist, Kalevi Wiik, argued that after the ice sheets melted in 11,000 B.C., two language groups existed: Indo-European in the south and Finno-Ugric in the north. Over time, the only places where the Finno-Ugric language survived were in Estonia, Finland, and the forested zone of Eastern Europe (mainly Hungary).

So why did the Finnish lawyer insist that Finnish and Estonian were unrelated? It's part of a phenomenon that you find throughout the world: a belief that your native country is truly unique and special. Moreover, having avoided complete Soviet domination, the Finns feel a tad superior to the Estonians. Linking their languages too tightly obviously ruffled the fat Finn's feathers.

While Maiu and I dined at a medieval restaurant in the Old Town, she taught me that the Estonian language has no sex and no future. Estonian has no sex because it has no grammatical gender. Unlike German and French, for example, Estonian nouns are sex-less (just like in English). Thus, *chairs* are not female and *cars* are not male. Also, Estonian has no future. Or better said, it has no future tense. To express future events, Estonians use the present tense, and then specify when it will happen. For instance, instead of saying *I will go home*, Estonians might say *ma lähen kahe nädala pärast koju* (I go home in two weeks).

In addition to not having to learn a future tense, there are some other things about Estonian that make it easy to learn. Unlike English, for example, every letter is pronounced the same way every time. Furthermore, Estonian has no articles. You can also use the same pronoun to refer to a man, woman, or a thing. Moreover, word order is not that important. For instance, you can say *koer* (the dog) *hammustas* (bit) *poissi* (the boy). But if you change the word order, it's still grammatically correct. Hence, you can also say *koer poissi hammustas* or *poissi hammustas koer*.

Maiu (and many Estonians) are proud that their language has a vowel that practically no other language in the world uses: õ. It sounds like the sound you might make when you realize that you just stepped on a piece of shit: *eeeww*.

My favorite words in foreign languages are the onomatopoeic words, which are words that imitate the sound associated with the objects or actions they refer to. For example, in English *buzz* and *murmur* sound like what they're referring to. Another is *cock-a-doodle-doo*. In Finnish, that word sounds surprisingly similar: *kukkokiekuu*. It's nice to know that we have more in common than just using Nokia cell phones. Apparently, Estonians have two types of roosters, because they have two ways of describing their cry: *kukeleegu* and *kikerikii*.

Although a few Estonian words are identical to the English ones, they're usually *false friends*, which are words in two languages that are spelled (or sound) the same, but have different meanings. For instance, consider these Estonian words (with their English meanings in parentheses): *pool* (half), *sink* (ham), *ring* (circle/round), *tool* (chair), *tall* (stable/baby lamb), *hunt* (wolf), *loss* (castle), *seal* (over there). Knowing that *asub* means *is located*, then you might go nuts interpreting *seal asub ring loss* as *the round castle over there*.

However, most of the time you'll never see such a collection of English words; instead, you'll usually be completely clueless. Most linguists consider Estonian one of the hardest languages to learn because it has 14 cases. If you don't know what a case is that's because English only has one case. Trust me, it's

complicated, so we'll discuss it in Poland. In short, English and Estonian share a similar alphabet, and that's it. Just learn *ma ei räägi eesti keelt* (translation: *I don't speak Estonian*).

Unless you live there, it's tough to get motivated to learn Estonian when only 0.014 percent of the world population speaks the language. That means one in 10,000 humans speak Estonian. Nevertheless, if you visit, it's good to know these words: *tere* (hello); *tanän* (thanks); *jaa* (yes); *ei* (no); *vabandust* (sorry/excuse me); and *head aega* (goodbye). Armed with those words, Estonians will immediately like you because many who live in Estonia don't even know those words!

That's right, there are many places in Estonia where the locals don't speak Estonian; they speak Russian. These Russian enclaves grew after World War II, when Stalin encouraged the migration of Russians into the Baltic states. *Russophones* (those who prefer to speak Russian) make up over a quarter of Estonia's population, so many Estonians also speak Russian. Nevertheless, Estonians are proud of their language. When you consider Estonia's history, it's unbelievable that their language still exists today.

Want to run a country? Come to Estonia

It seems that over time everyone has had a chance to run Estonia. In the last 800 years Sweden, Poland, Denmark, Germany, and Russia have all had a chance to call the big shots in this little country. It must get really tiring for the locals to keep changing their passports.

In 1208 the Crusades came to the last pagan holdout in the Europe—Estonia. The crusaders put a knife under the throat of peaceful Estonians and ordered them become good Christians or die. (By the way, *pagan* in Estonian has two meanings: the first is the same as the one in English; the second means *damn!* It's funny seeing an Estonian, who hits his finger with a hammer, yell out "*Pagan!*")

By 1219, the Danes controlled Tallinn. Three years later, the Estonians revolted and they tasted freedom for two years until the Germans bought Estonia from the Danes. That's worth repeating: Estonian independence lasted two short years. They wouldn't taste independence for another 700 years.

The fourteenth century Germans had better marketing than the twentieth century Germans. In 1345, the Germans called themselves the Teutonic Knights of the Livonian Order. Now doesn't that just sound so much more noble and impressive than the Nazis of the Third Reich? Who would you rather hang out with?

Unfortunately, it turns out those Teutonic Knights weren't always so knightly. They limited the Estonians to menial jobs and forced everyone to become Christians or be crucified. On the other hand, the Livonian Order (being German) was quite orderly. For example, the Knights protected merchant trade routes to maximize efficiency and they built beautiful buildings that still stand today, like Tallinn's Town Hall. It's amazing that the Germans didn't force the locals to abandon their language and only speak German. The Nazis wouldn't have been so soft.

| *History is more interesting than politics. — Lennart Meri, 1929–2006, President of Estonia*

Estonians nearly went extinct when the Russians, led by Ivan the Terrible, killed over 70 percent of them during the Livonian War. It started in 1558 when Russia invaded Estonia (then part of Livonia) to

get better access to the Baltic Sea. After 25 years of bloodshed, Russia retreated. Only 25,000 Estonians survived. Then Estonia was divvied up between three countries: northern Estonia went to Sweden; southern Estonia went to Poland; and Saaremaa (Estonia's biggest island) went to Denmark. It's absolutely unbelievable that this three-way split along with losing 70 percent of its people did not end up permanently killing the Estonian language and culture.

With the Russians out of the picture, the Poles and Swedes looked at each and said, "Hey, are you tired of fighting for the last quarter of a century? Cuz I'm sure not! Bring it on!" They went on killing each other for another 46 years!

The Swedes finally won and did nice things like starting schools, ending the famine, reducing the nobility's power, and bringing over some hot blonds. Even today, Estonians still call that era "the good old Swedish time."

Russia grew tired of all the peace and quiet, so in 1700 they started a 21-year war, which killed half of the Estonian population. Russia won this time and was surprisingly benevolent: it abolished serfdom and let German remain the official language of Estonia. The stubborn Estonians continued speaking Estonian among themselves. Unfortunately, a plague and famine killed 200,000 Estonians during the 200 years of Russian rule. Hence, Estonians still think of this as "the bad old Russian time."

In 1918 Russians were distracted with Lenin's Communist Revolution, so Estonia declared independence hoping the Russians wouldn't notice. The good news is that the Russians were looking the other way. The bad news is that the Germans weren't. The Germans immediately invaded and occupied Estonia until the end of World War I, which is when Russia came storming back. However, western forces fended Russia off and helped Estonia regain its independence in 1920. It's amazing to think that *this was the first time Estonians enjoyed independence since that brief two year period 700 years before.*

Unfortunately, this new period of independence lasted only 20 years. On August 23, 1939, the Germans and the Russians made a secret pact to divide the Eastern European countries. Estonia would go to Russia. About a month later, Russia told Estonia that they would "protect" them by placing 25,000 Russian troops in Estonia. The Estonian army numbered 16,000. You can guess what happened next. In 1940, about 10,000 Estonians were deported because Stalin's infamous maxim was, "No people, no problems."

However, the secret Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact didn't last. The Nazis, being Nazis, couldn't remain "non-aggressive" for long. So the familiar seesaw battle for Estonia restarted as Germany conquered Estonia again in 1941. In 1944, the Russians grabbed it back and then the fun Soviet era started.

During the Soviet era, private property was abolished, farms merged with the state, and the best foodstuffs were shipped to Russia. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Estonians (mostly women and children) were deported to delightful Gulags in Siberia, while tens of thousands of Russians poured into Estonia to replace them. If the other Russian period was called "the bad old Russian time" this was probably called "the really shitty Russian time."

Fast forward to 1991, the USSR was imploding. Estonia joined the other Baltic states in declaring independence. In 2012, Estonia will celebrate setting its new record for being independent: 21 years.

Russophones in Estonia—the ticking time bomb

Although Soviets are out of Estonia, Russians are still in it. Over a quarter of Estonians are Russophones. In 2006, during my second trip to Estonia, I was curious to see what these ethnic Russians thought about living in Estonia, so I took a bus to Lasnamäe, a neighborhood on the outskirts of Tallinn filled with blocky, gray, dull high-rises. Over 85 percent of Lasnamäe's 160,000 residents are Russophones. They moved here when the Soviets encouraged Russian migration into Estonia. On the bus ride a young blond with a round head sat next to me. I asked her what she thought of Tallinn.

"Tallinn is *boring*," the bitter Russian spat.

Without flinching, I asked, "Why?"

She answered with a strong Russian accent, "It's just a bunch of casinos, tourists, and restaurants."

"Sounds like Vegas," I mumbled. Although she had the gentleness of the Hulk, I continued, "So what do you think of Estonians?"

She didn't look at me, but just stared straight ahead and with her lips pursed tight said with a cutting voice, "Estonians are just a bunch of liars. They all lie. They pretend to be nice, but then when you turn your back, they do or say something else. You can't trust them."

"So tell me how you really feel," I felt like saying.

She finished her rant by telling me, "Russians are honest, they will tell you what they think, we are friendly and warm," she said in an angry tone.

"Do you think you should learn to speak Estonian?" I asked her.

"No! Why should we? Russians are the majority of the population in Estonia!"

"Really? I find that hard to believe," I said. She assured me they were.

Why do some Russians believe they are a majority when they only make up 26 percent of the population? First, Russophones often live in Russian enclaves within Estonia. When you visit these Russian neighborhoods, you feel like you have one foot in Russia: many signs are in Russian, everyone speaks Russian, and people are grumpy. The Russophones often have no Estonian friends, only watch Russian TV, and shop exclusively at Russian markets. Therefore, from their perspective, it is easy to overestimate the number of Russians. Second, Russians are cynical about their government. You would be too, if you had communist rule for 70 years. When government statistics say one thing, you'd be quick to doubt their veracity. I thanked my bitter Russian bus companion and transferred to another bus heading into the heart of Lasnamäe.

Will the real Estonian please stand up?

What's tricky about this mess is that Estonians view Russians as unwelcome immigrants, while Russians believe that they've been in Estonia "forever." So who's right?

They both are. Russians have been in Estonia as long as there's been history to record it. In fact, Russophones dominate many Estonian border towns because they've lived there for countless

generations. Victor, an Estonian Russophone whom I met at a party, told me he could trace his Russian lineage over *seven* generations—all come from the same town in Estonia.

On the other hand, the Soviets encouraged tens of thousands of Russians to immigrate to Estonia and forced tens of thousands of Estonians to leave. Both of Maiu's grandfathers, for example, were deported to Siberia's Gulags. In short, some of the Russophones who live in Estonia today are descendants of families who have lived in Estonia for 1,000 years. Others moved in last week.

Since the memories of the Soviet occupation are still relatively fresh, some Estonians still hold a grudge against Russians. They have a bad habit of blaming all Russians for the evil deeds of dead Soviet leaders, forgetting that many Russians weren't fans of the Soviets either.

Russophones who have a long history of living in Estonia and speaking Russian exclusively don't see why they should suddenly learn Estonian. Maiu's mom told me that there are other reasons why Russophones don't want to learn Estonian. She said, "The Russians think that since they liberated us from the Nazis, we should be grateful. They weren't occupying us in their opinion, they were helping us out. The Russians don't want to learn Estonian because they feel that we owe them one."

Meanwhile, the Russophones are angry that their government has suddenly turned on them and started treating them like second-class citizens. A Russian mother summed that point up succinctly on my next bus to Lasnamäe. With her five-year-old by her side she blurted out, "Estonians are fascists."

"Why?" I asked.

As she got ready to get off the bus, she said, "Estonians want the Russians out. They are closing down Russian schools. They won't even give us a passport," she said as she rose to leave.

"Why not?" I asked.

"They're *fascists!*" she yelled as she and her child got off the bus.

As her little boy took big steps to get off the bus, I asked myself, "Is he Estonian? He was born here, but he only speaks Russian. So what is he?"

I left my seat and approached three towering 20-year-olds who were standing up during the wobbly bus ride. I asked them, "Hey, are you guys Estonians?"

"No, we are Russians," they said.

"Did you grow up in Estonia?"

"Yes."

"Were you born in Estonia?"

"Yes."

"Do you have an Estonian passport?"

"No, they won't give us one, so we have no citizenship."

"Do you have a Russian passport?"

"No."

“So you can’t get a passport from any country?”

“No.”

“Do they teach you Estonian at school?”

“Yes, but we hate it, we don’t learn it.”

“It sucks?”

“Yes,” they laughed. One added, “We don’t like this language.”

Yuliya Trutko, a Russophone who grew up in Estonia, summed it up, “Russians are still separate, because that’s their choice. They don’t want to integrate. It’s hard for them. I think it’s even impossible for them.”

Want a headache? Try to get an Estonian passport

After Estonia declared its independence, it was stingy at doling out passports. It demanded that a resident not only prove that he has been living in Estonia for years, but that he is proficient in its language and culture. The difficulty of that exam has varied over the years. It started out hard, then after many Russian protests, it became easier.

Alissa Avrutina is a Russophone Estonian who speaks many languages, including Estonian. In 2008, she was upset because she had to retake the Estonian exam because the government changed the requirements again. “I’ve taken this exam four times!” she told me. “I’ve paid \$300 to take courses that help me pass the exam. I must take it again because some employers and universities prefer that I pass the latest exam. Why do I have to prove over and over again that I am fluent in Estonian?”

Alina Lind, an Estonian Russophone, has been doing jobs she doesn’t like for eight years just to get her passport. In 2010, she will have worked in Estonia for eight years and will finally get to submit her application to the long queue that may take another year to get approved. She observes that Estonia’s passport requirements are tougher than America’s or other Western European countries. Because the Estonian passport is tough to get, thousands of people who have lived for many years in Estonia are denied citizenship. In 2008, about ten percent of the Estonian population had no citizenship of any kind.

Luckily, the Estonian government has a lovely consolation prize: an Alien Passport. This gray, drab, Soviet-looking passport lets you travel to other countries, but does not give you the right to vote. In 2008, about six percent of the population carried a *Välismaalase Pass* (i.e., an Alien Passport).

When the government started handing out Alien passports to the Russophones, the Russian government invited these ethnic Russians to visit Russia without a visa. This angered the Estonian government, because it decreased the incentive for its ethnic Russians to learn Estonian and integrate. And that’s exactly what’s happened. In 2008, Lev Jefremtsev, a 22 year old Russian who was born in Estonia, told me he has no interest in getting Estonian citizenship.

“Why should I get it?” he said with his palms pointing to the sky. “If I get an Estonian passport, then I must pay \$100 visa every time I go to Russia. With my Alien passport, I can enter Russia for free.”

"But isn't there some benefit to having an Estonian passport, like getting a job, benefits, or legal protection?" I asked him.

"No. The only benefit is that you get to vote. And I don't care about that."

The main reason Estonia's government holds its passports tight to its vest is that it's insecure. Estonians are worried that if they give out passports freely, non-Estonian speaking people will overrun their country and will erase the Estonian culture and language. On the one hand, when you consider their perennial occupation and their near-extinction, it's a legitimate concern. On the other hand, they've survived far worse situations than this one, so why worry? Unfortunately, when you're insecure, you worry a lot.

Pursuing the Nobel Peace Prize in McDonald's

I wanted to talk with more locals. Unfortunately, my Russian is pathetic and my Estonian is even worse. The tall 20-year-olds advised me to visit the McDonald's in Lasnamäe because I might find locals who speak English. I jumped off the bus, entered the McDonald's, I asked a young Russophone couple if I could ruin their romantic meal.

Dimitri spoke English, but Tatiana could only speak Russian and German. I asked Dimitri what he thought of Estonians and he wisely answered, "There are some good Estonians and some bad ones. Just like there are some good Russians and bad Russians. There is no perfect group. There are good and bad people everywhere. So when I meet an Estonian, I have an open mind."

I asked him, "Do Russians feel like second class citizens here?"

"Russians feel at home in the Baltic. We have lived here for many years. And as the Baltic becomes more international, life will improve."

Then I came up with a great idea: "What if Russians didn't have to learn Estonian as a second language, but had to learn English instead, and that Estonians had to do the same. This way you each keep your native tongue and your common language would be English! What do you think?"

"This would be great!" he said.

Feeling like the Nobel Peace Prize was within my grasp, I shuffled over to a table where an Estonian couple was chatting. I made the same language proposal to them. Their response shattered my Nobel dreams: "Absolutely not! Then we'll lose our language! We'll use English to communicate with the Russians and then eventually just use it to communicate between Estonians. We would lose our culture and identity. No way."

These Estonians were named Ronnie and Liis. It's rare to find Estonians who live in Lasnamäe, so I wanted to know more about what they thought of the Russophones. Ronnie was blunt, "I'd just like to see all the Russians go back to their country."

"What do you have against the Russians?" I asked.

"They're loud and aggressive. The older generations expects you to speak Russian. Although things are getting better, most Russians refuse to learn anything about Estonian culture."

“But Russians say they can’t get an Estonian passport,” I said.

Ronnie sighed, “All they have to do is to take a really basic language test. I talked with someone who took it and they said it was a joke; it’s so easy. They just need to know a little history. But they’re lazy or they just don’t care. It’s not hard. *It’s a question about attitude,*” he emphasized.

Liis chimed in, “Yes, the Russians just have such a bad attitude about it. If they just tried a little, we would understand, but they are so inflexible.”

Then came my favorite question: “Do you think Russia will invade Estonia again this century?”

“No way. They wouldn’t dare. We’re part of NATO now. If they attacked Estonia, Europe and America would immediately defend us,” he told me confidently.

I couldn’t resist reminding him of history, so I asked, “How long has Estonia existed?”

Ronnie answered, “About 800 years.”

“And of those 800 years, how many has your country been independent?”

He paused. He knew the answer, but didn’t like to remind himself of it. He played with his French fries and then said quietly, “About 40 years.”

Some foreign country has occupied and manhandled Estonia for 95 percent of its existence. But “this time is different” they assure us.

That was 2006 when I talked with Ronnie and Liis, and back then it *really did feel different*. In those days, NATO dismissed the question of what it should do if a Baltic country were attacked. It was such a preposterous idea that it wasn’t even worth discussing. However, in 2008, with the Russian incursion into Georgia (South Ossetia), NATO had to discuss the possibility of Russia attacking Estonia. Russia’s excuse for entering Georgia was one they could easily use to invade Estonia: to defend the ethnic Russians being abused and discriminated against by the local government.

In 2008, during my third visit to Estonia, I asked other young Estonians if they thought Russia could invade their country in their lifetime. This time the answer was quite different: “Yes, probably.”

When I met Maiu’s brother, Herki, in 2004, he was dating an Estonian. When we met again in 2008, he had married her and they had a baby. I looked at his son, Romet, and asked Herki, “Do you think Russia could reoccupy Estonia in your son’s lifetime?”

“Sure, why not?” he said with that classic Estonian calmness. “Look at our history. We’re usually occupied.” He said it with a casualness that people usually have when they ask you to pass the salt.

Nevertheless, there are plenty of Estonians who still believe that they won’t be occupied again this century. Estonians are proud of their independence and nowadays many have a certain arrogant swagger about them. Now that they’re in NATO, they’re like the little nerd in the schoolyard who finally has a bodyguard to fend off the bully. Today Estonians like to jeer and make faces at the Russians, knowing that NATO will defend them. *However, it’s remarkable that despite NATO’s presence and despite being independent of the USSR for 20 years, Estonia still has trouble moving a simple statue.*

Bronze Night: Estonians fight over a statue

While I walked through the streets of Tallinn in 2006, I found the most controversial statue in Eastern Europe. It's not an impressive statue; it would be easy to walk right by it with hardly a glance. It's a life-sized bronze statue of a Russian soldier. He's neither a general nor anyone important. He's just a common soldier who is solemnly looking at the ground. His pedestal is only one meter high. Ethnic Russians would deposit flowers at the statue's feet nearly every day. On May 9 Russians would gather around the statue to commemorate Victory Day—the end of World War II. This all seems rather innocuous, but this simple statue set off an international crisis.

To understand why this statue nearly ignited World War III, we need a bit of background. The USSR liked to plop dark monolithic statues all over Eastern Europe. Many of the statues featured Lenin, but some were other patriotic figures. When the Soviet Union dissolved, the statues didn't automatically dissolve with the totalitarian state. They stuck around, prominently displayed in nearly every major square in Eastern Europe. Some countries were quick to tear down the vestiges of the Soviet era; while others let them stand either out of inertia or to remind the population of that miserable period.

In 1947, the USSR placed the Bronze Soldier in Tallinn as a tribute to the brave Russians who beat the Nazis out of Estonia, thereby saving the Estonians from the tyranny of Hitler. Unfortunately for the Estonians, the Russians gave them the tyranny of Stalin. It wasn't a great trade. Indeed, to drive home the point of who was in charge, Stalin destroyed the monument dedicated to Estonian independence. That's like Canada invading the United States, going to Philadelphia, and breaking the Liberty Bell into pieces.

After destroying Estonia's monument to independence in 1946, the Soviets erected a small wooden pyramid in its place, and dedicated it to their soldiers. Two courageous teenage Estonian girls burned down the new pyramid. They were eventually caught and sent to a Gulag to work in a coal mine for many years. In 1998, both girls were in their late 60s and became the only Estonian women to be awarded their nation's highest honor: The Order of the Cross of the Eagle. However, the key point is that the Soviets replaced that burnt pyramid with the Bronze Soldier.

For many Estonians the Bronze Soldier represents 48 years of Soviet oppression. It's a reminder of how badly the Russians dominated the helpless Estonians. On the other hand, Russians (including the ethnic Russians who live in Estonia) still believe that the statue simply represents the glorious triumph of the Russians over the Germans. Instead of seeing the statue as a negative reminder of the Soviet times, the Russians view it as a symbol of liberation—the triumph over the evil Nazis. Although most Russians admit that Stalin wasn't a saint, they feel he was far better than Hitler. I agree. Unlike Hitler, Stalin wasn't prejudiced—he deported and killed everyone equally.

Estonia was quick to get rid of most of their Soviet statues, but for nearly 20 years after declaring independence, the Bronze Soldier quietly stayed exactly where the Soviets had left him. Therefore, it's a bit odd that after so much time, suddenly the statue became such a big deal for the Estonians. Yet that's exactly what happened.

A few months before I returned to Estonia in 2006, an Estonian nationalist threatened to blow up the statue if it wasn't removed. The police responded by having a 24-hour guard around the statue. By the

time I arrived in November 2006, there was an ebb in the tensions as winter set in. That same month George W. Bush became the first US President to visit Estonia.

Estonian tensions quickly soared again in April 2007. The Russians believed that there were at least 10 Russian soldiers buried under the statue. Some Estonians thought that was a lie. On April 26, 2007, the Estonian Prime Minister (PM) authorized an excavation to quell the Estonian rumors about what was really buried under the statue. The Estonian PM said that some believed that what was really buried there was: (a) patients from a nearby hospital; (b) executed looters; (c) drunken USSR soldiers who had been run over by their own tank.

This statement became twisted so that nowadays Russians believe that the Estonian PM said that what was really buried there was a drunken prostitute! The PM never said that, nor did the PM say that he believed any of the Estonian rumors. He simply said that those were the rumors and he wanted to put them to rest. Regardless of what the PM really said, Russians were furious. It all climaxed in an event now called the Bronze Night.

There are a terrible lot of lies going about the world, and the worst of it is that half of them are true.
— Winston Churchill

The Bronze Night began when the Estonian government voted to remove the statue within 30 days. Russophones immediately showered the statue with flowers and held hands in a nonstop vigil around the statue. Estonians rallied against the statue's presence, demanding that they take it away. As tensions hit a crescendo, the Estonian parliament gathered for an emergency session at 3:40 a.m. No, that's not a typo. They called up all the members of parliament in the middle of the night and asked them to roll out of bed, drive to the parliament building, and vote on a small statue. And you think the US Congress has strange priorities.

The groggy Estonian leaders voted to remove the statue immediately despite the protests. Three hours later, the statue disappeared. That caused a massive riot that the police struggled to control. The next night riots continued with widespread looting and vandalism. A few days later, the statue reappeared, but this time several kilometers away in the Tallinn Military Cemetery.

Meanwhile, Russia exploded with rage. One prominent Russian leader demanded that the Estonian government resign. Angry Russians besieged the Estonian embassy in Moscow, spraying graffiti and throwing stones at it. The European Union (EU) was upset that the Russian police did nothing to stop the Russians from laying siege to and vandalizing the Estonian Embassy. Instead, the Russian Federation approved a statement that said: "zealots of Nazism" are behind the dismantling of the statue and "these admirers of Nazism" have made "mockery of the remains of the fallen soldiers [and] is just more evidence of the vengeful policy toward Russians living in Estonia and toward Russia." Estonians told me that they were scared and that their government asked everyone to stay in their homes. For the first time in decades, people started whispering the word "war."

During the hysteria, Estonians excavated the site and exhumed 12 bodies. Four were Russian military officers and their remains were returned to their families. The rest could not be identified and were reburied at Tallinn's Military Cemetery. Although the Russian ambassador was invited to attend the reburial ceremony, he refused. The President of Lithuania said, "There is no doubt that respect should be

shown to the memory of the fallen soldiers. However, the Soviet Army didn't bring freedom to the Baltic states, so can we blame Estonia if the Soviet soldiers' remains from a central Tallinn square are re-interred in another cemetery?"

Russian leader, Vladimir Putin, had a different take. He called the whole affair a "desecration" of a monument dedicated to "war heroes." He said the act "sows discord and mistrust." One restaurant in Russia was more blunt. It put up a sign stating, "Estonians and dogs may not enter."

Russians were encouraged to boycott Estonian goods. Since Russia has a much bigger impact on the Estonian economy than Estonia has on the Russian economy, the lack of trade hurt Estonia. Estonian politicians downplayed the importance and claimed that Russia accounted for less than one percent of the Estonian economy. No matter what the politicians said, the Estonian economy had sunk into a recession.

Russia sped up the construction of modern ports near the Baltic so that Estonia would no longer benefit from trade. Russia also suddenly announced that it would start to "repair" the rail lines to Estonia, thereby disrupting the oil and coal supplies. Estonia normally handles 25 percent of Russia's shipments. Overnight it went to zero.

Lessons from the Bronze Night

In 2008, I was back in Estonia for a third time and the statue was still a hot topic. I spent several hours with Igor Kuzmitshov, a brilliant Estonian Russophone. Even though Igor thought the statue should have been left alone, he understood the pain that Estonians felt when they looked at the Bronze Soldier. He explained that many Russians share the resentment and bitterness that many Estonians feel about the Soviet regime.

"What Estonians don't understand," he explained, "is that Russians also suffered in communism. Estonians have ill feelings towards Russians because the Soviets oppressed them. However, the average Russian was just as much of a victim of the totalitarian state as the average Estonian. Sure, a few Russians benefited from communism, but so did a few Estonians. However, Estonians should remember that many Russians also had family members deported to Siberia, had property stolen by the state, and were scared of criticizing the government. *Everyone* suffered under communism, not just Estonians. Sometimes Estonians forget that."

I interviewed Artur Kuldmaa, a computer administrator in Tallinn. His father is Estonian and his mother is Russian. Therefore, he would have a unique perspective on this statue and the Russian-Estonian tension. He looked at me intently through his geeky glasses. I asked him, "Artur, what do you think should be done with the statue?"

"We should have left it where it was," in the typical calm Estonian manner.

"So you think Russia was right?" I asked.

"No. They shouldn't get involved in Estonian affairs. This is our problem. We, as a country, should decide what to do with the statue. It's none of Russia's business."

"So should Estonia have left the statues of Lenin and Marx behind too?" I asked.

“No, it was right to take those down. Those are political figures. This statue is of a common soldier. It is neutral.”

“Now that everything has settled down a bit, what do Russians think of Estonians?”

“They think Estonians are fascists!” he laughed. “I went to a soccer match in Russia and a Russian asked me, in all seriousness, if it’s true that Estonians walk through the street with Nazi swastikas on their clothes! I couldn’t believe that some people actually believe that!”

Not only was Artur not wearing his regular Nazi outfit, but he also argued that Russophones must integrate in the Estonian culture. He said, “Russians living in Estonia should know who the most famous Estonian writers and singers are. They should know how to speak Estonian.”

Although he and his wife, Nastya, both believe their child should learn Estonia’s language and culture, they are sending their seven-year-old boy to a Russian school. Russian schools in Estonia teach their students far more about Russian culture than Estonian culture. Russian schools often do a lousy job at teaching their students Estonian. Nastya, who went to a Russian school in Estonia, said that Estonia’s Tartu University was hard because she had to quickly learn Estonian, despite years of classes before college. As a freshman, she struggled to follow the classes that were taught in Estonian. Therefore, I had to ask, “Given your beliefs about integration, why are you guys sending your son to a Russian school?”

Nastya replied, “When Estonians find out that a kid has Russian grandparents, they mumble, ‘Ah, that explains everything.’ In other words, Estonians often attribute any character flaw to your Russian heritage. Russian kids are picked on and discriminated against in Estonian schools. We hope our son learns Estonian language and culture later.”

Future mothers may not have that option because Russian schools are disappearing. For example, Artur’s mom teaches Russian in Tartu, and she says that five years ago there were five Russian schools; now there are only two. The trend continues throughout Estonia.

The Bronze Night highlights the biggest issue in Estonia’s future: not alienating its large Russophone population. That event proved to all Estonians just how fragile their independence is. A few more sloppy steps and Russia might have crushed Estonia just as it crushed Georgia in 2008. Estonia’s future depends on making peace and co-existing with its large Russian population.

Estonia is calmer than the media leads you to believe

For the seven people on the planet who are curious about what’s going on in Estonia, it may seem that its citizens are always embroiled with some Russian-Estonian controversy. My lengthy analysis of the Russophone situation confirms this view. However, it’s best not to exaggerate the importance of this issue. Igor summed it perfectly in a thoughtful email:

Hola, Francis! First of all, it seems to me that many topics of the yesterday’s conversation were somewhat political. This could make an impression that people in Estonia think about these issues all the time and there is a kind of confrontation between Estonians and Russians. In real life it is not the case. Of course, our society is too politicized (in my opinion), mostly due to the brainwashing by nationalist

politicians, and the two communities are separated indeed, but I hope you see that the picture is much more bright and relaxed.

About the separation of communities: I guess that is not only because the cultures are so different, but also due to the “tradition,” when communities were separated by generations. I believe that younger people from different communities are much more connected now. You should talk with younger people, as I am over 30, you know :)

Concerning the languages: as I have said, a language is learned and used when it is really needed, otherwise it would be too artificial. That is why Russians do not speak Estonian in Narva, and it seems very unnatural when they are expected to learn Estonian there. They not only can survive without Estonian, but they actually have no practical use for it there.

You were right that Estonians just want foreigners to learn Estonian language. I recall that some highly educated Estonians could not understand (to my surprise) why international students coming to Estonia (to study for some time) prefer to learn Russian here instead of Estonian (there are possibilities to learn both for foreign students, at least at Tartu University). But these foreigners have no political imperative in their heads to learn the official language, they are more practical: they understand that they can benefit more from speaking Russian when they leave Estonia.

The funny thing is that, although Russian is not an official language, it is widely used by businesses (e.g., banks have service and web sites in Russian as well, films are subtitled in both languages in cinemas, etc.) and government institutions (like Citizenship and Migration Board). These are practical needs in action.

Please understand that I am not against learning Estonian language (I do speak it myself much better than an average Russian), I was just expressing my hopes that people could be more reasonable.

Anyway, these are not things I think about all the time, but your questions were somewhat provocative. I wish we could talk more about cinema, literature and travel more—these are some of the things that really fill everyday life to much greater extent than external political issues. I hope you do not see people in Estonia from the perspective of national confrontation only. We actually live quite normally here.

Have a nice stay and get the understanding what people actually do, feel and think in everyday life. —
Igor

I lived in Estonia throughout the winter of 2008-2009 and I agree with Igor. Few discuss the Russian-Estonian relations. Most just want to hang out in saunas, sing, and go canoeing.

Overturning a canoe on a slow river

The Maldives and the Netherlands may be the flattest countries on earth, but Estonia isn't far behind. Thus, when Maiu invited me to canoe the *Ahja Jõgi* (Ahja River) during my 2004 trip there, I figured it would be as easy as canoeing in a swimming pool. I was right: it was incredibly easy. However, I underestimated how incompetent I can be.

The *Ahja Jõgi* is a shallow, lazy river that cuts through Estonia's Otepää region. Given how unassuming this river was, I laughed when they gave us life vests. I filmed the pleasant pastoral landscapes from the canoe as Maiu paddled. After an hour, Maiu noticed a part of the river that dipped a meter, creating some whitewater that might scare someone without arms or legs.

I confidently shouted to Maiu, "Don't worry, I can navigate our way through this with my eyes closed!" I put my camcorder in my pocket and calmly prepared for the little dip. The canoe was approaching the dip at an angle, which wasn't good, but I shrugged anyway. However, suddenly I noticed several metal protrusions right where the whitewater was. The canoe quickly got stuck to these protrusions. The force of the water caused the pinned canoe to flip, thereby tossing us into the river. Maiu fell gracefully into the water, but I was less fortunate. Sharp rocks sliced my feet and left a big bruise on my lower back. On the other hand, the water was refreshing and I learned that life jackets really work.

There was some good news and bad news about overturning the canoe. The bad news is that my camcorder got wet and began malfunctioning. Whenever I tried to turn it off, it would eject the tape. This irritating behavior would haunt me for the rest of my 2004 trip in Eastern Europe. To get around that problem, I would have to pop out the battery whenever I needed to turn it off. On the other hand, the good news was that Maiu stripped down to her underwear to dry off her wet clothes. I thought sacrificing my camcorder to see her petite body nearly naked was a fair trade.

Backpacking without mountains

Figuring that I should stick with what I know, we left the river behind and did some backpacking. Estonia is so flat that the tallest mountain is just 318 meters high (about 1,000 feet). It's a country where it is easy to get excited just seeing smooth gentle hills. There are also few long trails in Estonia. A backpacking trip might consist in spending half the time on quiet dirt roads. I proposed a two-day 50 kilometer (35 mile) trip. Maiu thought that was insane, but agreed to go for it as long as I carried her. She had no idea that just two years later she would backpack 4,240 kilometers (2,650 miles) with me on America's Pacific Crest Trail.

Weather in Estonia is similar to Seattle's: cold and wet. Like Seattle, Estonia warms up in summer, but a misty drizzle can happen at any time. Showers fell on us as we set up the tarp. Maiu had never camped under a tarp and was surprised that we stayed dry. I doubt she would have believed me if I told her that in a couple of years she would spend four months living under a tarp on the Pacific Crest Trail.

An unexpected Estonian breakfast

The next day we both learned that that Trail Magic doesn't just happen in America. A nice family invited us into their house after they saw us wandering aimlessly in their backyard. They treated us to an expansive breakfast. They served *Rosolje*, a classic Estonian dish that has *peet* (beet), *liha* (meat), and *rääim* (Baltic herring, Estonia's national fish). All Estonian meals feature *leib* (black rye bread). *Leib* is more nutritious than typical French or Italian breads, which are made with white, refined flour. Estonians were eating whole grain bread centuries before nutritionists started recommending it.

Lastly, they offered what is perhaps Estonia's most beloved signature food: *kama*. Although Finns also eat *kama* (they call it *talkkuna*), it's impossible to find *kama* anywhere else on this planet. *Kama* is a finely milled powder made of roasted barley, oats, peas, and rye. Imagine bread crumbs put through a coffee grinder—that's similar to *kama*. We ate it in the traditional way: we swirled it in some kefir. It's not sweet, although some like to add sugar to it. I ate it with yogurt almost every day in Estonia.

Estonian cuisine is generally pretty heavy. Russian and Germanic influences pervade in the Estonian kitchen. This translates into a heavy meat and potato diet. Most of the Estonian population lives along the Baltic Sea, where herring, anchovies, and salmon are also popular. Estonian food probably won't ever win any culinary awards, but it sure tastes great when you're hungry.

An empty belly is the best cook. — Estonian Proverb

Even though we were in the middle of nowhere (sometimes all of Estonia feels like the middle of nowhere), the Estonian couple spoke excellent English. This educated couple taught me what Americans can learn from Estonians. For instance, I assumed that since this couple lived out in the woods, they were disconnected from the Internet. They not only proved me wrong, but also demonstrated that Estonians make Americans look like the Flintstones.

E-stonia

Estonia is sometimes called *E-stonia*, because it is one of the most wired countries in the world. Many people assume that Estonia is behind the times, like most of Eastern Europe. However, in many ways Estonia is ahead of the United States. For example, while Florida was debating the merits of punch cards and chads, Estonians were voting in their pajamas. They can do that because everyone has a national identity card with a microchip that lets them vote from anywhere in the world. This couple was able to vote from a bedroom in their remote cabin.

Estonia's Internet use and accessibility is higher than the typical European country. An interesting pattern emerges when you examine the broadband statistic. The closer a country is to the North Pole, the more likely homes have broadband. In 2010, for example, Scandinavian countries have a high penetration of broadband. If you head south to countries like Italy and Greece, the broadband penetration drops to 30 and 10 percent, respectively. Estonia, being so far north, has a higher percentage of broadband connections than Germany, Spain, or France. It seems that cold, dark winters encourage Nordic families to get a broadband connection because there's not much else to do in the winter there except surf Swedish porn sites.

*I am not always happy with the compliments Estonia has received. — Lennart Meri, 1929—2006,
President of Estonia*

Americans think we're tech savvy if we use PayPal, but Estonians make us look like we're still using the barter system. Estonians pay each other through their cell phones. In Estonia, your cell phone account is like a mini-bank. You receive a text message (SMS) when someone is depositing money into your account. If you need to send someone money, just compose an SMS from your phone (preferably not while you're driving).

Next time you're lugging a bowling ball's weight in coins to get 10 minutes at the parking meter, think of Estonia. In 2006, Estonians were already paying for parking via an SMS. All you have to do is SMS your license plate number to the number indicated on the parking lot's sign. When you leave, call them, an automated system answers and in five seconds sends an SMS with your parking bill. The amount is added to your cell phone bill. Although you won't save much money, at least you don't have to lug around a bunch of quarters.

Finally, you have probably never heard of these four Estonians: Ahti Heinla, Priit Kasesalu, Jaan Tallinn, and Toivo Annus. However, you probably have heard of the product they created: Skype. At any given moment, over 20 million individuals are using Skype worldwide. It has connected separated families via free video chat. So next time you Skype someone, thank Estonia. And Skype employees should thank eBay. In 2006 eBay bought Skype for \$2.5 billion. Now those four Estonians can afford to make really high bids on eBay auctions.

By the time you read this, you may think, "We do all these things in America now. What's the big deal?" The point is Estonia was doing it years before us. Whenever you're reading this, you can almost be sure that Estonia is technologically ahead of America. If you want to see the future, go to Estonia.

The freest country on Earth

America calls itself "The Land of the Free." However, according to The State of the World Liberty Project, the United States is only number eight on the list of the freest countries.¹ The Project looked at three major factors: (1) Economic freedom; (2) Individual freedom; (3) Government involvement and tax burden. The Project combined scores from professional surveys that rate 140 countries on those three metrics. It merged these three scores into one composite score. The result of their 2006 survey: the least free country in the world is North Korea; *the freest is Estonia*.

Let's look at the three components to understand why. First, Estonia's *economic freedom* is high because its citizens have a high degree of personal choice, are free to exchange goods based on market prices, can compete in markets, and have excellent property rights. That's similar to the United States.

The second component, *individual freedom*, soared with the dissolution of the USSR. For example, nowadays they can use their European Union passport to travel and immigrate to any country that accepts EU citizens. They can also go to center of Tallinn and scream, "I hate this government! Bring Lenin back! The free press is not free!" and nobody will care.

The third component is where Estonia really stands out. Estonia's *government involvement and tax policy* is simple and minimal. By 2009, the United States tax code had ballooned to a 67,506-page document. That's 55 Bibles stacked on top of each other. That might make you convert religions—or at least call for reform. That's exactly what Estonia has done. Its tax code is just over 1,000 pages, which still seems long, but it's remarkably simple. Starting a business is also simple in Estonia. On average, it takes less than seven days. Only Singapore offers a more efficient bureaucracy.

¹ <http://stateofworldliberty.org>

Libertarians sing the praises of a flat tax, yet no country ever had the guts to try it until Estonia came along. It became the first country in the world to implement a flat tax and it created a revolution. Estonia's tax code is comically simple. For example, they have a Value Added Tax (VAT) of 18 percent, which they charge all goods. The only exceptions are medicine (9 percent) and alcohol and tobacco (varies, but it's high to discourage consumption). Therefore, the price you see at the store is exactly the price you pay. There are no sneaky taxes that are tacked on after you decide to buy. Wouldn't it be nice if car rental companies and cell phone calling plans would be so transparent and clear?

Estonia's income taxes are so simple that it's almost a pleasure to pay them. All income exceeding the basic exemption is taxed at 22 percent. Let's say the basic exemption is \$10,000. Nobody pays tax on the first \$10,000. Beyond that, you pay 22 percent. For example, if you make \$110,000 a year, your taxable income is \$100,000. Therefore, you pay \$22,000 in taxes. If you only make \$20,000, then your taxable income is \$10,000, and you pay \$2,200 in taxes. To make it insanely simple, the government totals up all your income sources and calculates your taxes for you on their secure website. All you have to do is log on and click "Approve." If the amount is more than was withheld from your paycheck, then the government lets you pay electronically. If you deserve a rebate, it automatically goes to your bank. Even corporations pay the same 22 percent flat tax, so they don't have to hire an army of tax lawyers and accountants to understand the system. *It's stunning that I couldn't find an Estonian who took more than 10 minutes to do his taxes.*

In sum, there are four types of taxes: income, payroll, VAT, and excise taxes (energy, alcohol/tobacco, and packaging). That's it. No other sneaky taxes. You own a home? No property tax. Your parents die? No inheritance or estate taxes. You sold stock or real estate at a profit? Congratulations, no capital gains taxes for you. You want to reinvest your company's profits? No tax on that either. Move to another part of the country? No special local or regional taxes to pay anywhere. You just bought a car? No car or road tax for you. There is no tax on many other things, including education, cultural events, and, most importantly, sauna services. It's not surprising that because the tax code is so disarmingly simple, tax evasion is one of the lowest in the region.

Estonia struggled economically with the collapse of communism. However, in just a few years it transformed itself from a totalitarian society to a libertarian one. Their economy has been on a tear ever since. Estonia's renowned flat tax and market-friendly policies have helped the country post double digit economic growth for 10 years. Although their gross national product (GDP) slowed in 2010, it's still growing two or three times faster than Western Europe and America. Moreover, by 2010, Estonia's debt as a percentage of GDP is just 7.5 percent, making it (along with Russia) one of the 10 lowest ones in the world, and far lower than China (18%), America (54%), the UK (69%), and Japan (192%).

Although Estonia's taxes are low, they're not the lowest around. As a percent of the GDP, taxes still make up 31 percent of their economy. Although that's lower than Sweden (which is over 50 percent) and most European countries, it's not as low as Chile (18 percent). And it's a tad higher than the US tax burden. Estonia will drop below the US tax burden if it resumes its long-term tax plan. When Estonia became the first country to have a flat tax, it set the rate at 26 percent. Every year it lowered it by one percent, planning to reach a flat tax of 18 percent in 2011. However, in 2008, the global credit crisis hit and the government (unwisely) froze the tax rate at 22 percent. A tax cut during the recession would have

been the best thing they could have done, but unfortunately, they weren't that wise. Estonia's economic slowdown would have been milder than it was, but that's a minor point.

The main point is that Estonia's government regulations and taxes are so simple that a child can understand them. You can do your taxes on a postcard. They're so easy you don't need an IRS help line. And even if they had one, you wouldn't get a different answer every time you call. Estonians spend little time and money doing their taxes, whereas Americans spend \$400 billion and 6.6 billion hours just to comply with their taxes. Clearly, Estonians have more hair than Americans do because they don't pull so much of it out on Tax Day.

Estonia's currency (the Kroon) is pegged to the Euro. This stabilizes the currency and encourages investments because businesses like stability. Estonia plans to adopt the Euro in 2011, further integrating itself with Europe. As Yulia Trutko observed, "We moved from one union to another—from the Soviet Union to the European Union."

Estonia's miracle economy has its party poopers. They say that the vigorous economic growth kept inflation at 6.6 percent, which delayed Estonia's plans to adopt the Euro. Some believe that Estonians have become too materialistic. Others believe its flat tax is "regressive" and there's pressure to make it more "progressive." Some want more government regulations and adopt a socialist Finnish model. And everyone wants to be better off than their neighbor.

However, if Estonia complicates its simple tax code and economic policies, then their accompanying benefits will disappear. It will drop off from the top spot on the State of the World Liberty rankings and their standard of living will pay the price. If you prefer countries that have complex, complicated, cumbersome taxes and regulations, then you're in luck—there are plenty to choose from. Estonia is refreshingly simple and free. Let's hope it stays that way.

The sound of 300,000 people singing

When I stayed with Maiu's family in the summer of 2004, I was lucky to be there during this Estonia's Singing Festival. Once every five years Tallinn hosts this massive event. The climax is when 30,000 singers, the largest choir in the world, get on an enormous stage and belt out some good old Estonian folk tunes.

As I listened, I thought of when I, as a little boy, visited my family in Chile in the 1970s. They would quietly play banned music on their tape players. If the police had overheard that music, we would have been arrested. The USSR also banned songs it didn't like. They were songs like the ones I was listening to now in Estonia's Singing Festival. However, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev introduced *glasnost* (openness), the USSR relaxed its policies. That paved the way for the Singing Revolution.

It's hard to describe what it sounds like to listen to a choir of 30,000 singers. One can mention the vibrations, the smiling faces, your soaring heart, and the passionate electricity in the air. It's truly an awesome, breathtaking experience. Even though it's incredibly moving and impressive, it's nothing compared to the overwhelming power of the 300,000 singers that kicked off the Singing Revolution.

To hear that you needed to be in Estonia on September 11, 1988. Estonians poured in from all over the country. Maiu's entire family (including her grandmother) was there. That day *a quarter of the Estonian population*, 300,000 citizens, crammed into Tallinn and belted out banned national hymns. The Soviets knew how to handle 300,000 Germans charging at them with rifles, but they weren't trained to deal with 300,000 Estonians singing at them armed only with their voices.

Maiu explained how life was like before the Singing Revolution. When she was a little girl, it was normal to see tanks in the streets. Few had cars back then, so tanks owned the road. "Seeing a tank was like seeing a car today," she said. "Whenever it would roll by our apartment, the earth would shake and the windows would vibrate."

Now imagine singing while a Soviet tank is pointing straight at your face. That's exactly what brave Estonians did when the Soviets tried to shut down their radio and TV stations. Estonians held hands, encircled the TV tower, and sang hymns as tears ran down their cheeks. Such bravery gave Estonia leaders the courage to declare their independence on August 20, 1991. In short, Estonians regained their freedom by singing their hearts out. No blood was ever spilled. Estonia's Baltic neighbors, Latvia and Lithuania, were not so lucky.

Lahemaa National Park

After the 2004 Singing Festival, Maiu invited me to go to her summer house, which is in Lahemaa National Park. Although I needed to explore Latvia and the rest of Eastern Europe, I had a few more days to wait for Belarus to process my visa. I had applied in Tallinn and it seems that the Belarusians were using the Pony Express to get my visa.

Lahemaa National Park is special because it was the first national park in the USSR. What's shocking is when it was founded: 1971. You'd think that communists, being all for the proletariat and Joe Six-Pack, would have created *dozens* of national parks long before 1971. What's the point of being a communist if it takes you forever to get a national park?

Lahemaa has plenty of places to hike, bike, and go berry or mushroom hunting. Maiu took me on the Viru Bog Nature Trail, which has a long boardwalk that traverses wetlands. We climbed a wooden tower to overlook the entire park and admire the Baltic Sea. Lahemaa is a paradise if you like bogs and swamps. They have many boardwalks and trails crisscrossing these mosquito preserves. When the rest of the world has gotten rid of all their mosquitoes, thank God Estonia will be protecting a few trillion of them.

Maiu and I went to the tiny village of Altja to have an Estonian treat: a blood sausage. Yes, it's as disgusting as it sounds. From there, we went to Lahemaa's center, the village of Võsu. It has a mellow beach that's perfect for Estonia's summer days, which have 20 hours of daylight. During the Soviet era, rich Russians took over Võsu to enjoy their summer vacation. Today, few Russians remain except for a couple of beached whales.

Sauna experience part II

Maiu's summer house was really one large unfinished house and one primitive cottage. A slow moving stream wound its way through the backyard. Although the compact kitchen had cold water on tap, the toilet was a dilapidated outhouse. For a shower, they stored water in a large barrel.

Like a true Estonian, when Maiu's father starting building the cottage he started with the most important room: the sauna. Like the Finns (and most northern Europeans), Estonians are obsessed about saunas. Maiu told me of her father sauna ritual: he would warm himself up in the wood powered sauna and then immerse himself in the frigid stream to cool off. Then he'd often repeat this cycle until dawn. He enjoyed his beloved sauna until he died of cancer when he was 55 years old.

After telling me about her father, Maiu asked in her childlike voice, "Do you want to use the sauna?"

I immediately thought of my Finnish sauna experience earlier that week. I took a deep breath. At this point, Maiu and I had spent several days together, traveling all over Estonia. Our relationship was strictly platonic, although I was hopelessly attracted to her. *She has a boyfriend*, I reminded myself every hour. Going into a sauna with her would be torture, but I told myself what people like to tell themselves when they do stupid, masochistic things: *it builds character*.

This time I felt like a sauna veteran: I confidently entered the baking sauna completely naked. I told Maiu that she need not be self-conscious because without my glasses I can't see the big "E" at the eye doctor. Her towel dropped to the floor. Despite being nearly blind, I could see enough to admire Maiu's skinny, yet toned body.

By now, I had learned a lot about her relationship with her American boyfriend. Although they had dated three years, they had spent much of those years apart. The separation had taken its toll. Now Maiu was no longer sure about if she wanted to marry him. In fact, several years ago many Estonians began to question the very institution of marriage.

In 1996, Estonia was the unhappy leader of one European statistic: divorces. Back then, Estonia's divorce rate was twice the European average and four times higher than Poland's. Interestingly, Estonia's marriage rate that year was also the lowest in Europe. In other words, in 1996 few wanted to get married and the fools that had got divorced. So why did Estonians have such a high divorce rate?

The least religious country on the planet

One reason couples stay together despite a crappy marriage is that they are religious. For example, Greece, Ireland, and Poland are some of the most religious countries in Europe and they also have some of Europe's lowest divorce rates. Estonia, on the other hand, is the least religious country on the world and a staggering 75.7 percent of Estonians said they have "no religion." Compare that to the 15 percent of Americans who are irreligious. When Gallup asked the world if religion was an important part of their daily life, only 17 percent of Estonians said *yes*, and only 12 percent had attended a religious service in the previous week. Both those results were the lowest rate on the planet.

By 2008, perhaps due to a decade of prosperity, the Estonian divorce rate diminished 30 percent. Although it's still above the European average, if you're a guy who is considering marrying an Estonian,

then relax—Estonia’s divorce rate is still lower than America’s. Besides, Estonian women are incredibly hot, so go for it.

Speaking of hot Estonian women, while I was in the sauna with Maiu, I wasn’t really thinking about divorce rates and I certainly wasn’t thinking about religion. As sweat dripped down Maiu’s body, our bodies touched, she smiled, and I flooded my brain with *she has a boyfriend!* She pressed up her warm, wet body against mine and stared flirtatiously at me. My backpacking and mountaineering experience helped me develop my self-control and willpower. The mental challenges I overcame of being near death had given me more willpower than the average naked dude in a sauna.

Officially, nothing happened in that sauna, but it was certainly hot in there. I explained to Maiu that I respected her relationship with her boyfriend. I would not make the first move. If she wanted to kiss me, she would have to initiate it. If she wanted to break up with her boyfriend, she should make that choice and not have me pressure her to do it.

We rinsed off by using a pail to scoop up water in the barrel. We put on fresh clothes and walked to the local market to buy food for dinner. Later that evening, Maiu said she had made her decision. We embraced.

Part of me wanted to just settle down in Estonia and be with Maiu. On the other hand, I had promised myself to see every country in Eastern Europe and it was crazy to quit my journey after seeing just one country. Maiu understood this and eventually took me to the *bussijaam*—the bus station. I bought a ticket to the second of the three Baltic countries—Latvia.

Baltic blindness

Despite being neighbors, the three main Baltic nations are strangers to each other. It was hard to find Estonians who had been to Latvia and Lithuania. Those that had visited them spent little time there and knew little about them. I would ask Estonians if they personally knew any Latvians or Lithuanians. Nobody did. That’s like going to Michigan or Maine and being unable to find someone who personally knows a Canadian.

The numbers are revealing. Consider that in 2004 only 10,312 tourists visited Estonia from Latvia and Lithuania. The combined population of those two Baltic countries is almost equal to the population of Finland. Yet a whopping 1,365,520 Finns made the journey to Estonia!² Of course, Finland is richer than Latvia and Lithuania, but the disparity isn’t large enough to explain why so few Latvians and Lithuanians visit Estonia. Estonians aren’t too curious either. Twice as many Estonians went to Finland than to the other two Baltic nations.

It’s not as if it’s hard to visit the neighboring countries. Inexpensive buses shuttle you between the capitals in just a few hours. Nevertheless, Estonia has over *eight times* more tourists coming from America than from Latvia and Lithuania. Sure, America has far more people, but *America still sent four times more tourists to Estonia than neighboring Russia did.* You can practically take a rowboat from St. Petersburg,

² Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *MiniFacts About Estonia*, Statistical Office of Estonia (Tallin), more information at www.stat.ee.

Russia to Tallinn, Estonia. OK, at 395 kilometers it would be a long row and the Russian Coast Guard would try to sink you, but larger boats can easily make the journey in a few hours. Most Americans make such weekend getaways all the time. Given that 26 percent of Estonia is ethnically Russian, you would think that Russians would be curious about the little Baltic states. However, nobody seems to care. Well, nobody except for the Finns.

There are three main reasons why Finns visit Estonia in droves. First, they have similar languages—Estonian and Finnish have a fair amount of overlap, whereas Lithuanian and Latvian are completely different languages. Second, Helsinki is only 80 kilometers away from Tallinn, whereas Rīga, Latvia is 307 kilometers. Third, cheap beer. The Finns drink like fish and Estonian beer is cheaper than Finnish beer. So the Finns will cross the Gulf of Finland on a hydrofoil or catamaran, drink nearly a keg of beer, and head home completely wasted. Sure, they could have spent less money and gotten almost equally blasted at home, but it wouldn't have been as fun. In fact, some Finns who take the boat to Tallinn are too lazy to walk five minutes to Tallinn's Old Town, so they just stay on the boat and head back to Finland, drinking the whole way back too. According to the World Health Organization, Finns lead the world in binge drinking.³

Most Estonians believe that "drunk Finn" is redundant. Estonians get a bit tired of them, but at least they're peaceful drunks. The Estonians, on the other hand, fear the British. "When the Finns get drunk, they're just silly," Maiu told me at the bus station, "But when the Brits get drunk, they can get violent."

"What about the Americans?" I asked her.

She laughed, "Oh, they're just here to get the girls."

I laughed too and then we hugged each other. I looked her in the eyes and said, "*Kohtumiseni.*"

She replied, "I hope to see you soon too."

I put my backpack on, boarded the bus, and headed south to Latvia.

An old lady predicts Estonia's future

As the bus crossed the Estonia-Latvian border, I looked back at Estonia and remembered a conversation I had with an old lady on an Estonian bus a few days before. She was holding a transparent plastic bag that allowed me to spot an English children's book in it. It's hard to find old Eastern Europeans who speak English, so I asked her about what life was like now.

"It's getting better," she said in excellent English. "The young kids are more interested in learning the Estonian language and preserving the culture."

"What about the Russian population?" I asked.

³ http://www.who.int/substance_abuse/publications/global_status_report_2004_overview.pdf See report on "Heavy Episodic Drinkers."

“They are still separate. The integration is just starting. It will take time. This is only the beginning. Sorry, but this is my stop.” She smiled and left. It was a perfect, succinct summary of Estonia’s promising future and the obstacles it faces on that path.

Why should Americans care? The United States is facing its own little Estonia. In our version of the story, English speaking Americans are the Estonians and the Spanish speaking Americans are the Russophones. Indeed, there are many communities throughout America where it’s hard to get by without speaking Spanish. With Latinos reproducing faster than the typical American, we may experience similar tensions that they do in Estonia. Therefore, let’s keep watching and learning from this fascinating little country on the Baltic Sea.

What Estonia Can Teach Us

- **Adopt Libertarian principles.** Just like Chile became the economic star in Latin America when it adopted libertarian principles, Estonia became Eastern Europe’s economic star when it did the same. Latin American countries rushed to copy Chile’s libertarian economic model and Eastern European countries quickly copied Estonia’s. For example, today half of Eastern Europe has a flat tax, including Russia. We ought to copy Estonia’s absurdly simple flat tax system. Eliminate random, bureaucracy-filled taxes. Privatize as much as we can. Get rid of tariffs to make goods cheaper for poor people. End corporate subsidies. Continue protecting our personal freedoms. Although such policies will not bring utopia, it’s hard to find a country that is doing better than Estonia, especially when one considers where it started from and how few resources it has. Let’s learn from the freest country on the planet—Estonia.
- **Bring voting to the 21st century.** Let’s hope that by the time you read this all American citizens can vote over the Internet. Only half of eligible American voters exercise their right. One big reason for such low turnout is that we’re lazy. If voting were as easy as visiting Facebook.com, then we’d have high participation.
- **Aim for low population density.** In 2006, Estonians had 31 inhabitants per square kilometer, which is the lowest population density in Europe. The average in Europe is 115 inhabitants per square kilometer. (The UK has 250 and the Netherlands is tightly packed at 483.) Although Estonians have government incentives to reproduce, they’re letting their population slowly decline so they can continue to have more elbow room than any other European.
- **Turn cell phones into ATMs.** Estonians pay each other by just sending a text command via their cell phone. They pay for parking via their cell phone. In short, their cell phones behave like mini-banks ever since 2004. We’re so far behind them. Every American carries a mobile phone; let’s have the option of using it fully. And in 2013 we should check out what Estonia is doing so we don’t take another eight years to catch up.
- **Sing!** Estonia is called the Singing Nation for good reason. Let’s follow their tune. Singing releases endorphins, works out your lungs, floods your body with oxygen, strengthens your abdomen, improves your posture, and stimulates your circulation. Most importantly, singing encourages socialization and bonding with others. And, every once in a while, it can even overthrow an empire.

Places I saw and recommend in Estonia: Tallinn's Old Town. If you have extra time, visit Lahemaa National Park, Tartu, and Saaremaa.

Tourist info: <http://VisitEstonia.com>

Although I loved Estonia, I had stayed there far longer than I had planned. As my bus pulled into Riga, the capital of Latvia, I couldn't wait to step outside and explore.

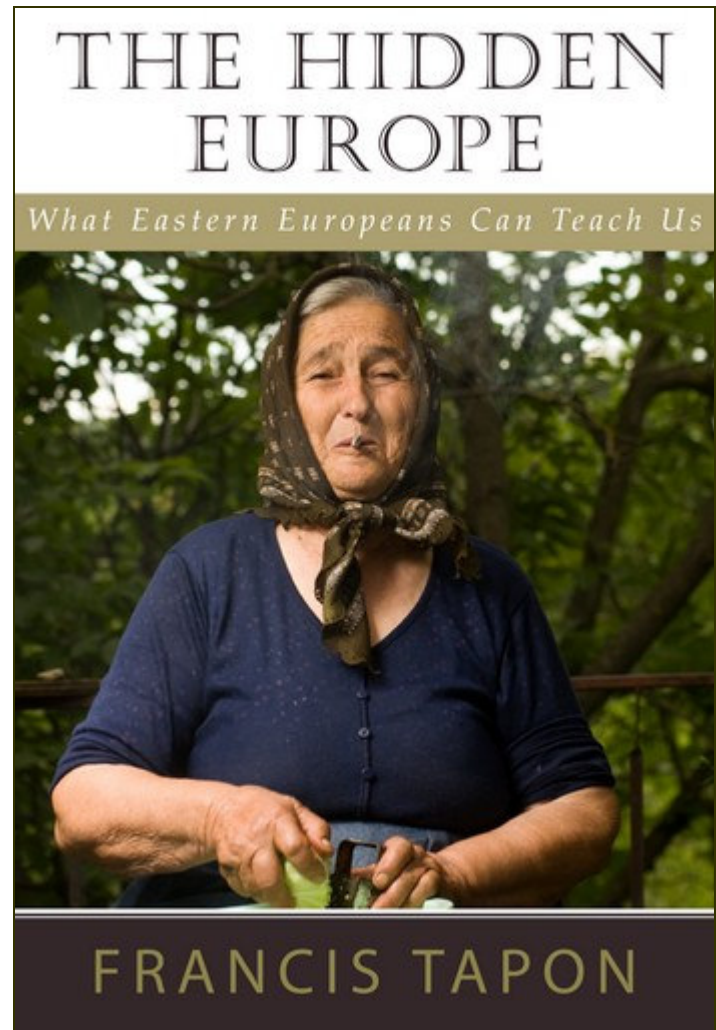
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Francis Tapon's mother is from Chile and his father is from France. They met in San Francisco thanks to a slow elevator. His brother, Philippe Tapon, is the author of two novels. His family spoke Spanish at home, unless an English swear word was necessary.

Francis was born in San Francisco, California where he attended the French American International School for 12 years. Native French teachers convinced him that France is the coolest country in the universe. He is fluent in English, French, and Spanish. He struggles with Italian, Portuguese, Slovenian, and Russian. If you point a gun to his head, he'll start speaking other languages too.

He earned a Religion Degree with honors from Amherst College. He also has an MBA from Harvard Business School. After Harvard, he co-founded a robotic vision company in Silicon Valley. Then he decided to change his life forever.

In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip on the Continental Divide Trail—a seven-month journey spanning 9,000 km. In 2008-2011, he visited over 40 European countries, but focused on revisiting all the Eastern European ones. In 2009, he climbed up Mont Blanc and walked across Spain twice (once by traversing the Pyrenees from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and then by hiking El Camino Santiago). He's backpacked over 20,000 kilometers (12,500 miles) and traveled

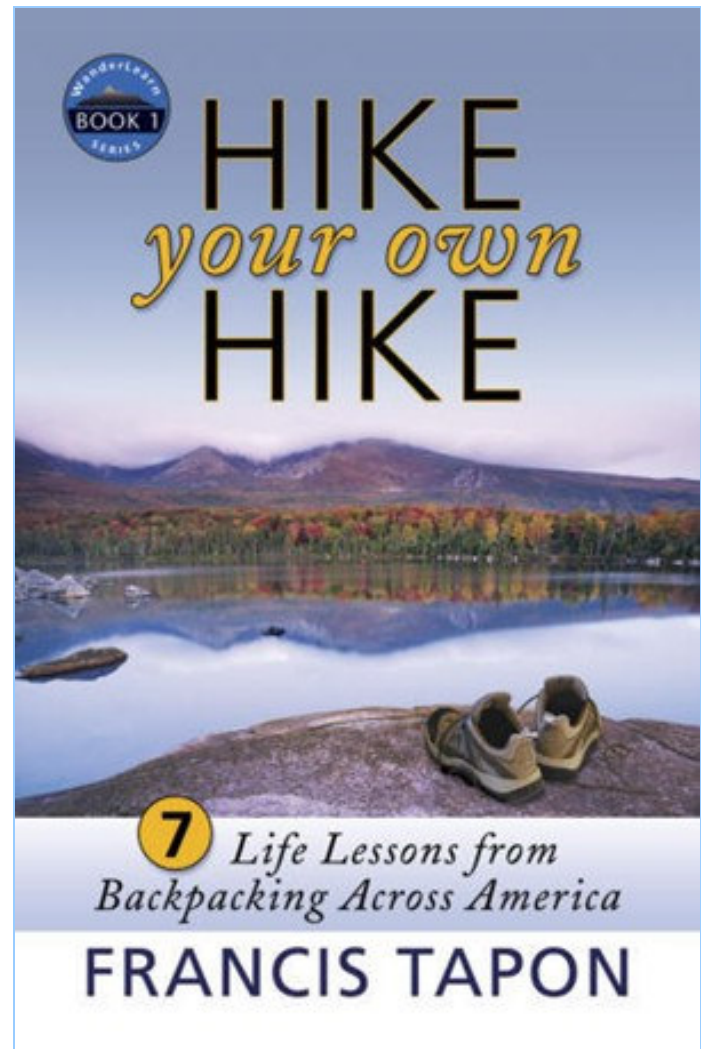


to over 80 countries.

He is the author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*. This book can be also ordered at: <http://francistapon.com/shop>

He is donating half of his book royalty to America's three major scenic trails. *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us* is his second book of his WanderLearn Series. In 2012-2015, he plans to visit every country in Africa and write a book about that in 2016. His goal is to wander to all 193 countries of the world, see what we can learn from them, and share it with everyone.

Francis' website is <http://FrancisTapon.com>



BOOK REVIEW

FARKAS, Flórián

From the Caucasus to New Zealand

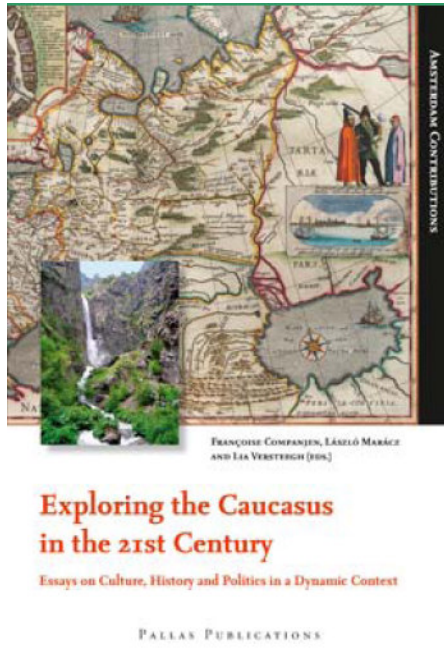
The following four books are reviewed below:

- ✚ Françoise Companjen, László Marác, and Lia Versteegh (Eds.): **Exploring the Caucasus in the 21st Century** — Essays on Culture, History and Politics in a Dynamic Context —
- ✚ Gül Berna Özcan: **Building States and Markets** — Enterprise Development in Central Asia —
- ✚ Mehdi Parvizi Amineh (Ed.): **State, Society and International Relations in Asia** — Reality and Challenges —
- ✚ Fanny Wonu Veys: **Mana Māori** — The Power of New Zealand's First Inhabitants —

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## Exploring the Caucasus in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century



**Editors:** Françoise Companjen, László Marác, and Lia Versteegh

**Title:** Exploring the Caucasus in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

— Essays on Culture, History and Politics in a Dynamic Context —

**Publisher:** Amsterdam University Press

**Year of publishing:** 2010

**Language:** English

**Number of pages:** 256

**ISBN:** 978 90 8964 183 0

<http://www.aup.nl/>

According to scholars in the Netherlands, interest in the Caucasus among the Dutch academia is limited. This is very strange considering the enormous cultural significance of the region, and its geopolitical importance in modern times. The region was and still is a major theatre of the Great Game, its latest round being the Russo-Georgian war of 2008. Taking this background into consideration it is of great importance that several scholars in the Netherlands created this anthology that provides much needed information on the cultural, historical and political aspects of this region.

This edited volume contains the following 11 papers on a broad range of subjects:

*Chapter 1. László Marác: Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna (1844-1913) and the Study of Kabardian* provides an overview of the life and work of one of the greatest Hungarian linguists and oriental explorers, Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna. The paper then recounts the Hungarian expedition to the Caucasus led by Count Zichy in 1895. Among the participants we find Gábor Bálint, who there studied the Western Caucasian language Kabardian, of which he compiled a dictionary. This work retained its great significance up until now. This paper of László Marác was published in its entirety in the April-June 2010 issue of our Journal of Eurasian Studies.

*Chapter 2. René Drees: The Ethnic-Political Arrangement of the Peoples of the Caucasus* gives a concise but complete overview of the peoples of the Caucasus in a historical context. This chapter proves to be very valuable for all those who are interested in the history of the region but lack knowledge of it.

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*Chapter 3. Michael Kemper: An Island of Classical Arabic in the Caucasus: Dagestan* is a pioneering work in examining the role of Classical Arabic in of the regions of the Caucasus, Dagestan, in a historic context. It is heart-warming to learn that after a long period of Czarist and Soviet influence, Soviet and now Russian scholars are in the forefront of the rescue operation of the rich Arabic manuscript heritage of Dagestan.

*Chapter 4. Marc Jansen: Chechnya and Russia, between revolt and Loyalty* examines the outcome of the latest two Chechnya wars in a historic context. The August 2008 war lends to the Chechen situation a more topical dimension.

*Chapter 5. Françoise Companjen: Recent Political History of the South Caucasus in the Context of Transition* analyses the latest transition period of the Southern Caucasian region using a conceptual framework. One of her key findings is that the nation building concepts developed in the West have very limited usability for this region.

*Chapter 6. Max Bader: Authoritarianism and Party Politics in the South Caucasus* elaborates the party politics and party role in the Southern Caucasian Republics. The institutional arrangements differ significantly from those found in Western Europe; hence the Western conceptual frameworks have no usability here at all. One of the paper's conclusions is that a conceptual framework based on non-western bias should be considered when assessing the party structure and party politics in this region.

*Chapter 7. Oliver Reisner: Between State and Nation Building: The Debate about 'Ethnicity' in Georgian Citizens' ID Cards* examines the discourse in Georgia on the mentioning of ethnicity in one's passport (instead of focusing on citizenship). The author delves into this debate that is related to nationalism and nationhood.

*Chapter 8. Françoise Companjen: The War in South Ossetia, August 2008: Four Perspectives* and *Chapter 9. Charlotte Hille: The Recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia: A New Era in International Law* examines the August 2008 Russo-Georgian war and its fallout. The first paper presents the diverging views of the situation and of the war itself from the point of view of the different participants: the Russian perspective, the Georgian perspective, the South Ossetian perspective, and the Abkhazian perspective. The second paper examines the situation and the war from an international law perspective. The decisive importance for the Caucasian situation of recognition of Kosovo by the Western world is acknowledged, and then the implications for the international law of these events is considered.

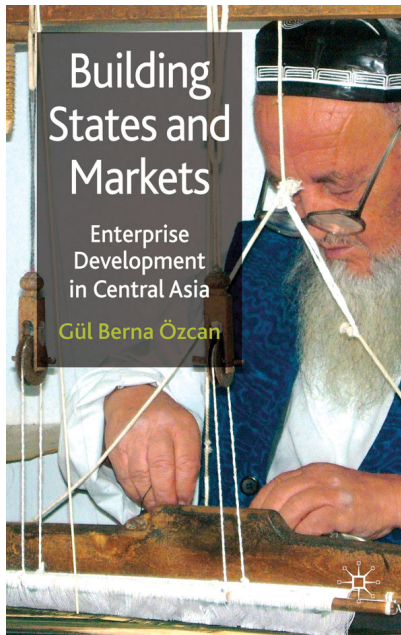
*Chapter 10. Lia Versteegh: Freedom of Speech in the Caucasus: Watch-dog Needed in Armenia and Azerbaijan* sheds light on the working and application of the European Convention of Human Rights in two republics in the Caucasus: Armenia and Azerbaijan.

*Chapter 11. Eva Navarro Martínez: Beyond Frontiers: Engagement and Artistic Freedom in South Caucasus Modern Culture (Armenia and Azerbaijan)* is a personal account that leads us into the world of arts. Through her visits in the region she brings us in contact with living artists in Armenia and Azerbaijan, with their past and present, their influence and artistic vision.

This anthology provides an invaluable kaleidoscope for the Caucasus. It is highly readable, hence accessible for the general public and the specialists can find illuminating perspectives, too.

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## Gül Berna Özcan: Building States and Markets



**Author:** Gül Berna Özcan

**Title:** Building States and Markets

— Enterprise Development in Central Asia —

**Publisher:** Palgrave Macmillan

**Year of publishing:** 2010

**Language:** English

**Number of pages:** 320

**ISBN:** 9781403991614

<http://www.palgrave.com/>

The Author, Gül Berna Özcan, Reader in International Business and Strategy in the School of Management at Royal Holloway, University of London, UK, based her book '*Building States and Markets – Enterprise Development in Central Asia*' on cross-country research (including fieldwork between 2004 and 2007), which was supported by the Nuffield Foundation, the Leverhulme Trust, and a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship.

The main topic of the book is the massive transformation process that is taking place in Central Asia after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The region always played a crucial role in mankind's history; it came into the forefront of the interest of industrial Western Europe as the main scene of the Great Game, beginning from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And this process continues because this landlocked region is the heart of the Heartland (Mckinder) with enormous energy supplies and mineral resources.

Academic interest in Central Asia increased exponentially after the collapse of the USSR, witnessed by the countless research departments, volumes, journals, papers and seminars dedicated to this region. Nevertheless, as the countries and peoples of Central Asia are going through the long process of nation building complemented with a transformation process from a central command socialist economy towards a capitalist one based on private initiative and ownership, the main focus of academic research is still oriented towards elite-driven transformation; very limited scholarly research has been carried out regarding the nature of enterprises and the character of its entrepreneurs. This gap is now filled with this well-researched, fascinating volume, which can be considered the *economic Baedeker* of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, the three countries under examination, wherein the differences between them are always brought to the fore.

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The author commences her book with a sincere description of her family background rarely seen in academic publications. This provides a natural link to the research undertaken in this region, followed by a very clear goal setting: the core topic is the examination of the small and medium size enterprises (SME) and their owners, their characteristics and their role played in the transformation process since 1991. Ms. Özcan correctly identifies entrepreneurship with its risk-taking nature, which is more fundamental than the innovative characteristics, in this way allowing for a societal stratum to be considered at all. Later it will become absolutely clear that this assumption was correct.

*Chapter 1: Introduction: Building States and Markets in Central Asia* introduces and clarifies key concepts and sets the framework. Western transition theories are inadequate to analyze and predict the transformation process taking place in Central Asia due to their Western European origin and bias. Hence, a dynamic model ('Mikado game') is used, which is sensitive to social stratification and dynamic interaction among groups. Then the geography and history of the region is presented in a nutshell up until the Russian colonial expansion at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is followed by a deeper presentation of the Russian administration followed by the Soviet era, which deeply impacted the region and determined the post-Soviet transition period. An overview of the main characteristics of the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek economy completes this chapter.

*Chapter 2: Market Building and Social Stratification* highlights first the three main social stratification periods in the USSR, namely the Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev eras. Based on this fundament, the post-Soviet stratification and reallocation process is presented. With case studies the position and role in the Mikado game of the five social strata are shown: 1. The presidents and their families; 2. The oligarchs and courtiers; 3. Protégés and apparatchiks; 4. The middle class; 5. The underprivileged.

*Chapter 3. Entrepreneurs and their Perceptions* contains the main body of the field research: the statistical distribution of the entrepreneurs on each country based on industry, gender, ethnic origin, education, marital status, size of the business, and origins of the business intersected with several case studies. This is followed by the statistical analysis of their perceptions about markets and information, of institutions and governance (legal system, judiciary, customs, police, national assembly and presidency, municipal and other public services). The chapter is concluded with the entrepreneurs' concerns and demands from the state.

*Chapter 4. The Political Economy of Bazaars* provides an invaluable insight into the realities of bazaars in Central Asia. For an average Western person it might be difficult to grasp the complexity and central status of the oriental bazaar, which is a universe in its own. It has far reaching economic, political and social implications, as proved so many times in the history of oriental countries (one of the most high profile examples was the Tehran Bazaar during the Iranian revolution). The history of bazaars in Central Asia is briefly presented, and then three mega bazaars are introduced in this chapter, one for each country.

*Chapter 5. The Gendered Economy* testifies to the higher resilience rates among women when faced with the collapse of the societal order. The survey data presented shows that women of the Khrushchev era with higher education are those who took up shuttle bus trade to Istanbul, Dubai, Shanghai, etc. and built retail businesses in the 1990s. Several case studies reveal in detail and with personal touch this interesting

process: the bus trips opened the eyes of those women to the world and from that moment on, there was no return.

*Chapter 6: Business Interest Representation* is another intriguing chapter. It presents the entrepreneurs' struggle with poor governance. The main conclusion is that most entrepreneurs in Central Asia hide behind their personal ties and social networks when dealing with day-to-day affairs and the judicial system of their country. Four types of formal business interest representation methods are witnessed: the fully or partially co-opted chambers of commerce and industry, business associations, ad-hoc groups, and self governing syndicates. Though the nascent state of interest representation at this point of transformation may be related to the authoritarian character of these countries, in my view the impact of the steppe culture and mentality should be further examined in the extensive use of personal ties and social networks.

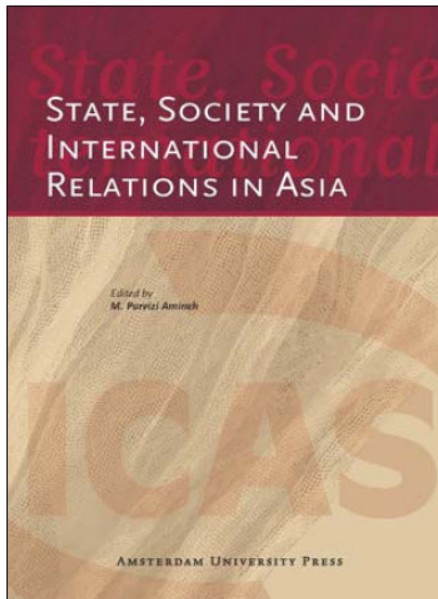
*Chapter 7. International Assistance and Enterprise Development* is the topic, for which most hard data is available. The main conclusion is that for several reasons, after two decades of international assistance, most of it is a complete failure. One exception is presented, the tourism sector in Kyrgyzstan, where a small-scale project that took the local customs and realities into account provided encouraging results.

*Chapter 8. Entrepreneurs as Moral Men* examines the implications of the entrepreneurial middle class' beyond the economic sphere. Sandwiched between the upper classes and the large masses they function as an economic buffer layer and a stratum whose members (should) provide ethical standards for the greater community. The author identified three archetypes of morality among entrepreneurs: 1. men with Soviet rationality; 2. men influenced by Sufism; and 3. men following the traditional Islamic teachings. Several case studies show concrete examples for these archetypes, which are all striving to influence the larger community, whose materialistic attitudes fall in line with the world-wide trends of unrestrained consumerism.

*Chapter 9. Conclusion* provides an extensive and coherent set of conclusions of which the most interesting and topical are the references to the middle stratum's role in Egypt and Turkey. Looking at the events that have been taking place in February 2011 in Egypt and are still taking place since then, the empirical research carried out in Central Asia may be of great interest for the analysis of those countries as well.

All in all, a meticulously researched book, written with academic integrity and much empathy, '*Building States and Markets – Enterprise Development in Central Asia*' is highly rewarding for all who are interested in the inner workings of the Central Asian states and societies or are planning to do business there.

## State, Society and International Relations in Asia



**Editor:** Mehdi Parvizi Amineh

**Title:** State, Society and International Relations in Asia  
– Reality and Challenges –

**Publisher:** Amsterdam University Press

**Year of publishing:** 2010

**Language:** English

**Number of pages:** 312

**ISBN:** 978 90 5356 794 4

<http://www.aup.nl/>

This anthology is the 11<sup>th</sup> Edited Volume of the ICAS Publications Series of *The International Convention of Asia Scholars* (<http://www.icassecretariat.org/>). It contains 12 selected research papers that analyze the result of state and societal forces in selected Asian countries, which are in the process of closing the productivity-wealth-power gap with the highly industrialized countries of the West. The editor of the volume, Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, collected a number of papers written by a group of international scholars that provide a fairly complete picture of the state of affairs in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the fields of global economy, international relations, and domestic societal development. The background of these developments is the waning of the US hegemonic power and the (latest) rise of China. One of the key characteristics of these papers is the multi-disciplinary approach, which is absolutely necessary when dealing with such a complex field.

The editor, together with Henk Houweling signs the last paper, which provides the contextual framework for this anthology. In fact their paper should be the first one to be read; in my view they put it at the end due to academic modesty. The research papers cover the following topics:

*Chapter 1. Xiaoming Huang: Crafting the Modern State: Religion, Family and Military in Japan, China and Korea* provides a comprehensive analysis of the modern state building in three big East Asian countries, as a response to the early industrialization of Western Europe (and the US). It begins with the definition of a theoretical framework for the analysis, highlighting the deficiencies of Western modernization theoretical frameworks (e.g. Weberian theories) due to the different historical background of these countries vis-à-vis

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Western European countries. The role of the three major social institutions are discussed (i.e. religion, family and military) in the modern state building in these three countries.

*Chapter 2. Kurt W. Radtke: Nationalism in the Age of Globalisation: The Case of East Asia* examines the rise and evolution of modern nationalism in China and Japan and highlights the differences with the Western nationalisms. It is concluded that the roots of these differences can be traced back to the different causes of the nationalisms and the different societal, cultural environments wherein they were born.

*Chapter 3. Thomas Jandl: Domestic Mobility and Elite Rent-Seeking: The Right to Migrate among Provinces and Vietnam's Economic Success Story* combines a theoretical framework with empirical research in analyzing Vietnam's resounding economic turnaround since 1986. Ample empirical evidence is provided to support the main argument: economic federalism leads to a country/region's overall economic success, improving the standard of living of most citizens. The usability of Vietnam's case for generic purposes is also highlighted.

*Chapter 4. Yuki Shiozaki: The State and Ulama in Contemporary Malaysia* examines the relationship between the state and the Islamic religious authority (ulama) in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Malaysia. First a brief historical background is presented followed by an extensive analysis of the latest developments in this field with a well-balanced detail.

*Chapter 5. Rui Graça Feijó: Counting Votes That Count: A Systematic Analysis of the 2007 Timorese Elections and the Performance of Electoral Institutions* and *Chapter 6. Moisés Silva Fernandes: The Ongoing Crisis in East-Timor: Analysis of Endogenous and Exogenous Factors* deal with the current developments in East-Timor. The first paper is an analysis based on field-research concerning the workings of the electoral system in the three elections held in 2007. The second paper is an in-depth analysis of the on-going crises unfolding in East-Timor that is caused by a combination of both domestic and international factors.

*Chapter 7. Christian Schafferer: Populism in East Asia's New Democracies: An Analysis of the Taiwanese Discourse* examines the academic discourse on populism in post-Cold War Taiwan. First a discussion on populism in general is presented and this theoretical framework is used to examine the discourse itself. In the end it is concluded that the discourse is part of the political culture; unfortunately the discourse itself turns out to be populist because it is dominated by party preferences instead of objective analysis, due primarily of the lack of exact definition of populism.

*Chapter 8. Bahadır Pehlivanurk: Dominance of SMEs among Overseas Chinese Business Networks: A Network Structural Approach* attempts to lay the ground for a thorough analysis of the nature and power of the business networks of overseas Chinese. The applicability of generic network theories is considered and a first attempt is made to use it in assessing the structural composition and working of these networks. The paper definitely pioneers new paths in the analysis of such (business) networks.

*Chapter 9. Thomas S. Wilkins: Building Regional Security Architecture: The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation from an Organisational Theories Perspective* examines the structure and nature of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. First a conceptual framework based on organisational theories is established and then its applicability is examined. The importance of this paper can not be overestimated for two reasons: first, this organization hardly appears in the mainstream media in the West, and second, due to



their ethnocentrism, many Western analysts have serious difficulties understanding and assessing its nature, its workings, and its global importance.

*Chapter 10. Richard Pomfret: Regionalism in Asia* examines the regional trade arrangements in East Asia, where in contrast to other regions in the world, they proliferated from 2000 on.

*Chapter 11. Sadequl Islam: The Impact of China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement on Textiles and Clothing Sectors of Asian Regions* provides a very detailed empirical analysis of the China-ASEAN free trade agreement on textiles and clothing sectors in China and the ASEAN countries based on Global Trade Analysis Project (GTAP) model and database (version 6).

*Chapter 12. Mehdi Parvizi Amineh & Henk Houweling: China and the Transformation of the Post-Cold War Geopolitical Order* concludes the anthology. As mentioned before, it provides the overall geopolitical background for the rest of the volume. Using the conceptual apparatus of geopolitics, the authors present a critical analysis of the succession of geopolitical orders beginning with the Pax Britannica, and then continuing with the Pax Americana up to the end of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when the rise of China is ripping it apart. An in-depth analysis of the main geopolitical factors that are at play is provided, contemplating at several future scenarios, including the challenges that China faces in this process.

All in all, this is a collection of papers, which taken together provide a vibrant and interesting picture of the exciting period in which we live now. It is very valuable especially for scholars but also to the well-informed and inquisitive segment of the general public.



## Fanny Wonu Veys: MANA MĀORI



**Author:** Fanny Wonu Veys

**Title:** Mana Māori

— The Power of New Zealand's First Inhabitants —

**Publisher:** Leiden University Press

**Year of publishing:** 2010

**Language:** English

**Number of pages:** 144

**ISBN:** 978 90 8728 083 3

<http://www.lup.nl/>

'*Mana Māori, the Power of New Zealand's First Inhabitants*' is a book accompanying the exhibition with the same name held at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands from 16 October 2010 until 1 May 2011 (<http://www.rmv.nl/index.aspx?lang=en>). Due to the overwhelming success, the exhibition has been prolonged until 18 September 2011.

An exhibition of this importance is held for the first time in the Netherlands on this subject. The Dutch version of the book will also be the first of its kind aimed at the Dutch public. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that both the exhibition and the book fill a gap for the wide, general (Dutch) public concerning the Māori people, New Zealand's indigenous population and their relation to the Netherlands and other Western European countries.

In fact the exhibition and the book should be used in concert, they complement each other perfectly. For those who can not visit the exhibition the book represents an even greater value because the majority of the exhibited objects are incorporated into it, along with additional material.

New Zealand is about seven times the size of the Netherlands and almost as large as the British Isles. 2,200 kilometers of sea keep New Zealand apart from Australia. In relation to Western Europe, New Zealand is situated at the opposite side of the globe. It consists of two main islands and numerous smaller ones, and is called *Aotearoa* in the language of its indigenous people, the Māoris. Its spectacular landscape makes it as a favourite setting for many blockbuster films of which Peter Jackson's '*Lord of the Rings*' trilogy is probably the most famous. For the Western Europeans it was discovered by the Dutch

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skipper-commander Abel Tasman in 1642. Since then its history is tightly interwoven with that of Western Europe.

Fanny Wonu Veys, researcher on Polynesian art and culture at the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, has created a fascinating, readable book with many breathtaking color photographs, covering all major aspects of Māori culture. Thanks to the contribution from the Pacific Fonds, managed by the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, the print quality of the volume matches the international standards for exhibition catalogues.

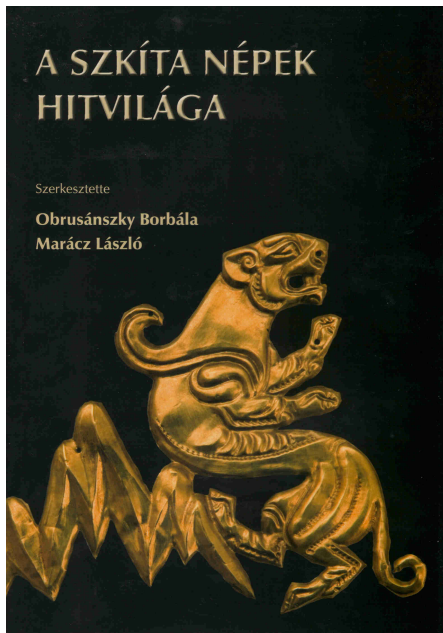
The book consists of three chapters:

*Chapter 1. Pacific Voyages* begins *in medias res* with the dramatic encounter of the two Dutch ships of Abel Tasman with the Māori. This is followed by an overview of the Māori's more recent history, including their settlement in New Zealand. Then the story of the next encounters is told briefly, beginning with that of Captain James Cook, followed by others. Enough space is devoted to the arrival of Christianity and the work of missionaries. The last part of the chapter is devoted to Dutch settlers beginning from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until the post WW II period. This chapter provides thus an overview of the most recent history of New Zealand and its modern state formation in a nutshell.

*Chapter 2. People of the Land — Tangata Whenua* — introduces the reader into the relationship of the Māori people to the land including a discussion on their main identity issues and social structure questions. The Māori cosmology is highlighted, which explains their very close relationship with the land and their ancestors. From this follows automatically the central role the 'meeting grounds' and 'meeting houses' play. Through the examples the reader can also follow the evolution of the meeting house architecture. A significant amount of space is devoted to the explanation of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), which with all the controversy surrounding it forms the basis of the modern statehood and nationhood on New Zealand. Its present day's implications are also highlighted.

*Chapter 3. Treasures — Taonga* — is probably the most varied because the word in the Māori language is applicable to a wide variety of both tangible and intangible things. The main point of understanding is that the Western differentiation between tangible and intangible things is irrelevant here. Several topics are presented like: carving, canoe or *waka*, storehouse or *pātaka*, weapons, treasure and feather boxes, personal adornment, tattooing, musical instruments, treasures of the sea, fibre arts, performing arts, and last but not least the indigenous language: *Te Reo Māori*. It is an overall nice style of the author that throughout the book the original Māori words and expressions are used complemented with a Glossary at the end. In this way the interested reader is mastering the Māori language at a basic level at the completion of the book.



**OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála****The Religious Belief System of the Scythian People****Editors:** Borbála Obrusánszky & László Marác**Title:** A szkíta népek hitvilága (The Religious Belief System of the Scythian People)**Publisher:** HUN-idea**Year of publishing:** 2010**Language:** Hungarian**Number of pages:** 400**ISBN:** 978-963-7014-46-8<http://www.hun-idea.com/>

In many research centres in the world, especially in those of the eastern world, a more positive image on Scythians has now begun to take shape. The famous warriors are getting rid of the banal costume of wild barbarians and are acknowledged as highly civilised ancient people that created an autonomous culture on the Eurasian continent. Accordingly, it is especially important for us, Hungarians, descendants of the Scythians, to acquire a realistic, well-founded knowledge based on contemporary historical sources, of which recognition of the belief system and religion are decisive elements.

According to ancient historical records, the Scythians were among the first to get acquainted with the teachings of Jesus Christ in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and presumably many of them converted to Christianity. Christianity was so prevailing that they could send a bishop to the first universal synod (335 AD). Hungarians, who take pride in Scythian and Hunnish ancestry, also met Christianity long before they settled in the heart of Europe, the Carpathian basin. The relationship of Hungarians to Christianity was the subject of an international scientific congress organized by László Marác in Csíkszereda (Transylvania, Romania) in the fall of 2009. The present book is a collection of conference lectures and other essays which have greatly contributed to the reformation of our ideas on the Scythian belief system. The edition appeared by Christmas 2010 in the care of HUN-Idea Publishers, Budapest.

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This book is regarded as a breakthrough in Hungarian scientific literature from several points of view. First, the editors did not restrict the idea of belief system to present-day religion, rather –taking in account the contemporary Scythian-Hunnish traditions- they investigated every aspects of life that might have been connected to religion and hence runic script and music. Second, we find philological essays which also provide important cues –when performed with competence- on the Scythian/Hunnish ancestry of Hungarians. On the ground of scientific expertise, the authors demonstrate that the horse-riding nomadic Scythians and their descendants had a highly evolved moral belief system, of which antique authors spoke in high terms, even admitting that Scythians were superior to them concerning morality and jurisdiction.

The edition is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, entitled 'The Scythian people and the Western Christianity', two authors, László Marác and István Pásztori-Kupán investigated the ancient Eastern, antique and Western Christian historical sources in order to gain insight on how those people saw their horse-riding nomadic pastoralist neighbours. Marác highlighted how the adversely distorted information amounted to the perverted image of the barbarous, savage Eastern people in the Western Christian world, which has been influencing certain research groups, especially Hungarian historians, right up to the present. István Pásztori-Kupán in his analysis of Biblical literature came to the conclusion that Northern nations were simply the executors of heavenly power that is to say they did not assault their neighbours in their own accord. It prompts us to consider the divine mission of the Scythes. This Biblical concept reappears in relation with the Hunnish Attila since he is considered the whip of God, whose task is to punish the guilty.

The second chapter deals with the moral-spiritual education of our Eurasian relatives. The authors –on the base of their autonomous research- review all spiritual schools present on the enormous steppe area under Scythian supremacy. Csaba Z. Tóth analysed the relation of the Scythians with Zoroastrianism meanwhile Katalin Csornai investigated the effects of Mani's teachings. The Dutch Tjalling Halbertsma summarized the Inner Mongolian Nestorian remembrances. Another series of essays in the second chapter is dedicated to the relation of Scythians with Christianity. The different authors came to more or less similar conclusion, that is our Scythian ancestors adopted Christianity relatively early, when staying at the Black Sea coast. This might be astonishing for those who have the old Western European and Hungarian historical concepts in mind.

There are two illustrious linguistic studies in the present edition. The Turkish Karatay Osman examined the origin of the name 'hungar' and came to important conclusions concerning the Hungarian history. Osman admits that the Hungarians played a decisive political role in the Black Sea region around the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, where they were known as 'hungar' or 'hungur' people. He argues that the 'magyar' or 'madzsar' name appeared in a later period when Hungarians became independent in the region. Osman proposes new clues to the names of nations or tribal alliances. Katalin Czeglédi demonstrates the Scythian roots of the Hungarian languages through expressions related to the four seasons and the four directions.

The third chapter deals with the moral-spiritual education of the inhabitants of the Carpathian basin. Lajos Csomor searched traces of the Hungarian cult of the Virgin Mary among the Caucasian Hunnish people and found some striking similarities. Enikő Ferenczi investigated the etymology of the word 'Scythian' which –in her opinion- means laudable, righteous. It is not surprising when we remember that

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the Greeks considered the Scythians a virtuous, noble-minded people. Gábor Legényei-Bodnár studied in turn the remains of the ancient Hungarian belief system in medieval depictions of Saint Ladislaus I of Hungary.

An entire chapter is dedicated to the inhabitants of Transylvania (Székely people) for they preserved most of the ancient Scythian/Hunnish heritage. Székelys are rightly proud of the Hungarian runic script (*rovás*), which in the vast Eurasian territory could only remain alive in the valleys of the Carpathian Mountains. The ancient Scythian and Hunnish *rovás* script is also analysed in two essays in this outstanding edition.



*CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON  
EURASIA*

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## HUNTER, William Wilson

### A Pilgrim Scholar<sup>1</sup>

#### I. THE START

In November 1824 a European descended from the inner Himalayas to the British outpost at Sabathu. He was poorly clad in a native dress, 'the coarse blanket of the country.' But he declared himself to be an Austrian subject; a student of languages who had spent the past five years in making his way, chiefly on foot, from Hungary to Central Asia. He desired the protection of the British Government to enable him to proceed into the unknown regions of Tibet; and he produced a letter of recommendation from the English explorer, Moorcroft, with whom he had passed five months in Kashmir.

Captain Kennedy, afterwards the chief founder of Simla, was then the political officer in charge of the Himalayan frontier Station. He civilly detained the stranger, half as prisoner, half as guest, until he could receive the orders of the Governor-General regarding him. After some characteristic caution, Lord Amherst granted the protection solicited and supported it by a stipend, modest in amount, but sufficient for the still more modest wants of the traveller. Armed with letters to the Himalayan Chiefs, and with a few hundred rupees in his scrip, the stranger re-entered the mountains. The next six years he spent, with an interval of some months, in exploring the archives of Buddhist monasteries in Tibet.

The poor scholar was Csoma de Kőrös, one of the great original workers of our century. As a Hungarian student, before entering the University, he had vowed, together with two fellow-pupils, to penetrate Central Asia in search of the origin of his nation. Alone of the three, Csoma kept his word. The first thirty-five years of his life were passed in self-preparation in Europe for the task. The next twelve he spent as an humble foot traveller through Asia, or in studying amid cold, privation and solitude, with Buddhist priests in Tibet. His remaining eleven years he devoted in India to publishing a part of the materials he had collected, and to constantly adding to them, with an unslakable thirst for learning.

The result of his life was to open up a vast new field to human inquiry. Csoma, single-handed, did more than the armies of Ochterlony, and not less than the diplomacy of Hodgson, to pierce the Himalayas, and to reveal to Europe what lay behind the mountain wall. He has suffered the fate allotted in this world to the pioneers of knowledge. Other men have entered on his labours. They have built their easy edifices from the materials which he with a life's toil amassed: the meaner translating sort, as usual, not fearing to patronise the dead master.

The fame of a solitary worker like Csoma de Kőrös is, in truth, a plant which grows not on mortal soil nor in broad rumour lies. A hundred years had elapsed from his birth before he found a biographer. To the scholars of this generation he has been a dim Transylvanian figure, lean and homeless among the Himalayas, but projecting a giant shadow from their heights across Central Asia. Last year, the centenary

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<sup>1</sup> In *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, 1885.

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of his birth, his life was at length worthily written. Dr. Duka has brought to his task the enthusiasm of a compatriot, and a loving reverence which in this iron age of biography may well excuse some slightness in Oriental research. We purpose very briefly to sketch the life of noble self-devotion which Dr. Duka has so tenderly portrayed, to throw sidelights on certain episodes which he has left obscure, and to indicate Csoma's true position in Tibetan scholarship. The fame of Csoma de Kőrös should be dear to the English nation; for he was never tired of acknowledging that to English generosity he had owed the means of doing his life's work. It was an old Hungarian fund subscribed in London during the reign of Queen Anne that defrayed his university education at Gottingen. It was English liberality in Persia and Ladakh which enabled him to prosecute his journey across Asia. During his long monastic studies in Tibet, and throughout his eleven years in India, he was supported by grants from the British Government. In the English language the grateful Hungarian published his works. He rests from his labours, on a spur of his beloved Himalayas, in an English graveyard.

Alexander Csoma was born in the picturesque village of Kőrös, in Transylvania, April 1784. His family, although poor, belonged to the Szeklers, or military nobles, who throughout many hundred years had held the south-eastern frontier of Hungary against the Turks. The Szeklers, whom Csoma loved to call the Sicilian nation, were a warrior tribe of Huns, settled in Dacia since the fourth century A.D. During the Middle Ages they had formed the advanced guard of Christendom; and they still maintained something of their ancient tribal equality, the cultivators being also the owners of the soil. In Csoma's family the military instinct was curiously blended with a love of learning. One of his uncles was a distinguished professor; a cousin was a Protestant pastor; a nephew fell in the street-fighting of the War of Independence in 1849. The school-life of the poorer military nobles of Hungary in the last century was a hard one. Csoma obtained his education as a pupil-servant in the gymnasium or collegiate high-school of Nagy-Enyed; keeping the lecture rooms clean and tidy in return for his board. When he reached the higher classes he gave private lessons to the younger boys, and stored up his humble fees as the means of carrying on his further studies.

At the age of twenty-three Csoma completed his gymnasium course (1807), and was elected Lecturer of Poetry to the college, devoting part of his holidays also to private tuition. It was not till he reached his thirty-first year that he found leisure to pass his *examen rigorosum*, which qualified him to continue his studies at a foreign university. At the beginning of the previous century the Protestant college of Nagy-Enyed had been razed to the ground, and its students dispersed or slain, in the Hungarian Civil Wars of 1704. The tragedy had touched the heart of the British nation. Eleven thousand pounds were subscribed under the auspices of the Archbishop of Canterbury, invested in Consols, and formed into a Hungarian fund, part of which survives to this day. The distressed collegiate town rose anew from its ruins; and in 1816 the managers of the old fund were able, after meeting all expenses, to found two travelling scholarships. Csoma de Kőrös was one of the first students who benefited by these bursaries. After passing his *rigorosum* in 1815 he proceeded to Germany. During the next three years, supported by one of the travelling scholarships from the English fund, and by a grant for twelve months of the *libera mensa regia* from the Hanover Government, he studied at the University of Gottingen. Having there learned English, and plunged into Arabic, he returned to his native country in 1818, a finished academician aged thirty-four.



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Honours and emoluments awaited the returned scholar. A tutorship in a nobleman's family, a professorship in a public school, were immediately offered; while before him lay the assurance of a first-class chair in the college in which he had passed his youth, and whose fame as a seat of learning his uncle had helped to establish. To these tempting offers Csoma turned a deaf ear. When an humble pupil-servant in that college, he and two fellow-students had devoted themselves to the discovery of the origin of their race. His two comrades had forgotten their vow. To Csoma it became the object of his life. He had endured the long indigence of a poor student to the age of nearly thirty-five in qualifying himself for the task. He now turned from honours and emoluments among his admiring countrymen, to spend his remaining twenty-three years in this world as a poor wanderer in fulfilment of his vow.

His friends found that their affectionate pleadings only gave him sorrow. Amid the snows of February 1819 he left Transylvania on foot, to master the Slavonic language in Lower Hungary and Croatia. In November he set his face towards the East. His old professor, Hegedűs, relates how with an 'expression of joyful serenity which shone from his eyes,' Csoma came to bid him good-bye. They drank a farewell cup in old tokay. Next morning the younger scholar started, 'lightly clad, as if he intended merely taking a walk,' on his life's journey through Asia. The professor went with him a little way; then they parted in the fields; the old master wistfully watching his pupil till he reached the bank of the Maros stream, which was to sever him from home and friends for ever. A certain Count, standing at his gate, saw the wayfarer pass by 'clad in a thin yellow nankin dress, with a stick in his hand and a small bundle.'

Csoma possessed, in addition to his academical equipment, several qualifications for his task. He had a sweet patience which silently won sympathy, and which endeared him in a special manner to his native teachers in India and Tibet. 'I include Csoma,' writes one who knew him from childhood, 'among those fortunate and rare individuals against whom nobody has ever had a grievance; nor have I heard him make a complaint against others'. He could bear severe labour, mental and physical, without strain; from his childhood he had been a great walker; a stranger alike to artificial stimulants and to fatigue. The poor scholar was also an athletic young military noble; and his firmly knit frame resisted during fifty-eight years every trial of exposure, bad food, and infectious disease.

Above all, Csoma had learned to do without money. In boyhood he had earned his own education; his stipend at the university was fifteen pounds per annum. He now started on a five years' journey through Asia with a hardly saved hoard of twenty pounds. To this should be added a promise of ten pounds a year from a friendly Councillor. His admiring countrymen afterwards raised a fund for him; but he returned the money untouched, to found a scholarship in his old school. Throughout his life he would have no private patron, and shrank from private help of any sort. When at the university, a friend who was leaving tried to make over to Csoma a few books, and indeed his college cap, as Csoma's was worn out. The poor student refused the gift, and the friend had to transfer the articles to him by sale for ten kreuzers, say eightpence. When snowed up in Tibet, with thirty sheep hung for winter consumption in the neighbouring monastery, Csoma could scarcely afford a scrap of the animal food which would have helped him to bear the rigour of the climate. In India we shall find him living like a native on boiled rice, but refusing pecuniary aid, unless it came from the public purse and for a specified public purpose. Everywhere we shall see him 'poor, humbly clad, and reserved,' accomplishing great results with the smallest means; unconscious of any wants beyond the single coarse suit which he wore, and just enough of the cheapest native food to enable him to work on from day to day.

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Against these qualifications for his task must be set one drawback. The task itself was an impossible one. The object of Csoma's life proved to be but a student's dream. He believed that the Hungarians of Europe were of the same family as the Hungars, Yungars or Yugars in Mongolia. To discover his distant kinsmen of Asia and the common home of the race was the subject of his boyish vow; it remained the central purpose of his mature years; it formed the theme of almost his last conversation before death. The English officer who noted down his sick-bed utterances states that Csoma summarised the grounds for believing that 'his native land was possessed by the original Huns, and his reasons for tracing them to Central or Eastern Asia.' 'All his hopes of attaining the object of the long and laborious search were centred in the discovery of the country of the Yugars.' Dr. Duka, with that biographical tenderness which we are told passeth the love of women, would conceal the visionary nature of Csoma's main object under a nimbus of his actual achievements. But the evidence on this subject, although it does not seem to have come before Dr. Duka, is categorical and complete. To quote only a single letter from Csoma's own hand, a letter which his biographer might surely have seen: 'Both to satisfy my own desire,' he wrote from Teheran, 'and to prove my gratitude and love to my nation, I have set off, and must search for the origin of my nation according to the lights which I have kindled in Germany; avoiding neither dangers which may perhaps occur, nor the distance I may have to travel.'

For this and other errors of his old-world philology Csoma needs no apologist. It was not till after he had left Europe that Bopp finally transferred the science of language from the basis of verbal resemblance to that of fundamental structure. Even now, when Aryan scholarship has for long rested on this firm foundation, the Turanian races, who formed the subject of Csoma's research, still remain the sport of conjecture or assertion, according to the modesty or the temerity of the individual student. Vambéry places the two epoch-making settlements of the Hungarian people, first between the Ural Mountains and the Volga River, and then amid the Slav elements of Pannonia. But the linguistic tools which the Hungarian scholar of our day so dexterously wields were not in the hands of his earlier compatriot. It is Csoma's glory that, starting from one set of old errors, he arrived at quite a different set of new truths; that in pursuing a dream he accomplished a reality. He never forced his facts to fit his preconceptions. His honesty in work overcame his fallacies of theory. A very few thinkers in this world have seen a great thing to do, seen it and done it. England has produced two such original workers, Newton and Darwin; for Bacon's performance was different. Csoma, like Browning's Grammarian, with a great end to pursue, died ere he knew it. His search for the home of his race in Asia was predestined to failure. But by his self-denying labours, during the long disappointment of that search, he laid the foundation for a new department of human knowledge.

## II. THE JOURNEY

In November 1819 Csoma de Kőrös crossed the hill frontier of Hungary, with intent to enter Asia by way of Constantinople. The plague in the Turkish capital forced him, however, to turn aside. He therefore took shipping from the European coast of the Archipelago and sailed by Rhodes to Egypt. At Alexandria he devoted himself to Arabic, but another outburst of the plague drove him eastward to Aleppo in Syria. Thence he walked to Mesopotamia dressed like an Asiatic, and floated down the Tigris on a raft to Bagdad. A small gift of money from the English resident in that city enabled him to go forward with a

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caravan to Persia. He reached the Persian capital, Teheran, in October 1820 after twelve months' march from the Hungarian frontier.

A year had already been consumed on the road, yet Csoma was still far to the west of the countries which he believed to contain the object of his search. His money was quite gone; and to add to his helplessness, no Europeans were at that season of the year in Teheran. A native servant of the British Embassy received him, however, with kindness and wrote of his forlorn condition to Sir Henry and Major George Willock, two Madras Cavalry officers who had been attached to Sir Gore Ouseley's mission. These distinguished brothers, the uncle and the father of the Bengal Cavalry officer of our day,<sup>2</sup> promptly responded to the appeal. They supplied the poor traveller with money, clothes, and books, and Csoma rested four months under their protection, improving his English and perfecting himself in the Persian tongue. In March 1821 he writes, 'I bid adieu to my noble benefactors.' He resumed his Asiatic name, Sikandar Beg, 'Gentleman Alexander,' and again putting on a native dress he set his face towards Mongolia. He left with the brothers Willock all his humble properties, his University certificates, his passport, his few papers, and his European suit, with a request that they might be sent to his family 'in case I should die or perish on my road to Bokhara.' After traversing deserts, mountains, and steppes, he reached Bokhara only to find his further advance to the east blocked by the rumoured approach of a Russian army. He accordingly turned southwards, and, marching with a caravan, arrived at Kabul in January 1822.

More than two years had now passed on the journey. But Kabul proved to be a perilous resting place, and Sikandar Beg pushed on for the Sikh kingdom in the Punjab, meeting with Ranjit Singh's famous European generals Allard and Ventura, by the way. At the Sikh capital, Lahore, he found himself far to the south of the Mongolian countries, with the Himalayan wall now between him and the object of his search. By June 1822, however, he had made his way through the mountains to the capital of Ladakh. But here again he discovered that further progress eastwards was impossible. He therefore retraced his weary steps towards the Punjab, resolved to seek for some other passage through the Himalayas into Central Asia. Near the Kashmir frontier he met the English explorer Moorcroft. The two solitary Europeans in that wild region joined company and became friends. Csoma opened his sad heart and unfolded his baffled plans. Moorcroft advised him to learn Tibetan as the best groundwork for future success, and gave him his copy of Father Giorgi's 'Alphabetum Tibetanum.' That poor, voluminous compilation, printed at Rome in 1762 from materials sent home by the Capuchin friars, was then the only attempt to open up the language of Tibet to European research.

With the study of this volume, however, Csoma's enterprise for the first time touched solid ground. He spent the winter of 1822 in Kashmir poring over its pages. Before the spring of 1823 a resolve had grown up within him that he would master, if he died for it, the new realms of learning of which he caught distant glimpses in Giorgi's work. He eked out its uncertain materials by conversing in Persian with a Tibetan resident in Kashmir. But the grammar and literature of Tibet could only be mastered in Tibet

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<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S., was for eleven years charge d'affaires at Teheran, and was the last chairman of the H.E.I. Company. His brother, Major George Willock, was an excellent Persian scholar, and served his country with credit in the East. A second brother, alluded to in the text, was Captain F. G. Willock, of the 6th Bengal Cavalry, who met a soldier's death during the siege of Delhi. Sir Henry's son, Mr. H. D. Willock, B.C.S., accompanied Havelock's force which relieved Lucknow, took part in every action, and remained with the Residency garrison until the second relief by Sir Colin Campbell.

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itself. Csoma determined to penetrate that unknown land. Moorcroft furnished him with letters and some rupees. The Hungarian, on his side, pledged himself to bring back results that would repay the outlay, and the two friends parted in Kashmir, never again to meet in this world. The solitary scholar plunged into the north-eastern mountains. From June 1823 to October 1824 he studied Tibetan with a learned priest, or Lama, in the Buddhist monastery of Yangla.

During half the year the cold at that altitude is intense. Even on midsummer day snow had fallen, and the ground was again sheeted with white before the crops were cut in September. In winter the doors were blocked with snow, and the thermometer ranged below zero. Throughout four months Csoma sat with his Lama in a cell nine feet square, neither of them daring to stir out, with no fire, with no light after dark, with only the ground to sleep on, and the bare walls of the building as their sole defence against the deadly cold. Wrapped in a sheepskin cloak, his arms folded tightly across his breast to keep in the last sparks of his animal heat, Csoma read from daybreak to dark, and then relapsed into night for the next fourteen hours. To put forth his hand for a moment from its fleecy shelter was an enterprise of pain and of danger. But before the end of winter he grew quite dexterous in turning over his pages, without getting his forefinger frostbitten.

Of his sufferings Csoma could never be got to speak one word. His reticence as to the hairbreadth escapes and personal privations of his long solitude in Central Asia contrasts with the picturesque frankness of his compatriot Vambéry. Of this period of his life he merely says: 'I became acquainted with many literary treasures, shut up in 320 printed volumes which are the basis of all Tibetan learning and religion.' In November 1824 he descended the Sutlej gorge, emerging from the Himalayas at the British hill-cantonment of Sabathu, with an epitome of the 320 volumes and the beginnings of a Tibetan dictionary in his bundle.

The apparition of a European, known to the natives as Sikandar Beg and clad in a blanket, issuing forth from the Himalayas, was without precedent in the respectable routine of our frontier station. The officer in charge hospitably detained the pilgrim, and put on him English clothes, but at the same time wrote for orders regarding his disposal. The Governor-General briefly commanded that the stranger should give an account of himself. This Csoma did, in two letters of a simplicity so touching, and with a singleness of purpose so manifest, as to establish himself once and for ever in the confidence of the Indian Government. He only desired to continue his studies, and if the British nation would be pleased to help him, all the results should belong to it. Lord Amherst accepted the proposal, granted an allowance of fifty rupees a month to the scholar, and had him furnished with letters to the Chiefs on the Tibetan Frontier. Before setting out again, Csoma put on record in May 1825 precisely what he undertook to do. Until he could fulfil his obligations to the Indian Government, he silently gave up his search for the origin of his nation in Mongolia. He agreed to return to Tibet, and to remain there till he had collected the materials for three great works. First, a Tibetan grammar; second, a Tibetan-English dictionary of over 30,000 words; third, an account of Tibetan literature, with specimens of its books, and a succinct history of the country. When he should have gathered his materials in Tibet, he prayed that the Governor-General would permit him to journey to Calcutta, to submit the results to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Henceforward this became the practical programme of Csoma's life. He never, indeed, abandoned the hope of resuming his search for the Mongolian starting-point of his race. That was to be his crowning achievement. But he never permitted this dream to interfere with the work which he had taken public

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money for doing. On the one hand, writes the Englishman who, as we shall see, visited him in his final monastic retreat, 'his great aim and unceasing anxiety is to get access to Mongolia.' On the other hand, says the same witness, 'he told me with a melancholy emphasis that, on his delivering up the grammar and dictionary of the Tibetan language, and other illustrations of the literature of that country, he would be the happiest man on earth, and COULD DIE WITH PLEASURE ON REDEEMING HIS PLEDGE.' The capitals are not ours. He deemed it an honour that he had everywhere in Asia won the trust of Englishmen; and he regarded the help which he had received on his journey, not as pecuniary favours, but as free gifts towards the execution of a great work. 'There is yet in Asia,' he wrote in his first letter to the Indian Government, 'a vast *terra incognita* of oriental learning.' 'In the last four years of my travelling in Asia, I have depended for my necessary subsistence entirely upon British generosity.' It was with a proud resolve that that generosity should never be repented of, that he stated the exact work which he purposed to give in return, and re-entered the mountains to accomplish it.

But while Csoma carried back to Tibet a very grateful heart to the Government and to individual Englishmen, his feelings towards the little Anglo-Indian society in which he had found himself were different. On his travels through Asia he had met with distinguished Indian officers, the Willock brothers and Moorcroft, men engaged on serious and perilous work. The life of the poor little dining and dancing hill-station of Sabathu, the miniature Masuri of those days, appeared to him altogether distasteful. The well-intentioned officer at the head of it (his name still survives in 'Kennedy' House at Simla) officially described him as 'this learned and enterprising individual.' But the 'learned and enterprising individual' had the blood of a military noble in his veins; and it is difficult to say whether he was more pained by the uncongenial indifference to his pursuits, or by the fitful attentions to his person, as a pet *protégé* of the Governor-General. Csoma, nourishing his great desire 'to enter into the cabinet of curiosity of remote ages,' and a master of ten languages, found himself tongue-tied during his six weary months of waiting at Sabathu. Any momentary outflashing of his true nature was taken as self-assertion, and promptly snuffed out by the gossip of the last flirtation or the odds of the current cricket-match. The only bitter words which he is known to have ever uttered in his life referred to this period; when he was 'treated at Sabathu like a fool, caressed and ridiculed at the same time.'

Indian station-life seldom, indeed, seems to have commended itself to the occasional man of genius who has passed this way. From time to time a commercial traveller of literature comes round, and on returning to his native land puffs the houses along the road at which he has been flattered and fed free of charge. But at the hands of men of letters of the higher sort, our artless Anglo-Indian Society has suffered many things; from the bludgeon satire of Sir Philip Francis in the last century, and the rapier ridicule of Jacquemont early in the present one, to the sarcasms of Macaulay, with his recollections of our Indian dinner-parties as combining the dullness of a State banquet and the confusion of a shilling ordinary. On the one hand, the distinguished stranger finds the subjects, on which he has been listened to with admiration in other countries, of no conversational interest here. On the other hand, our innocent chatter seems to him a jargon, made up of the dialect of the playing-fields and the technical terms of the native land revenue office. We speak, of course, of the time before the great improvement which has of late years taken place in refined Anglo-Indian converse. For now, although bisques, and byes, and ties, and off-sides, and half-backs, enter more largely into our table-talk; yet native terms, or any expressions implying an interest in the country, are genteelly excluded. As we grow older we grow simpler. The vernaculars of

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our school sports resurge as the polite conversation of our riper years. The old words revive the old emotions, and we experience all the pangs and pleasures of fifteen at forty-five played over again. Meanwhile the employment of native words, which so strongly flavoured the talk of our predecessors, has become as discreditable as profane swearing. If a guest were to speak of a *jama-wasil-baki* at a dinner-table he would be stared at, amid a solemn hush, as if he were using bad words; and even our familiar friend, the *bandobast*, has been exiled to bachelor parties in remote stations.

Csoma was of too gentle and grateful a nature to indulge in satire on his benefactors. The futilities of the little hill-station struck him with a pained surprise rather than with resentment. His six months of waiting for orders at Sabathu were a period of suppression and silence. In his later Calcutta years, while the honoured friend of the Englishmen best worth knowing in India, and a most interesting companion to those who sought him out, he absolutely refused to go into society, as a thing not tending to profit a man who has a serious aim in life.

In June 1825 Csoma started on foot on his second ascent into Tibet. His first stages earned him up the spur of the Himalayas, which forms the watershed between the river systems of the Indus and the Ganges. Climbing by sheep tracks through heavy forest, and along the ledges of precipitous mountains, he reached a narrow ridge called Semla or Simla; 'a mere halting place, a name given to a few miserable cultivators' huts.' From the Simla ridge, then at places only two or three yards broad, the rain which falls on the western side flows towards the Arabian Sea, while that which drops on the eastern slope starts for the Bay of Bengal. The upper end of that neck of land is now crowned by an English church; a Gothic town hall has risen from its eastern edge; while around, above and below, is dotted the summer capital of India. Csoma made his way painfully into the interior, by much the same route as parties of tourists now canter gaily from stage-house to stage-house out to Narkanda. From this dominating *colle* he dropped by way of Kotgarh into the Sutlej Valley. Kotgarh, now a missionary station with an old graveyard smothered under roses, then formed the outermost defence-work of British India. Two detachments, raised from the shattered Gurkha armies whom we had lately expelled, controlled from Kotgarh the upper crossings of the Sutlej and the hill chiefs. Here Csoma bade adieu to European faces; and plunging into the gloomy Sutlej gorge, disappeared for the next eighteen months. In August 1825 he reached the village of his former friend and teacher the Buddhist priest, in the province of Zanskar.

That spiritual person was, however, 'absent on some mercantile affairs in the deserts of Tibet.' 'On his return,' continues Csoma, 'he has engaged to dwell and labour with me from November 10 to the summer solstice of next year.' Medicine, astronomy, and astrology are his professions. In searching after knowledge he visited in six years many parts of Tibet, &c., and Nepal. He knows the whole system of their religion, has a general knowledge of everything that is contained in their books; and of customs, manners, economy; of the polite language used among the nobility and in the sacred volumes; and of speaking respectfully to superiors.' This accomplished ecclesiastic combined, indeed, many avocations. He was fifty-two years of age, had married the widow of the local Raja, was the chief physician in the great province of Ladakh, and on occasion served as Chief Secretary to that Government in communicating with the Grand Lama of Tibet. He had a sincere love for Csoma, but in time his affection was worn out by the Hungarian's insatiable demands for new knowledge. He took effectual precaution, indeed, against being again frozen up for four months with his pupil in a nine-feet square cell by providing an apartment in his own house. Many thousand words he patiently wrote down in Tibetan for

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the stranger, with a register of all the gods, heroes, constellations, minerals, animals, and plants; from the cedar-tree which groweth on the Himalayas, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. But by degrees the learned Lama waxed faint over their labours, and after some months he quietly left his pupil. No other teacher could be found in that wild country: and nothing remained but for Csoma to return to India with his work unaccomplished.

One more frustration was thus added to this life of disappointed hopes. But although defeated, Csoma did not despair. In January 1827 he re-appeared at our frontier station no longer with a few copied manuscripts in his bundle, but with boxes laden with literary treasures. The Government had now to decide whether it would rest content with his half-finished work, or enable him to complete it. Lord Amherst resolved to trust the baffled scholar to the end.

### III. THE END

In the spring of 1827 Csoma was introduced to Lord Amherst. That nobleman saw nothing ridiculous in the extreme simplicity of dress and diet which moved the mirth of meaner spirits. He perceived that Csoma was one of those rare natures whose whole existence is centred in the achievement of a great work, and to whom it is a mere accident whether they accomplish it amid wealth and comfort or in isolation and want. The poor scholar admitted the failure of his second visit to Tibet. He offered either to proceed to Calcutta, to work up such materials as he had been able to collect, or to return to the mountains for three years more to complete them. His one fear was that he might exhaust the generosity of the British Government before his task was finished. He had, therefore, husbanded his resources so well, that out of Rs. 500 granted to him more than two years previously about Rs. 150 remained. He had, in fact, lived in one of the most rigorous climates in the world, and collected a vast treasure of Tibetan manuscripts, on a total expenditure of Rs. 15 a month, or, say, seven shillings a week.

To the Government of India the question was complicated by considerations with which his biographer seems unacquainted. Dr. Duka writes as if Giorgi's 'Alphabetum Tibetanum', of 1762, supplemented by certain doubtful efforts in India, remained in 1827 the sole source of information regarding the language of Tibet. This statement represents the facts with a fair degree of accuracy at the period of Csoma's first arrival in India in 1824. But during the three years which had since elapsed an important advance had been made; and in 1826 a Tibetan Dictionary, compiled independently of Csoma, was printed at Serampur. The work was derived from lists of words left behind by a Catholic missionary on the Bhutan frontier. The poor missionary had died, his very name was lost, but his few worldly possessions fell into the hands of an English officer, who passed them on to another missionary in Bengal. From these papers, rich in vernacular terms and in the language of popular Tibetan literature, but unsifted and unsorted, and without any Tibetan scholar to edit them or to correct the proofs, a Dictionary had been printed at the expense of the East India Company in 1826. When, therefore, Csoma returned to India in 1827, declaring that he had failed to complete his work, he found that that work had just been done by others.

Lord Amherst had to decide whether he would pay for the cost of doing it over again. European scholars had pronounced against such efforts, initiated from the south of the Himalayas. Klaproth in particular had put forth his great authority to cast contempt on the endeavours of the English in India to

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study Tibetan. To send forth Csoma again was, therefore, not only to incur the expense of doing work twice over in India, but also to run the risk of a double share of ridicule in Europe. Lord Amherst realised, however, that here was a man capable of doing a great work for the British nation. After six months of waiting, Csoma received the sanction of the Government of India to return to Tibet, with an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem during the three years which he required for the completion of his materials. Accordingly for the third time he re-ascended the Himalayas, penetrating by way of Simla, where a few wood houses had by this time been erected, into the wilds of Kunawar.

He reached the monastery of Kanum about the autumnal equinox of 1827, and passed the next three years, 9,500 feet above sea-level, in silence and solitude, completing his task. Only once was his isolation broken. Dr. Gerard, the earliest medical explorer of the Himalayas, visited him in 1829, and has left a pathetic picture of the life of the hermit scholar. The cold and privation of which Csoma never deigned to speak became terrible realities in Dr. Gerard's letter. We learn, too, that Csoma, in addition to his physical sufferings, had to wrestle with those spiritual demons of self-distrust, the bitter sense of the world's neglect, and the paralyzing uncertainty as to the value of his labours, which have eaten the heart of the solitary worker in all ages and in all lands. Like Buddha he had to bear his Temptation in the Wilderness, alone and an hungered: but unlike Buddha, no angels came to comfort him after his struggles with the Doubting Enemy of mankind.

'The cold,' writes Dr. Gerard, 'is very intense; and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval of recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal round of greasy tea.' Nevertheless the Hungarian had 'collected and arranged 40,000 words of the Tibetan language in a situation that would have driven most men to despair.' His Lama, or Buddhist priest and instructor, continues Dr. Gerard, 'is a man of vast acquirements, strangely disguised under modest confidence of superiority, the mildest and most unassuming address, and a countenance seldom disturbed by a smile. His learning has not made him bigoted or self-sufficient; but it is singularly contrasted with his person and appearance, which are humble, dignified, and greasy. Mr. Csoma himself appears, like one of the sages of antiquity, living in the most frugal manner and taking no interest in any object around him, except in his literary avocations; which, however, embrace the religions of the countries around him. In his conversations and expressions he is frequently disconsolate, and betrays it in involuntary sentiment, as if he thought himself forlorn and neglected. He can form no idea of the spirit in which Government will receive his works, and almost fears they may not be considered with that indulgence which is due to his research.'

But although at times feeling 'forlorn and neglected,' Csoma never lost the noble confidence in his work. If no angels came to comfort him in his conflict with self-distrust and Giant Despair, he had at length the encouragement in his loneliness of seeing his labours mentioned with honour in the 'Government Gazette.' A poor form of celestial consoler, perhaps; but the old Company had the grace to make one who was doing difficult and solitary work for it, feel that he was not forgotten. His 'whole earthly happiness,' says Dr. Gerard, 'consists in being merely able to live and devote himself to mankind, with no other reward than a just appreciation and honest fame.' To such a man what mattered it that of his fifty rupees a month one-half was paid to his Lama or teacher; and that this, with other expenses, according to Gerard, 'leaves him less than twenty rupees to provide the necessaries of life, which in that remote and secluded region are very expensive, and must frequently be supplied from a distance of two



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hundred miles. His chief and almost only meal is tea, in the Tartar fashion, which is indeed more like soup, the butter and salt mixed in its preparation leaving no flavour of tea. It is a repast at once greasy and nourishing, and being easily made, is very convenient in such a country.' What mattered it, as we have mentioned, that in winter with 'thirty whole sheep hung up for consumption' in the monastery hard by, 'poor Mr. Csoma can hardly afford to taste even a piece of one'? Or that in summer, with the cheap hill fruits in season, 'he abstained from everything of this sort from a prudent conviction that they would not make him happier'? Dr. Gerard records, not without pathos, these and many other touching details. It formed a great event in the poor scholar's life when he had saved up twelve rupees with which to build for himself a fireplace. But Csoma cared as little for all these things as for the bareness of his hut, without either table or bed. 'Two rustic benches and a couple of ruder chairs,' writes the sympathetic Gerard, 'are all the furniture in his small abode. But the place looks comfortable, and the volumes of the Tibetan works, the "Kahgyur" and "Stangyur", his manuscripts, and papers, are neatly piled up around him.'

Thus in penury and solitude Csoma accomplished his work. Any offer of private aid he quietly put aside. On leaving him, Dr. Gerard begged his acceptance 'of a cloak which was well adapted for so cold a climate. I sent him also some rice and sugar, but he returned the whole, and out of his scanty resources sent me sixteen rupees to purchase a few articles at Sabathu. Mr. Csoma would accept of assistance only from a public source, because he seems confident of his ability to return a remunerating advantage; but to private individuals, he says, he has nothing to give.'

Even the aid from public sources was on occasion so embittered by the remembrance of official pettiness and neglect that Csoma could not bring himself to accept it. A great literary enterprise, like Csoma's, is in India usually inaugurated by a Governor-General of large views, who clearly sees what the country and the British nation will in the end gain by it. But it is hateful to a certain type of official, especially to a secondrate specimen of the type, cramped by the long formalism of his life, and honestly unsympathetic to any work outside the circumvallations of routine which form the defence-works of his little bureaucratic citadel. Such animosity seldom affects the main results, if the worker has learned to keep his temper and to suffer fools. Indeed, be it said to the honour of the Government of India that no real worker has every looked back on a great literary enterprise conducted under its orders without acknowledging that its conduct has been, if not sympathetic in manner, yet in essentials just. This feeling was always uppermost in Csoma's mind. He found, too, that the narrow secondrate official is not the only official in India, nor in the long run the predominant one. From the men who really made the history of that day, whether Governor-Generals like Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck, or civilians like Metcalfe, Trevelyan, and Prinsep, the poor scholar always received the most delicate regard and kindness. His annoyance from the meaner sort of secretaries was merely the stone-throwing of street boys. The routine official could enforce his general rules in such a way as to inflict a good deal of pain on the solitary worker. But the petty affronts and smarts which a man thus endures in carrying out a great work are no more worth remembering than scratches received in a battle.

Csoma felt them, however, with the acuteness of a sensitive nature, although he seldom condescended to complain. For example, the routine gentlemen had the art of twice making him wait six months for an answer. They had also the triumph of keeping him very poor; always a comforting reflection to the ignoble order of mind which estimates a man's position by his pay-abstract. Csoma seems to have regretted this circumstance, only inasmuch as it disabled him from buying manuscripts. 'If,' wrote

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Dr. Gerard, 'means could be devised to increase his small allowance even to 100 rupees a month, it would be liberality well conferred, and must eventually be well repaid.' They could also starve him in regard to books. This was the one affront which Csoma never forgot, and could not forgive. It was for books that Csoma first asked on his arrival in India. Yet the Government never supplied him with books or with the means of buying them; while the Asiatic Society, who might well have supplemented the action of Government, delayed during six years to answer his appeal. When at length, stirred by certain nobler spirits, the Society resolved to add fifty rupees a month to the stipend of fifty granted by Government, Csoma refused the tardy aid. He had by that time got beyond the help of books, for he knew more than books could teach him. 'I beg leave,' he wrote in his quaint English to the Society in 1829, 'for declining to accept the offered allowance and of returning the draft. In 1823, being destitute of books, Mr. Moorcroft, on my behalf, had requested you to send me some necessary works. I have never received any. I was neglected for six years. Now, under such circumstances and prospects, I shall want no books.'

For now the first part of his task was done. He had surveyed the whole domain of Tibetan classical literature. That literature is arranged in two great collections: the 'Kahgyur', in 104 folio volumes of 500 to 700 pages each, comprising 1083 distinct works, chiefly ethical; and the 'Stangyur,' a still more colossal encyclopaedia of science in 225 folios, each weighing about five pounds. A single copy of the 'Kahgyur' sells in Central Asia for 7,000 oxen, and its cost of production at Peking is officially estimated at 600l. sterling. In the monastery at which Csoma worked these vast compilations were arranged 'in chests or cisterns standing on end and partitioned into cells, each containing a volume which is carefully wrapped within many folds, laced with cord, and bound tightly between boards of cypress or cedar.' In 1831, after eight years' study of Tibetan, Csoma returned to India with a train of coolies bearing his manuscripts; and on arriving in Calcutta 'placed all the literary treasures in his possession at the disposal of the authorities.'

Csoma's first friend, Lord Amherst, had left India; but he had been succeeded by a statesman even greater in peace than Lord Amherst had been memorable in war. From the rule of Lord William Bentinck, the policy of governing India with a single eye to the benefit of the people dates. 'He abolished cruel rites,' says Macaulay on his monument, 'he effaced humiliating distinctions, he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion.' But the abolition of *Thagi*, the suppression of Sati, the initiation of popular instruction, the enfranchisement of the Press, and the protection of Mysore, were only a part of the debt which India owes to Lord William Bentinck. He diligently searched out the best men for every department, and trained up a school of Indian administrators who converted his beneficent personal principles into a permanent State policy. Before 1831 when Csoma reached Calcutta, the Governor-General had already begun to surround himself with men, almost every one of whom has written his name in bright letters on Indian history. Personal contact with such men at once put an end to Csoma's vexations. His stipend was promptly doubled, then quadrupled; although the original rate was more than Csoma could spend, and as much as, for some time, he would consent to draw. A room was provided for him in the Asiatic Society's house, with a noble library under the same roof, and appliances for undisturbed research exceeding the dreams, and indeed the wishes, of the scholar. Five thousand rupees were sanctioned for printing his work; and when the publishers' bills came to Rs. 6,412, they were passed without making the author feel as if he were a public malefactor.

In January 1834 his Dictionary and Grammar of the Tibetan language were published. In the preface Csoma describes himself as 'only a poor student.' But these two books have proved to be one of the most

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valuable and most enduring contributions which the Indian Government has made to human knowledge. 'They are,' says the learned Jäschke, who in our own day placed the cope-stone on the edifice of which Csoma laid the foundation, 'the work of an original investigator and the fruit of almost unparalleled determination and patience.' The studies of Csoma's biographer do not appear to have led him into the Tibetan by-path of Oriental research. He seems to regard Csoma's work as a solitary structure, and there is a want of perspective throughout his narrative which prevents us from estimating the true magnitude of the edifice by comparing it with the labours of other scholars. Csoma's real achievement was this. In place of the old-world medley of Giorgi, and the vocabulary published at Serampur in 1826, from the copious but unsifted materials left behind by the poor Catholic missionary who died on the Bhutan frontier, Csoma substituted a new and an original work. He explored for himself the vast storehouses of classical Tibetan, and reduced the language to a Dictionary and Grammar, which made it the common property of the world.

Since Csoma no great original worker has arisen in the same field till within quite recent years. The St. Petersburg Lexicon is little more than an adaptation of the Serampur Dictionary of 1826, and of Csoma's Dictionary of 1834. The translator, while almost entirely dependent on these two works, has nevertheless ventured to condemn the former in terms which excite indignation, and to patronise the latter with an air of superiority which moves mirth. Csoma stands in need of no such impertinent secondhand eulogies. The real element of incompleteness in his books, apart from defects of method, is due to his having worked too exclusively from the Tibetan classics, to the disregard of the modern literature and language. This imperfection has now been remedied by the labours of the Moravian missionary, Jäschke. To the British Government belongs the credit of carrying to completion the work which it commenced half a century ago. Jäschke's Tibetan Dictionary was published at the charge of the Secretary of State for India, in 1881.

Csoma's Dictionary and Grammar form, in the words on his tombstone, 'his best and real monument.' Of his lesser essays, numerous and valuable as they were, it is unnecessary to speak in detail. They amply redeemed Csoma's third promise, made in 1825, to furnish an account of Tibetan literature. They give a special interest to the Asiatic Society's Journal and Researches of that period. Some of them remain monographs on the subjects of which they treat; but Csoma's central work has enabled later scholars to advance beyond many of his minor contributions. In 1834 the Society elected him an honorary member, at that time a very rare distinction, Sir Charles Trevelyan being his proposer and Prinsep his seconder. Csoma had for some time realised that without a knowledge of Sanskrit no further progress in philology could be made. From 1834 to 1837 he accordingly devoted himself to Sanskrit and its dialects; studying in Calcutta, or travelling by boat or on foot through North-Eastern Bengal. He declined the hospitality of British officers on his route, as it impeded his studies, and preferred to live in a hut on tea and boiled rice. His monthly expenses came to three rupees for a servant and four rupees for all other outlay; total, say, 3s. 3d. a week. The accumulated surplus of his stipend, together with 300 ducats presented to him from Hungary, he sent home to his relatives, and in aid of the Hungarian Literary Society.

In January 1837 he returned to Calcutta a competent Sanskrit scholar. The Asiatic Society appointed him their sub-librarian, and gave him quarters in their house. But his invincible simplicity of life and self-concentration in study remained unperturbed. A letter describes how, in the last stage of his life, Csoma arranged his four boxes of books around him, and sat, laboured, and slept on a mat within the little

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quadrangle which they formed. The work that he had undertaken for Government he had honourably accomplished. But he never forgot, as he says in the preface to his Dictionary, that 'the study of the Tibetan language did not form part of my original plan,' which was to search out 'the origin and language of the Hungarians' in Central Asia. During the next four years (from the end of 1837 to early in 1842) he silently girded himself for his final enterprise, meanwhile cataloguing manuscripts and doing much solid work for his employers.

'I saw him often during my stay in Calcutta,' says one distinguished visitor, 'absorbed in phantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmans, who, bending over their writing desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearance of a cell, which he never left, except for short walks in the corridors of the building.' Against the distinguished visitor, however, Csoma was apt to shut his heart and his door: in fact he kept his room locked from the outside, so that it could not be opened without sending for the keys. To a sympathetic fellow-student Csoma was a different being. 'I found him,' says the learned Dr. Malan,<sup>3</sup> (may his memory long flourish at Broad Windsor,) 'a man of middle stature, much weather-beaten from his travels, but kind, amiable, and willing to impart all he knew.' With a compatriot who could talk of his beloved country, he warmed into a thousand reminiscences and a sweet grave mirth. 'He was cheerful,' writes a travelling artist from Pesth, 'often merry, his spirits rose very considerably when we took the opportunity of talking about Hungary. Often, when speaking of our native land, our conversation was protracted till after ten o'clock. I began to suspect, however, that he would never see his native land again, being then already advanced in age,' and enfeebled by his almost 'prison life.'

From this prison life, however, Csoma in due time soared free. By 1842 he felt himself fully equipped for the long-deferred enterprise of his life. He was then 58 years old, but, like the aged Ulysses, he could not rest from travel. Like Ulysses, too, 'he had become a name for always roaming with a hungry heart; 'and though made weak by time and fate, yet strong in will, he resolved to follow knowledge like a sinking star.' His little quadrangle of book-boxes was his dukedom, in which he soberly worked and cautiously reasoned. But beyond this enclosure of real life ever arose visions of the cloud-capt towers and snowy realms of the Himalayas. In February 1842 he wrote a grateful letter of farewell to the Asiatic Society, thanking them for their long kindness, and saying that, as he was setting forth 'to make a torn in Central Asia,' and might perhaps not return, he left all his books, papers, and savings at their disposal. He travelled the four hundred miles to the mountains apparently on foot, was thus compelled to spend a night in the deadly Terai, and reached Darjiling on March 24 stricken with fever. Our Political Agent there, Archibald Campbell, was a skilled physician and an enthusiastic Oriental student. Every attention which medical science and admiring veneration could suggest was bestowed on the worn-out scholar. Dr. Campbell records how, in the intervals, of the fever, the patient would burst forth into brilliant anticipations of the work which he was now at last to accomplish. 'What would Hodgson, Tumour, and some of the philosophers of Europe not give to be in my place when I get to Lhasa!' was a frequent exclamation. The poor pilgrim was never to reach Lhasa. After three weeks' illness, he died very peacefully at daybreak on April 11, 1842, without a groan or a struggle.

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<sup>3</sup> Dr. Malan, Oriental linguist and brilliant scholar, died at Bournemouth, 1894. (See *Supplement to Dictionary of National Biography*.)

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'The effects,' wrote Dr. Campbell, 'consisted of four boxes of books and papers, the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died, a few sheets, and one cooking pot.' There were also a bag of silver coins and a waist-belt of gold ducats, and a memorandum of Government securities for five thousand rupees, which he had saved from his modest stipend. These went in due course to his beloved country; but Csoma's bequest to the world was of the kind which neither moth nor rust can corrupt. English officers laid the Master, 'famous calm and dead,' in a fitting spot. Not on any low-lying plain of India, but on a mighty slope of the Himalayas — 'that appropriate country where man's thought, rarer, intenser, self-gathered for an outbreak, as it ought, chafes in the censor' — they buried the pilgrim scholar. The Asiatic Society raised a pillar over his grave, with an error as to his age, but with a noble epitaph. The monument is now entered in the list of tombs of Great Men, which the British Government maintains for ever at the public charge. The little child of a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal lies just behind. Csoma's grave looks southwards to India, where the true work of Csoma's life was finished: a shoulder of Birch Hill shuts out the snowy ranges beyond which lay the visionary search, which he was destined never to accomplish:

'Here's the top-peak; the multitude below  
 Live, for they can, there:  
 This man decided not to Live but Know —  
 Bury this man there?  
 Here — here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,  
 Lightnings are loosened,  
 Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,  
 Peace let the dew send!  
 Lofty designs must close in like effects:  
 Loftily lying,  
 Leave him — still loftier than the world suspects,  
 Living and dying.'

