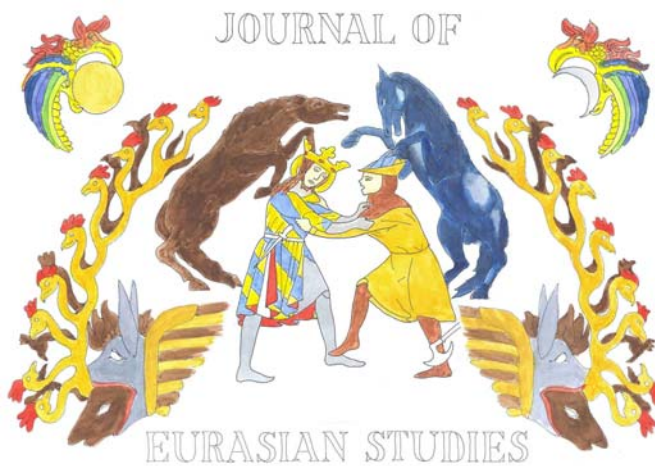


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Can be written in any language. However, if written in a language other than English, please provide an English summary of at least A4 length.

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,

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

In Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's brilliant novel *"The Leopard"*, Tancredi, the nephew of the great aristocrat Prince Salina, explains his views to his uncle at the start of Garibaldi's campaign in Sicily as follows: *'Unless we ourselves take a hand now, they'll foist a republic on us. If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change. D'you understand?'*

This course of thought highlights the essence of the age-old problem: when to change, what to change, and how to change the governance of a society's human fabric. The success and in most cases even the sole existence or survival of a family, clan, tribe or nation depends on the outcome of this process. At present moment we are experiencing a rather exciting period in the history of mankind; a great shift from a uniform, 'one-size-fits-all' mass economic production and mass culture system, towards a global, fully interconnected economy and culture, which is personalized and culture sensitive. And in this shift, when the *difference* is what really makes the difference, the role of tradition and identity will be again paramount.

I recall a nice phrase from a monument in a park in Phoenix, Arizona, in the governmental district, which I visited a few years ago. I am not sure if I cite it exactly, but it sounds like this: *'A nation that forgets its past does not have a future'*. How true these words are! As Prince Salina contemplates towards the end of *"The Leopard"*: *'The significance of a noble family lies entirely in its traditions, that is in its vital memories.'*

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, December 30, 2010

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Born in 1972, in Malatya (Turkey). Ph.D. degree from Ankara University (Turkey). Since 1995 he is with Erciyes University (Kayseri-Turkey). Areas of interest: Old Turkic Runic Text, Central Asia and Inner Asia.

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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.

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.

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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.

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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. From 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.

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.

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Ms. Prelz Oltramonti is a PhD candidate in Political Sciences at ULB (Belgium). She obtained a MA from King's College London (U.K.) and a BA from UCL (U.K.). Her main fields of interest are the Caucasus and conflict studies, in particular political economies of war, and borders' and borderlands' dynamics.

SZABÓ, Christopher

Christopher Szabó is a general assignment freelance journalist. He covers a wide range of subjects including international affairs, the military and aviation and also writes historical articles for magazines and newspapers. He has worked in newspapers, radio, television and the Internet. Born in 1959 in London of Hungarian refugee parents, raised in South Africa and then studying in America, he received his B.Sc. (Hons) degree in Communications with a minor in Journalism in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1988. He considered going into the world of academe, but decided to stay with "reality" and journalism. His lifelong fascination with all things historical, notably Hungarian and Eurasian history has resulted in the ongoing study of especially the military history of Eurasian nomads.

TAPON, Francis

Francis Tapon was born and raised in San Francisco, California and has traveled to over 70 countries. His mom is from Chile and his dad is from France. He co-founded a successful Silicon Valley company. He also worked at Hitachi Data Systems and Microsoft. He thru-hiked the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round trip on the Continental Divide Trail. He wrote *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*. He is now writing his second book, *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*, which will be available in August 2011. He has a degree in Religion from Amherst College and an MBA from Harvard Business School. His website is <http://FrancisTapon.com>

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NEWS BRIEF

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ARCHAEOLOGY**Afghanistan: Amidst Shrapnel in Afghanistan, an Archaeology Discovery**

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China: 1,000-year-old tomb found at Anhui construction site

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Korea, North: Newly found Koguryo tomb offers clues to ancient E. Asia

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Syria: Cemeteries and Altars from 1st and 4th Centuries Found near Mar Takla

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Vietnam: Cave served as home of early human found

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HISTORY

MD. HABIB, Reza

Post Gupta Bengal – Inscriptions, Coins and Literatures

Abstract

The history of post Gupta period is hazy in the annals of ancient Bengal. Little is known about later Gupta rulers of Bengal due to lack of source materials. After the later Guptas, for more than a century roughly from 650 to 750 AD, the history of Bengal is obscure in the extreme which in general marked as Matsyanyayam, period of political chaos and confusion. Recently, scholars have published sketches of a few post Gupta dynasties of Bengal which suggests reorganization of the chronology of post-Gupta period. This short paper discusses the post Gupta ruler's chronology and their dominations, where primary concern is to throw some light on that obscure part of Bengal history through a discussion on inscriptions, coins and literatures.

The history of post Gupta period is hazy in the annals of ancient Bengal. Little is known about later Gupta rulers of Bengal due to lack of source materials. After the later Guptas, for more than a century roughly from 650 to 750 AD, the history of Bengal is obscure in the extreme. In general term the period was marked by Matsyanyayam¹, political chaos and confusion. Recently, scholars have published a few sketches of some later dynasties of Bengal that suggest existing historical ideas need to be reassessed in the light of these new materials. This paper is an attempt to throw some light on that obscure part of Bengal history through a discussion on inscriptions, coins and literatures.

After the imperial Guptas, at the beginning of the six century continuous Huna² invasions, sudden entry and exit of Yashodharman on the political stage of northern India gives great shocks to the eastern India. Simultaneously Maukharis rose to prominence in the central part of northern India sway over later Guptas towards Magadha, western and northern Bengal. There was a long-drawn-out struggle between the Maukharis and the later Guptas for the possession of Magadha (southern Bihar) and parts of western and northern Bengal.

¹ Ancient Indian treatise Kautilya's Arthashastra defines the Sanskrit term matsyanyayam (matsya+nyayam) (Sanskrit: मत्स्यन्याय, fish law) as 'When the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes, ie, the larger fish swallows a smaller one, for in the absence of a magistrate, the strong will swallow the weak'. In general, the condition of Bengal in the century following the death of shashanka and before the rise of the Palas (c 750-850 AD) has been described as matsyanyayam.

² The Huna were a part of the Hephthalite group, who established themselves in Afghanistan and Pakistan by the first half of the fifth century, with their capital at Bamiyan. They sometimes call themselves "Hono" on their coins, but it seems that they are similar to the Huns who invaded the Western world.

LATER Gupta rulers of BENGAL

Buddhist Mahayana literary work *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* throws some light on the later Gupta rulers. According to this literature, after the Imperial Budhagupta (ruled AD 476 to 495), two kings of the Gupta line were crowned one in Magadha and other is Gauda (Mookerji 2007). Bhitri and Nalanda seal of Kumaragupta III and a large number of gold coins makes quite clear that Narasimhagupta crowned in Magadha after Budhagupta.

Though the boundary of Narsimha's reign is uncertain, clay sealing archived from monastery site I of Nalanda provides some information regarding his territory. His title '*Paramabhagavata Maharajadhiraja*³' indicates his exercise of authority beyond the Magadha region (Willis 2005), to be specific power over part of Bengal. Earn Posthumous stone pillar inscription (AD 510) of Goparaja⁴ mentions Bhanugupta, governor of Malwa during Narasimha, was defeated by a Huna king Toramana who carried his expedition up to Magadha and compelled Narasimha to retreat to Bengal (Mookerji 2007). Narasimha's 'archer type' gold coin was unearthed from different parts of Bengal (Chakravarti 2008) also testifies his reign over there. Most possibly he reigned over Pundravardhana (Northern Bengal).

After Toramana, the Hunas were led by his son Mihirakula. According to Hsuan-Tsang, Baladitya vanquished Mihirakula (Beal 2004) around AD 530 (Weiner 1963) and recaptured Magadha. This confirms that, Narasimha was not completely extinguished and he was a powerful King during his reign over Bengal.

On the other hand, Gunaigarh copperplate inscription brought to light one more name of eastern Bengal Gupta king, that of Vaniyagupta (Mookerji 2007). The date of the inscription is given in numeral and words that is Gupta year 188 (AD 507) refers; Vaniya Gupta lived at the time of Narasimhagupta. Buddhist text *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* also refers to a king called '*Va*', which may point to Vaniyagupta as a contemporary king of Narasimhagupta (Jayaswal 1934). That Gunaigarh copperplate was soldered with a royal seal bearing the legend of '*Maharaja Sri Vaniya Gupta*', signifies his sovereign over a part of Bengal. He was also named on Nalanda seal, which states him as a son of Kumaragupta II (ruled AD 473 to 476) (Willis 2005).

The above mentioned inscription also states Vaniyagupta's camp of victory was located at '*Kripura*', that indicates the location of his headquarters was in south Tripura. Thus the sphere of his authority was lay far away from Pundravardhana and Magadha, at the remote eastern Bengal. Numismatic evidences also support his presence in this region (Chakravarti 2008). Three gold coins of archer type have been discovered from Samatata bearing the name '*Vaniya*'. Most possibly, he exercised his authority over the parts of Bengal, therefore Srihatta, Samatata and Harikela Kingdom, and his reign may be extended to circa AD 515 (Willis 2005).

During the reign of Narasimhagupta, according to Earn stone pillar inscription, Bhanu Gupta lost Malwa to Hunas. Most probably a part of later Guptas were ruling there as feudatories (Sen 1999). Perhaps for this reason from Baladitya II to Adityasena, were on subordinate position, are absent on *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* (Jayaswal 1934).

³ A royal ruler's title on the Indian subcontinent, roughly meaning 'great king of kings', a prestigious indication of the princely state's particularly high rank

⁴ Goparaja was a feudatory of Narsimhagupta and fought against Huna king Toramana in the battle of Eran in AD 510.

Three Mandsaur inscriptions of Yasodharman refer Yasodharman as 'Vikramaditya', who freeing Malwa and neighbouring region from the Huna king, Mihirakula. Early history of Yasodharman is shrouded in obscurity and whatever we know; probably he belonged to the Aulikara family whose members ruled in Malwa. Yasodharman's sway extended over a wide area bounded by the Himalayas in the north, Mahendra mountains in the south, the Brahmaputra River in the east and the ocean in the west. But the flushing brilliance of this great conqueror rise and fell like a meteor between AD 530 and 540 (Sen 1999).

The Apshad inscription refers to glowing campaigns of Jivitagupta in the Himalaya region and south-western Bengal, whose period probably ranged from circa AD 525 to 540. Jivitagupta appears to be more important than his father Harshagupta (AD 490 to 505) or his grandfather Krishnagupta (AD 505 to 525) who were based in Magadha. Jivitagupta extend his territory beyond Magadha and reign over Pundravardhana and Vanga.

Kumaragupta III, son and successor of Jivitagupta, ruled between AD 540 and 560. He is described as '*Paramadaivata Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja*' as well as '*Prithivi-pati*', meaning 'Ruler of the earth' according to Damodarpur (no. 5) copperplate inscription of Gupta year 224 (AD 543) (Mookerji 2007). It also states that Pundravardhana was a '*Bhukti*' of Kumaragupta III and its Governor was his son. The Apshad inscription informs us that Kumaragupta III decisively defeated the Maukhari king, Isanavarmana in AD 554 which eliminated the presentation of the Maukharis from the central Gangetic valley and let him extend towards Prayaga.

The struggle between the Maukharis and later Guptas to control the Gangetic valley was continued in the reign of Damodargupta, son of Kumaragupta III. Damodargupta lost his life without achieving any decisive victory over the Maukharis. He was succeeded by his son Mahasenagupta, who achieve single success at the beginning of his career. In all probability he defeated Susthitavarman (ruled c. AD 590 to 595), the father of king Bhaskarvarman (ruled c. AD 600 to 650) of Kamrupa and advanced as far as Brahmaputra river. However, Mahasenagupta met misfortune in the later part of his reign. Both Bhaskarvarman and Chalukya king Kirtivarman (AD 567-597) attacked Mahasenagupta. Kirtivarman subdued Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Magadha. Furthermore, in likelihood Mahasenagupta was defeated by the Tibetan king Strong Tan Gampo (AD 581- 600), enabling Maukhari king Sarvavarman to occupy some territories of his kingdom. According to Rajmala, the chronicles of Tipra dynasty, King Himti (118th king of Twipra) take over a part of Bengal on AD 590. To mark this victory Twipra Era, known as Tring, started from that day. The situation was made critical by internal discord. Sasanka the Gauda ruler, not only founded an independent kingdom, but also tookover Magadha, the eastern territories of Mahasenagupta. He, therefore, was pushed eastwards to Vidisha where he spent the rest of his days until his death in AD 601.

At the height of his power the north Indian king Harshavardhana (AD 590-647), ruled the Punjab, Gujarat, Bengal, Orissa and the entire Indo-Gangetic plain after the downfall of Imperial Guptas. According to Apsha inscription Harsha invested Madhavagupta, son of Mahasenagupta, as the Governor of Magadha in the later part of his reign. Harsha's overlordship forced overshadows later Guptas for nearly half a century. After the downfall of Harsha, Madhavagupta ruled for a brief period and was succeed by his son Adityasena in AD 650.

Adityasena was a powerful king titled as '*Maharajadhiraja*' and ruled over an extensive kingdom. According to Apsad inscription, his empire included Magadha, Anga and Bengal, whereas *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* describes Adityasena as master of the central Gangetic valley who repeated the feat of Samudra Gupta in reaching the South, up to the Chola country. This source also refers to him as Gauda King (Jayaswal 1934) and his reign come to an end in AD 675 (Sen 1999).

Political chaos of POST Gupta BENGAL

After the decline of the Imperial Guptas, a succession of independent kingdoms emerged in different parts of Bengal. Gauda emerged incorporating Pundravardhana/Varendra and Rarh as independent entity. Whereas Vanga/ Vanga-samatata, Samatata, Harikela, Srihatta can be traced from later inscriptions and literatures. Most probably, post Gupta Bengal observed two or three parallel dynastic line.

Among these dynastic lines, Vanga rulers especially Gopachandra was contemporary to Narasimhagupta according to Eran stone pillar inscription of 510 AD. Faridpur copperplate inscription (Year 18) and Mallasarul copperplate inscription describe Gopachandra as '*Maharajadhiraja*' indicates him as a sovereign king (Mookerji 2007). He carved out an independent kingdom in Bengal after the downfall of the imperial Guptas which included a wider area of Vanga comprising Faridpur in eastern Bengal and Bardhaman in western Bengal. Mallasarul copper-plate refers a landgrant of Gopachandra at Vardhamana-bhukti⁵ (Bardhaman and Bankura districts in the Indian state of West Bengal) which proves his power over southern part of West Bengal, whereas Jayrampur copper-plate bears testimony to his flourishing rule over Dandabhukti (southwest Bengal and the bordering area of Orissa). It is highly probable that he ruled from Kotalipara of present day Gopalganj district of Bangladesh (Khan 2007). However, Vaniagupta of Samatata was preceded by this king. Probably Gopachandra's reign extend till c. 540 AD

Faridpur copper-plate inscription refers to another Vanga king named Dharmadiya. The first inscription refers him as '*Prithivyamapratiratha*' (the invincible ruler of the earth), where as the second one refers him as '*Maharajadhiraja*' indicates him a sovereign king. His time in power extend till c. 570 AD. Besides Gopachandra and Dharmaditya, another Faridpur copper-plate mentions a third independent ruler of Vanga named Samacharadeva, but very little is known about him. Most likely Samacharadeva exercise his power over Vanga till Shashanka, a prominent king of Bengal, crowned in c. 600 AD.

The names of two independent chiefs, Lokanatha and Jibodharan Rata, are known from Tipperah copper-plate of Lokanatha; they were contemporary rulers of parts of Eastern Bengal. Vottashali dated that above copper-plate as Gupta era 244 (corresponding to AD 564), perhaps Lokanatha reign north-eastern part of Samatata/Srihatta around second half of sixth century AD (Khan 2004). Among the names of the kings given in the Lokanatha plate, Srinatha is common in Kalapur copper plate of Murundanatha found same region. It is very likely that Srinatha was the common ancestor of both Lokanatha and Murundanatha of Kalapur plate. Similarities between these two copper plates, their common 'natha'

⁵ During the Gupta period Rarh was divided into several smaller regions (Bhuktis); such as Kankagrambhukti, Bardhamanbhukti and Dandabhukti. Bardhamanbhukti (Bengali: বর্ধমানভুক্তি) was spread across what are now Bardhaman and Bankura districts in the Indian state of West Bengal.

ending names suggest a family link. Perhaps Murundanatha was successor of Lokanatha and reign around second half of sixth century AD.

Jivadharana Rata was the founder of the Rata dynasty according to Kailan copper-plate inscription of Shridharana Rata. This copper-plate introduce us another line of rulers of south eastern Bengal and mentions the ruling king Shridharana Rata as '*Parama-Vaisnava*' and successor of Jivadharana Rata. Both the Rata kings are styled as '*Samatateshvara*' (King of Samatata). These record supplies no more significant information about them or their kingdom. Both Jivadharanarata, Shridharanarata minted good quality gold coins based on satamana weight standard of Samatata trend (Chakravarti 2008) and their capital was Devaparvata.

Two dated inscriptions of Midnapore copper-plates (RY-8 & RY-19) and another undated copper-plate from Egra provides information about Shashanka, the first important king of ancient Bengal. Madhavavarma's⁶ copper plate dated 619 AD, Harshavardhan's Banskhera and Madhuvan copper-plates and Nidhanpur copper-plate of Kamarupa king Bhaskara Varman also contains information about him. Contemporary literary accounts of Banabhatta, Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang and Buddhist text *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* gives Shashanka a prominent place in the history of this region. Both in the inscriptions and literary accounts described Shashanka as the ruler of Gauda. By the beginning of the seventh century he captured power in Gauda. Karnasuvarna was his capital and he was the first known king of Bengal attempted to establish a north Indian empire.

Like other rulers of Vanga, Shashanka minted gold coins on suvarna standard. However from Samatata area satamana⁷ standard gold coins have been discovered which were meant for circulation in the Samatata area only. Thus Shashanka's gold coin of two varieties and weight standards shows his exercise of power over at least two different zones of Bengal, Gauda-Vanga and Samatata. It is generally believed that he ruled approximately till 625 AD.

According to the Vappa-Ghoshavata copper-plate of Jayanaga, Karnasuvarna served as the administrative capital for a king named Jayanaga. It is significant that Jayanaga issued debased gold coins of suvarna⁸ standard which appear to have seen used in Vanga. Probably he ruled the Vanga region after Shashanka.

Buddhist text *Arya-Manjusri-Mulakalpa* confirmed that after Shashanka the state of Gauda was paralysed and in the absence of a strong king, the feudal vassals each one was independent and autonomous (Jayaswal 1934).

Harsha formed an alliance with Bhaskaravarman, king of Kamarupa, and marched on Shashanka. Although he defeated his rival, the result was indecisive as Shashanka continued to rule much of his kingdom. After death of Shashanka, Harsha was able to bring Bihar, Kannauj and northern Bengal under his rule, whereas Bhaskaravarman conquer the remainder of Shashanka's kingdom. Bhaskarvarman issued Nidhanpur copper plate from his camp at Karnasuvarna testifies his control over this region for a short period.

⁶ Madhavavarma was Shashanka's subordinate king whose domination was over Ganjam/Orissa.

⁷ Satamana standard equals to 100 Rattis or 11 grams of gold.

⁸ The Suvarna weight standard suggests coin of 144 grains or approximately 9.2 gms of gold.

The Mainamati copper plate of Balabhatta referred Khadgodyama as '*khadgakhya*' means 'known as *khadga* (sword)'. While Deulbadi image inscription titled him as '*nripadhiraja*' indicates him a powerful king and Ashrafpur copper plate II of Devakhadga referred him as '*ksitiriyamabhitanirjita*' means he 'conquered this world (*ksiti*) fearlessly (*abhita*)' (Islam 2008). These data suggest that probably Khadgayama was a proficient warrior, especially in sword fighting who fought fearlessly to carve out a kingdom or established him firmly as a powerful king. Khadgodyama was the first king and founder of the Khadga dynasty, who paved the way for a strong paramount dynasty in southeast Bengal. His reign perhaps ranged from circa AD 625 to 640.

Jatakhadga was the next king of this dynasty according to Ashrafpur copper plate inscriptions of Devakhadga. It is mentioned in the same inscription that '*sarvari samgha vidhastha surabhava trinamiba maruta*' means he destroyed the multitudes of all his enemies (*sarvarisamgha*) through heroism (*shurabhava*) as a piece of straw (*trinamiba*) by the wind (*maruta*) (Islam 2008). Probably he had to fight against his enemies to consolidate his position or to extend his kingdom. Yet no more plates have been discovered which may be used as a source of reconstructing his complete history. Maybe his reign extend till AD 654.

Devakhadga, son of Jatakhadga, became king after his father. Ashrafpur copper plates and Shalban vihara copper plates bear legend '*Srimatdevakhadga*' testifies Devakhadga issued these copper plates. On the other hand a number of gold coins discovered which also bears same legend. Devakhadga is also referred in the Ashrafpur copper plate I as '*ksitipala*' (king) while plate II gives title '*narapati*' (king). He is also referred in the copper plate of Balabhatta. All the copper plates and coins bear indication of his powerful reign but none bears any paramount titles such as '*maharajadhiraja*' or '*parambhattaraka*'. Ashrafpur copper plates mentioned Devakhadga conquered his enemies; probably he had to fight against his neighbouring kings to extend his dominion and to conquer Samatata.

Ashrafpur copper plate refers Rajaraja as a son of Devakhadga, probably who became king after his father. Though no copper plate has been discovered bearing his reign, but coins and foreign account throw some light about his ruling in Samatata. Rajabhatta issued Gupta archer type gold coins; seven such gold coins have been discovered from southeast Bengal is metrological, symbolically and stylistically same as Devakhadga's coins bears the testimony that both of them were kings of the same dynasty. These numismatic evidences proofs him as a powerful independent king, however no more activity is known of this king due to lack of source materials. Probable range of his reign was AD 673 to 690.

Balabhatta, another son of Devakhadga, probably became king after Rajabhatta. Salban Vihara Copper plate and a number of gold and silver coins have been discovered from Mainamati area; represent him as a powerful king. According to this inscription his capital was at Devaparvata but it is very difficult to determine the extent of the sway of his kingdom from it. Legend '*Vangasri*' from Balabhatta's coin suggests his sway could have been a part of Vanga, contiguous to Samatata.

Considering the stylistic affinity with other Khadga coins, Prithubhata and Sarvanada may be considered as the kings of the Khadga dynasty. Probably they became successors after Balabhatta. But it is very difficult to determine their exact chronological position.

Though identified archaeological and literary materials till date are not sufficient to give a clear view of the post Gupta Bengal, recent scholars have published sketches of a few post Gupta dynasties of Bengal

which suggests reorganization of the chronology of post-Gupta period. This short paper discusses the post Gupta ruler's chronology and their dominations, where primary concern is on the Matsyanyayam period which was in general term marked as political chaos and confusion. This paper is an attempt to throw some light on that obscure part of Bengal history through a discussion on inscriptions, coins and literatures.

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SZABÓ, Christopher

In Memoriam Viktor Padányi

Some months ago I was reading Christopher I. Beckwith's *Empires of the Silk Road*. The book is very important, indeed, even epoch-making within the ambit of western historiography, in that the author totally rejects a two-and-a-half millennia-old concept, the idea of the "barbarian".

He argues convincingly in a brilliant essay, entitled "The Barbarians", which forms the heart of the book, that while people of Central Eurasia – or Inner Eurasia, or the Steppe People, or call them what you will – fought, traded, built empires, created and destroyed, these things were also done by people who are usually called "civilised", like the Romans, the Persians or the Chinese.

Comparing historians' views of Eurasian nomads with "civilised" peoples Beckwith says:

Roman conquests are still celebrated, while Hun conquests are condemned. Roman victories over the Huns were good, but Hun victories over the Romans were bad. In the case of the Huns, as with other Central Eurasians, from the time we have detailed historical accounts of them rather than vague, stereotype-filled references to little-known distant aliens, virtually all of the attacks against the Romans, east or west, are explicitly known to have been in retaliation for Roman incursions, treaty violations, or other offences. When the Huns were victorious, the Romans were sometimes forced to sue for peace and pay indemnities. Exactly the same happened between the Hsiung-nu and the Chinese in eastern Eurasia. But this should not induce anyone today into believing that the Romans or Persians or Chinese, of all people, were simply innocent victims of *barbarians*.¹

As Beckwith demolished the age-old myths of the "needy barbarian", the "warlike barbarian", the uncouth warrior who fought wars for war's sake, it struck me that all of this was very familiar. I had read all of this before.

And then I remembered Dr. Viktor Padányi and his magnum opus, *Dentumagyaria*². In the book's very first chapter (the book is in Hungarian), titled „*Barbárok*” és „*civilizáltak*”. (“*Barbarians*” and “*The Civilised*”), he rejects the 19th century European conception that settled – mainly urban – peoples are automatically superior to, and inherently better than, rural and partly nomadic peoples. In translation, his book starts:

¹ Beckwith, Christopher I. *Empires of the Silk Road. A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present*. Princeton University Press. Princeton and Oxford. 2009.

² Padányi. V. *Dentumagyaria*. Editorial Transsylvania Könyvkiadó Vállalat. Buenos Aires. 1956. (All translations are mine).

When the European social sciences in the 19th century drew up a historical value-theory, which classified the ancient and medieval peoples, based on their human value; their racial quality according to their lifestyle as "settled" therefore superior, and "nomad", therefore inferior categories, it did not notice the otherwise loudly shouting fact that continents not only have coastal regions, but interiors as well, and at the beginning of the ancient era, due to the lack of travel – and as a result societies – they were entirely uninhabited, or at most, tiny diasporas that were incapable of development lived a vegetative existence in them.³

He described the concept of a horse-civilisation, something that was supposed to be looked down upon, quite differently. He put it like this:

The concept of a society – that was seated on the backs of horses, instead of on the backs of waters – was just as epoch-making at the time of a primitive and earth-bound humanity, as that of the steam-engine four thousand years later and whoever sees primitiveness, "barbarian-ness" in this, hardly deserves the name "historian".

Viktor Padányi and I

I never met Viktor Padányi. He died when I was three years old, yet he played a big part in my life and influenced my perceptions of the steppe nomads and the early Hungarians.

In South Africa, where I grew up, there was not a large Hungarian community and not much in the way of Hungarian literature. After sampling the classics that most Hungarian-speakers learn, I was given *Dentumagyaria* when I was far too young to understand it, so it became my training ground. I read it and re-read it, at first bothering my father for explanations of "big words" and later using the dictionary.

And very slowly I understood the content. But it took decades for me to comprehend the context, the so-called "Ugric-Turkic War", a predominantly linguistic debate, which pitched those who saw Hungarian as a Turkic language against those who saw it as Finno-Ugric. The Finno-Ugric school won, which in and of itself might not have been a very big thing, but it has resulted in the freezing – until very recently – of scholarly research into study of, for instance, the Huns, in the hallowed halls of learning of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

It should be added that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is an institution with no parallel in the English-speaking world. Earning a doctorate is usually seen as reaching the top in the US or Commonwealth nations, but not so in Hungary. There, membership of the Academy is the pinnacle of

³ P.15

scholarly achievement. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences is a statutory body governed by legislation,⁴ with the inevitable politicisation that follows.

The problem is that without the blessing of the Academy, new viewpoints in the humanities simply cannot exist and those who hold them become a kind of "underground group". And what with academic autonomy, there is no recourse for those whose views are not accepted by this institution, whether there are good academic reasons for it or not.

The unfortunate and highly negative consequence of this is that studies by historians, musicologists, linguists and indeed anyone who dares question the orthodox view are simply ignored. Also, the language used by academics of the "official" view when referring to those who disagree is deeply shocking and indeed, unheard of in any other country.

Additionally, the issue is completely politicised, and commented on not only in academic publications, but in newspapers and television talk shows, which do nothing to add to the quality of the debate.

Unlike children growing up in Hungary, I was not told by the governing communist party (which operated under various names) how inferior I was to other peoples; that I was a member of a "criminal nation" or that I was naturally of a "fascist" inclination; the concept that all that was good in my culture was given to Hungarians by others (unnamed Iranians, unnamed Turks, Khazars, and finally "the West") was absent from my thinking. Also, I had many school friends from other ethnic groups: English, Afrikaans, German, Italian, Greek, Portuguese, and Jewish and none of them had inferiority complexes. So I took it for granted that Hungarians didn't, either.

How wrong I was.

It is truly odd how Hungarian historians put down their own people. It is either unusual or unique. Unlike Western authors, the Hungarians concentrate very little on their great conquerors, soldiers or great monarchs. They tend rather to go on about their "fate" and tend to remember misfortunes. One example is the well-respected historian Gyula Kristó, who, with Ferenc Makk wrote, *A kilencedik és a tizedik század története* (The History of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries) in the series Magyar Századok (Hungarian Centuries):

As a result of the serious Augsburg military fiasco, not only did panicky fear of a German attack fill the Magyars, but significant changes took place both in internal power relations as well as Magyar foreign policy.⁵

How many historians of other nations would write about their own ancestors, their own people in such a way? Can anyone realistically imagine leaders of the Vikings, the Aztecs, the Zulus, or any other people described as trembling in fear, just because of one defeat?

⁴ <http://www.mta.hu/index.php?id=687>

⁵ Kristó Gyula-Makk Ferenc. *A kilencedik és a tizedik század története*. Pannonica Kiadó, Szeged, 2001. P.143. (Author's translation).

This negative attitude is underlined by the country's national holidays, to take the three biggest: March 15, August 20 and October 23. March 15 remembers the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848, in which Hungarian democracy was crushed by Austrian absolutism; this was repeated on October 23, 1956, with the only difference being Soviet totalitarianism versus democracy. August 20 is Saint Stephen's Day, really a religious holiday, in which the foundation of the Hungarian State is celebrated. There are other national days, in which the victims of the Holocaust, or Communism, are remembered, but there's not much to be happy about.

It is possible to sympathise with the negative attitude, coming as it does, after some 500 years of servitude to Turks, Austrian, Nazi Germans and Soviet Russians. But it does not add to a healthy world view, neither does making Hungary's history look worse than it needs to, help. In their fear of "nationalism", Hungarian historians have distorted history the other way.

And that is in connection with relatively well-known historiography, where there are plenty of written sources. So how does this impact on the view of pre-history?

What I discovered is that there is a major problem with Hungarian pre-history as taught today. This problem is that on the one hand, there are legends, chronicles and outside sources that portray the Hungarians as "Huns" or "Turks." On the other, the historians tell people that they have no link to the Turks or Huns; that therefore the legends and more importantly the Hungarians' own mediaeval historians were wrong and their works of no value. This leads to a kind of neurosis among people who are interested in the subject.

Significance of Padányi's work

The significance of Viktor Padányi's work is not only in what he wrote, but when he wrote, which was in the 1950s and 1960s. (*Dentumagyaria* was published on December 3rd, 1963.) This was a time when Hungary was occupied by a foreign army; had a foreign system of government and academic life was stifled. Padányi's works were naturally banned, as well as being unavailable within the country, so there was no choice but for free inquiry to continue outside the country.

Padányi laid down his challenge to the Hungarian academic establishment in this book on the one hand, but also to Western academics, who not only believed in 'the barbarian' then, but many still do today and very few have questioned the presuppositions that go along with this concept. His main achievement, therefore, was to throw down the gauntlet to the West against 'barbarian' versus 'civilised' peoples, and to Hungarians to re-examine their ancient history without inferiority feelings and act as if they were examining the actions of Romans, Arabs or other supposedly 'civilised' peoples. He argued that ancient Hungarians could think and plan and could weigh up the probable consequences of their actions.

This idea was, and remains, revolutionary. The idea that Hungarians of the Ninth or Tenth Centuries not only 'reacted' and 'fled' and were 'inspired by their greed to act', but were actually people just like those of the Holy Roman Empire, who had reasons for their actions, who planned ahead and whose leaders tried to obtain results from their actions they thought were best for their peoples, was important.

Once that hurdle is crossed, then historians can begin to look at the actions of Hungarians, Bulgars, Huns, Turks and other 'barbarians' and seek reasons for their actions. The concept of 'the barbarian' is an excuse not to have to think.

Because, if one does not have to think, it is easy to shrug off Attila's military campaigns as 'barbarian invasions'. The expansion of the Türk Empire can be shrugged off as 'barbarian greed for the wealth of the settled people'. The attacks on the Han by the Xiongnu/Asian Huns can simply be categorised as 'nomad raids'.

But if challenged to think, what then? Then it might turn out that Attila was not intent on destroying Rome; that the ancient Türk Empire was an attempt to create a polity that would protect the Türk people from China, as described on the Orkhon Inscriptions. Then it would be found that Chinese invasions of Asian Hun ancestral lands in the Ordos were the reason for (counter-) attacks by people who wanted the lands of their fathers back. Padányi's challenge went like this. He pointed out that:

The European valuation always saw in the horse form a *level*⁶ of civilisation (and a low one at that) and not a *form* of civilisation. It valued the "horse-nomad" civilisation not as an independent category of civilisation and life-ways, but merely a rudimentary step (in the development) of "civilisation" and "culture", and dealt with it with a certain disdain.

He goes on to point out what could be called an "optical illusion" caused by the archaeology of urbanised centres compared with the very little that was known in his time of nomad archaeology.

There remained hardly (any) monumental relics (of the) great ancient and medieval horse cultures and civilisations, or more exactly, archaeology has not found monumental remains in conspicuous numbers concentrated in one place, in no small measure due to the fact that it hasn't looked.⁷

He was not alone in noticing this. In another country, a Medievalist, C.S. Lewis, later to become famous for his children's' books ⁸ and his Christian apologetics, wrote:

We must be on our guard here against an illusion which the study of prehistoric man seems to beget...this penury (of artefacts) constitutes a continual temptation to infer more than we have any right to infer, to assume that the community which made the superior artefacts was superior in all respects. Everyone can see the assumption is false

⁶ Emphasis added in the original text

⁷ This is no longer the case.

⁸ The *Chronicles of Narnia*. (Now being made into major movies.)

... Clearly the prehistoric men who made the worst pottery might have made the best poetry and we should never know it.⁹

Lewis' point applies every bit as much to nomadic peoples as to prehistoric ones with few artefacts or few that have been found. Although today a great deal of information about the archaeology of "nomadic" peoples exists, most of it exists in specialist publications only, and just as bad, much of this is only available in local languages, like Mongolian or Hungarian, although there are some Western historians whose work gives grounds for hope. Padányi, back in the 1960s, wrote:

We believe that woodwork, ceramics, small plastic art, carpet weaving, decorative leatherwork, weapon-making, needlework, music, dance, song, heroic poetry, storytelling and sagas, are likewise culture.¹⁰

Very little is available in English, and even major languages such as Chinese or Russian are not easily available to the English-speaking scholar, much less the interested layman. As a result, the outdated view of the "wandering nomad" continues to hold sway. Of this lifeway, Viktor Padányi nonetheless made some astute observations about just why nomad culture has been looked down upon for so long. He wrote:

The essence and basis of the horse life-form (lifeway) are given by three requirements: A geographically mobile society; the *non-transportation* and distribution of immobile consumable goods, but their finding and *in situ* consumption; and finally the choice of the key biological basis, which should be just as capable of changing places as the society itself, which lives off it, therefore it should not be as sensitive to distances as inanimate objects. This basis is the animal. Thus the character of the horse-life-form is rural.¹¹

You could say Padányi tried not only to describe ancient nomadic cultures and peoples; he also tried to understand them.

⁹ Lewis. C.S. *The Problem of Pain*. Collins & Sons, Glasgow, 1990. P.58.

¹⁰ Padányi, *Dentumagyaria*. P.20.

¹¹ Padányi. Pp 18-19.

Importance of Padányi's work on Magyars in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries

By taking a different point of departure than his contemporaries and most of those who wrote before him, in both *Dentumagyaria* and *Vérbulcsú*,¹² he sees the actions of the Magyars and those of their neighbours as those of thinking men, of human beings.

A picture of the dominant view, is given by this excerpt from one of the leading "official" scholars, Professor Emeritus of Altaic Studies, András Róna-Tas, writing at the time of the 1,100th anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest, or "Landtaking".

The spring of 895 began with the campaign of the Hungarian host under Árpád, who wanted to attack the Danube Bulgars by moving down the Tisza River. A smaller Hungarian host attacked the Bulgars at the Lower Danube. However, the Byzantines did not keep their promise to attack the Bulgars from the south, and the Bulgars defeated the smaller Hungarian host attacking from Etelköz.

At the same time, a Pecheneg army appeared in the East. They were pushed by an alliance of the Oghuz, Kimeks and Kharluks, who themselves were defeated by the Samanid ruler. The Pechenegs could not enter the Khazar Empire proper and, most probably on the prompting of the Danube Bulgar ruler Boris, attacked the Hungarians left behind in Etelköz. After the disastrous defeat of the Hungarians in Etelköz by the Pechenegs and Danube Bulgarians, they could only flee to the army of Árpád who was slowly moving to the south along the Tisza. In 895 the Hungarians occupied only the eastern part of the Carpathian basin and did not cross the Danube.¹³

It should be noted that the above is a great improvement on what is often available and was written as recently as 1996. The more common material available to the English-speaking layman is rather like this:

The nomad nations of the Eurasian steppes were playing dominoes again. The Uighur Turks, who had driven the Arabs out of the Tarim Basin—their deepest penetration into Central Asia—were in turn defeated by the Kirghiz Turks, and the Uighurs then pushed the Pecheneg Turks west. The Pecheneg onslaught fell on the Magyars, who moved into that nomad paradise, the plains of Hungary, to join the descendants of Attila's Huns.¹⁴

Besides its basic errors, the entry in the book, *50 Battles that Changed the World* on the 955 battle at the Lechfeld (not to be confused with the 910 battle in the same place) the author uses a tone which is,

¹² Péter Pázmány University, Beunos Aires, 1954

¹³ The Hungarian Quarterly, Volume XXXVII. No 144. P.37. <http://www.hungarianquarterly.com/no144/p37.html>

¹⁴ *50 Battles That Changed The World. The Conflicts That Most Changed The Course of History*. Weir, W. New Page, NJ. 2001. P.100.

unfortunately, all too common. The article uses headers such as: “On the Road to the Abyss”, warning what would happen if the barbarian Magyars won the battle. Unfortunately, the “official” view does nothing to dispel the myth that the pastoral nomad had nothing more on his mind than loot. Because the “official” historians do not dispel this now outdated idea, writers of popular histories, which is how most people learn about the past, have very little solid material to go on. Weir, the author of *50 Battles* goes on:

In 937, seeking new worlds to loot, they began raiding Italy as far south as Monte Cassino, western Germany, and as far west as modern Belgium and central France. In 954, they crossed the Rhine and raided Metz, Cambrai, Rheims, and Chalons. In the spring of 955, 100,000 Magyar horsemen again invaded Germany and besieged Augsburg.¹⁵

Weir also explains just what was at stake:

The end of the destructive raids of Eurasian nomads into western Europe, hence the development of Western civilization.

The dramatic tone used here and the exaggeration of the danger of nomad attacks, the claim that should they win a battle or campaign, “civilisation” itself would be in danger, is also a common theme in popular writings, videos, movies and other media that deal with the nomad empires or polities.

In chapter XVII. “Az új törzsszövetség, mint katonai erő.” (The New Tribal Alliance As A Military Power) Dr. Padányi demolishes, once and for all, the claims that the Magyars were chased into their current homeland by another group of tribes, the Kangar alliance of three Pecheneg tribes, or even by all eight of them.

Besides referring to the rather thin original source material, Padányi in the above-mentioned chapter, literally shreds the arguments that claim to show a fleeing mob of people chased variously by Pechenegs, Bulgars or both.

Using common sense and logic, he shows that the estimated number of Magyars could never have fled successfully from somewhere near Kiev in today’s Ukraine to the eastern half of the Great Hungarian Plain, somehow crossing huge rivers like the Donetz, the Dniestr, Dneipr and others, then climbing the Carpathian Mountains, all while supposedly fleeing the fast Petcheneg cavalry, as well as carrying along the sick, the aged, the pregnant mothers and infants. And doing all this without massive losses of human life and livestock.

Using a figure of 400,000 as the total number of Magyars (guesses of their numbers vary from 100,000 to 500,000) Padányi looks at just the case of pregnant mothers. If there were 400,000 people making the move from Etelköz to Hungary, a distance varying from 1,200 to 1,800 kilometres, using standard

¹⁵ Weir. P 103.

demographics, he calculates women of childbearing age (17-42 years old) as coming to a total of 86,000, giving an annual figure of 50,000 births, or 4,000 monthly, or 150 childbirths a day.¹⁶

Considering the seasons in which travelling was possible, Padányi shows that during the four to four-and-a-half months this would have resulted in between 16- and 18,000 births. Keeping in mind the post-natal bleeding of the mothers and the exposed condition of the newborns (not to mention the psychological impact of the various taboos and cultic rituals surrounding childbirth that would be missed), this would have brought about some 35,000 to 40,000 deaths, even without the Pechenegs.

(I could add the question that if the Pechenegs had such a victory and had the Magyar people at their mercy, why did they not capture the women and children and sell them as slaves as well as their vast herds of horses, cattle, sheep and goats, thus effectively ending their existence as a people?)

The argument went (and continues) to turn on whether the Magyar/Hungarian Conquest was a set of accidents, caused by the defeat and then flight of an entire people (the so-called “domino-effect”) or whether it was a planned migration. Obviously, if it were merely a series of unplanned, panicked flights, then that is one thing, but if it were indeed a planned migration, using a combination of the military arts (reconnaissance, security, logistical planning, strategic planning) as well as diplomacy (agreements with major powers, alliances and guarantees of non-aggression), then there is indeed a great gap in European history at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries.

Padányi was probably the first to refer to the military sciences (primarily logistics) showing the impossibility of people charging across hill and dale, mountain and river, whether to flee or to fight. He argued that the need for a re-evaluation of pastoral nomadic history, be it that of the Hungarians or anyone else, is great. Within that is the need for a re-evaluation of the early history of the Hungarians, for the simple reason that more material exists than does for most pastoral nomadic peoples of the steppe.

The fact that the Austrian Absolutists treated the Hungarians just the same as the British, French, Spanish or Portuguese treated their conquered peoples and wrote a history for them in which they were backward primitives should not be surprising. Just as all Imperialists want to keep their subjects docile, so did Austria. It was under them that the idea of the “barbarian marauding Magyar” became common in Hungary. And when the country lost its independence again in 1945, the new Soviet occupiers were quick to add the idea that the Hungarians were a “barbarian” people who needed their “fraternal socialist brothers” to teach them.

This heritage remains alive in Hungary today and the lack of an independent-minded pre-history was one of Padányi’s main themes. He was not alone, but he was one of the first to call attention to this problem.

If anyone was qualified to comment on the Magyar Conquest and subsequent “Raids” (actually campaigns), it was the late Dr. Kálmán Nagy, who was an official military historian as well as one of the last of the Hungarian Hussars. He did so in numerous articles and books in which he severely criticises the civilian historians for not comprehending what the pastoral Magyars of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries were doing. Of Padányi, however, he wrote:

¹⁶ Padányi, V. *Dentumagyaria*, p.393 footnote 12.

About the military history of the Conquest and the "change of quarters"; the settlement or migration from Etelköz to the Carpathians, I must emphasise the name of a distinguished historian, the already-mentioned Viktor Padányi, who with the intuition of genius and all-inclusive attention and power of imagination, was able to depict this enormous historical achievement of our people.¹⁷

Dr. Padányi clearly knew his history, as indeed his *curriculum vitae*¹⁸ shows and he taught the subject at a high level for 20 years in Hungary and later abroad as well. This is revealed not only in the way he handles the Magyar Conquest of 895-900, when the Hungarians moved into their present homeland, but also in what followed. This is most clearly seen in what is a small masterpiece, his *Vérbulcsú, 954/55 évi európai hadjárata* (Blood Bulcsú, his Campaign of 954/55)¹⁹. It was printed as a folio, without even a hard cover and has only been reprinted as part of an anthology. There are two unauthorised versions on the Internet and yet anyone wishing to study the military history of pastoral nomads should really read this work.

Padányi reveals a deep understanding of power relations in early medieval Europe and is able to show how internal divisions were used by the Bulcsú to achieve what he gave his life for: To prevent the West Franks, (French) the East Franks (Early Germany) and the Italian states uniting, as they did in the time of Charlemagne, for if they did, they could destroy the new home of the Magyar Tribal Alliance.

Summary

It is clear that Dr. Viktor Padányi's role in Hungarian historiography has been neglected and although attempts have been made to reprint his works, they are in Hungarian and should be translated into world languages.

Some critiques of his works include his acceptance that the Hungarian language was genetically linked to ancient Sumerian and his belief that the Hungarians were part of a "Turanian" race. To this it can be said that the last word has not been written on links between ancient and medieval languages and as to the "Turanian" problem, Padányi's position can be understood in the context of the era in which he grew up and studied (1906-1926). Concepts at the time of "race" were more confused than they are at present and "race" was often taken to mean "ethnic group" or even nation.

In addition, he felt strongly against what he saw as the over-glorification of "Indo-German" achievements, and contrasted his own "Turanian" peoples' achievements with those of the Indo-Germans, now called "Indo-Europeans". While these views are now outdated, the abovementioned Professor Beckwith, while using up-to-date terminology, is a great believer of the "Indo-Europeans

¹⁷ Nagy, Kálmán. *A honfoglalás korának hadtörténete*. (The Military History of the Conquest Period). Heraldika Kiadó, Budapest, 2007. P. 117.

¹⁸ For which my thanks to Mr. George Padányi, his son.

¹⁹ Padányi, V. *Vérbulcsú 954/55 évi európai hadjárata* Péter Pázmány Free University, Buenos Aires, 1954

invented everything” concept, even if it is possible that, like the Turanians, there never was an Indo-European people.

The way forward, which happily is seen in more and more scholarly works, is that of trying to understand the nomads rather than seeing them as “a force of nature” or dismissing them as “barbarians”.

In this, Dr. Viktor Padányi should be remembered as a man ahead of his time.



ANCIENT WRITING SYSTEM RESEARCH

MELLÁR, Mihály

The Arkalochori Axe

The axe was found about 30 Km-s from Heraklion, in a 30 m long cave, which in the Late Minoan I period collapsed, preserving several precious riches, among others this, from edge to edge, 30 cm long

bronze axe. It is not the only one with inscription, but this is the famous Arkalochori Axe.



Before we plunge into the examination of the inscription, we better clarify some of the misconceptions about hieroglyphic or picture-writing.

For the researchers of pre-Helladic writings every word, which is too hard to unbind, becomes either a new deity, or a sanctuary, or whosoever's name and the problem is put to rest. The inscription on the Axe from Arkalochori

is also interpreted as names for deities, sanctuaries, Holy Mountain and who knows what else; only the axe itself has been left out of the readings, namely what an axe is for. To my knowledge, so far nobody did come up with a solution in which the axe – fittingly to its function – cuts trees!

It is man's inherent faculty to compose pictures of objects. Most people recognise the pictures of simple things without any previous training. If one can name the recognized object then s/he is only a small step away from reading the hieroglyphic writing: s/he has to overhear the message, bound together from the loudly pronounced names or starting sounds of the picture elements. The reading of hieroglyphic writings became an organic skill; everybody could read picture-writing without any special preliminary training. (The underlined words belong to the same word family in Hungarian based on *kép* = picture.)

Only educated people can read the writing abstracted from the pictures, the writing wrote down with symbols or letters. The highly educated, the scholars are attempting by all means – and they are well provided with taxpayers moneys – to make the hieroglyphics subsequently the writing of the educated, by furnishing the hieroglyphs with syllabary values that have nothing to do with the objects the hieros depict. They peel out the message with decompositions one cannot follow, they use linguistic trickery to read what they want, not what the scribe wanted to disclose.

The ladies and gentlemen of the science are frustrated when the coding of a text differs from the signs they have taken into their inventory. They are missing the essence of hieroglyphics: *the signs of picture-writing are pictures, not symbols!* There are as many picture-signs (hieroglyphs) as the scribe is capable of drawing.

There is no lower or upper theoretical limit to the number of picture-signs (hieroglyphs). It depends on the ability of the scribe, which and how many picture-signs he needs to convey the message, observing two

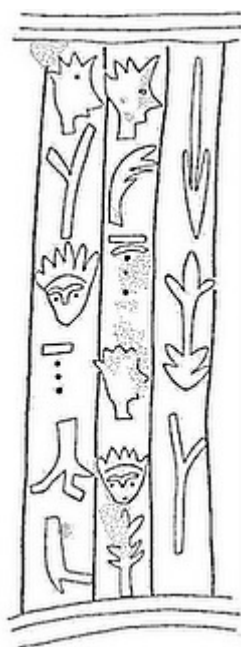
simple principles: *the hieroglyph has to be easily recognizable and unambiguously named*. The scribe's job is to select the hieroglyphs in such a way that even the illiterate – by loudly naming the picture-signs, or their initial sound – could overhear the message of the picture-writing. The methods of hieroglyphic writing give enormous freedom to the scribe, every text is a mirror image of the scribe's personality, and therefore the comparison of the different texts or group of signs has no effect at all. The more important is to identify and name the object of the hieroglyph.

Keeping in mind the above said, let us examine the picture-signs as they come, from right to left and from the top to bottom:

a1: A 050 ↑ *T* (*Tű/Tető* = needle/Thatch-roof), here head down (*le*), thus it is: *le-T*.

a2: This sign is a ligature, the upper part is the 023 ♥ *T* (tulip) hieroglyph and the bottom part is the 025 ‡ *Tea* (tee), the b6 sign, which often makes ligatures. Well, this ligature is: *T+T*.

a3: The 019 ♡ *áSZok* (gantry for barrels) will turn up two more times, in a surprising place and shape!



a: *L-T T-T _SZ*

Two legitimate and – of course – related readings are arising from this *abjad*ic, *consonantal transcription* of the first column:

LéTeT TeSZ vagy éLeTeT TeSZ
Does (makes, creates) existence or life

b1: A surprising hieroglyph: the head shape is only a personification of the 091/171 ▲ / ♡ *TaRaJ* (crest) hieroglyph. We could say that the fellow seen on the picture is named *Taraj* (Crest), because of the crest-shaped hair-do.

b2: For some unknown reason, neither CHIC, nor J.G. Younger has accepted this Spiral into their hieroglyphic grid, although it occurs in many texts: M06 ♡ *_S/Z*. (As a matter of fact this is the rounded down version of 035 ▢ *S/Z*.)

b3: A ligature is following again, this is a *talking* one: with (*-vel*) the 062 † *Nő(l)* (grow) hieroglyph an arch, M08 ♡ *iV* (arch) is combined into a ligature. Under the completing level mark for the row of dots, denoting growth, there is a visible arch:

Nő iVelve (*N_* is arched [*ívelve*]) or *Nő-vel iV* (arch with *N_*).

b4: 091/171 *TaRaJ* (crest).

b5: Again a personified ligature is following; we already know its both components: the unusually merged eyebrow and nose is in reality a short-stemmed 019 ♡ *áSZok* (gantry, a3) and above it is an arch, the M08 ♡ *iV* (arch), *_S/Z+_V*. This is Mr. *SaVó* (Whey), his mouth is invisible from the sour whey.

b6: 025 ‡ *Tea* (Tee).

b: $T_R_J_S/Z\ N_V_L_V\ T_R_J_S/Z_V\ T$

While making this abjad transcription pronounceable, we have to keep in mind that the word is about an axe. How can an axe create or make life? By helping to procure the arable/cultivable land, the way appropriate to the era of the inscription:

TaRoLáSSa' NöVeLVe TaRLó-SáVoT (J>L)
with cut down (devastation) increasing the stubble-field

c1: 091/171 **TaRaJ** (crest).

c2: M15  **D, Duggancs**, is a small, pronged, pointed stick used for planting (Linear A: *01 [DA] sign).

c3: {019+M08} = $_S/Z+_V$, (see b5).

c4: 062  **Nő(l)** (grow). Note the missing arch!

c5: The picture is that of a trunk, on which the roots are well visible. It's not listed in any hieroglyphic grid, but this has no bearing at all, because the only consequential thing for the reader is to recognize it and to name it. We are the readers; we have recognized and named it: **TöNK!** (trunk)

c6: 010  **Láb/áLL** (foot/stand). The verb for foot is to stand (on) =áLL: $_L$

c: $T_R_J\ D_S/Z_V\ N\ T_N_K_L$

Having already solved the other two columns, this one comes really easy:

TeRJeDő SiVáNY TúNiK eL
the increasing desertification disappears

Fortunately the word *sivány* (desertified agricultural land) is not fashionable in today's Hungarian, but in the days of the rudimentary agricultural production the infertility meant famine, even death from starvation.

Létet/életet tesz tarolássa' növelve tarló-sávot, terjedő sivány tűnik el.
(It) does existence/life by increasing the stubble-field with cut down, the increasing desertification disappears.

Without explicitly stating, it's clear that the subject of the above clause is the axe. But the text is also concerned in the commonwealth whose survival it helped in practice. The gods are too far away, the artificial fertilizer not yet invented, thus the land cleared for cultivation fails sooner than later. Another part of the forest has to be cleared; the stubble-field has to be increased, at least as fast as the desertification increases.

The c5 picture-sign, nowhere listed as a hieroglyph, symbolizes the whole inscription. The **TöNK/ToNKa/CSöNK** = trunk (CHuNK) is actually the symbolic representation of deforestation: a trunk

devoid of branches is gone, ruined = *TöNKrement* (*lit.* gone to trunk). But thanks to this ruin the spreading of the infertile fen/waste land disappears (*el-TűNiK*). This picture suits perfectly the reading by enforcing the context (axe + trunk) of the inscription.

As you could see, there is only this one sign missing from any (artificial) grid of signs. It's not a question, the scribe of the Arkalochori Axe has a unique style amongst a couple (Phaistos, Mallia, Knossos,...) of styles, but hey! look how many typesets you can choose from in your wordprocessor.

There are some sceptics out there, who are with good reason expecting a scientific demonstration that the text on the axe is really Magyar. As you could follow it, above I have only decoded the text on the axe, step by step rewrote the picture-signs with current lettering. (The only translation involved is from Hungarian to English.) Coding is used for concealed, clandestine communication. The inscription on axe had become concealed by oblivion, however its language is alive, and consequently the deciphering is limited to decoding or transliterating the signs.

Some of the Hungarian speakers may object to the freshness of the language, the 3½-4 thousand years old texts sound like from yesterday. What should I tell them? There are two Hungarian languages. A virtual one taught in the schools, consisting of 21% Finn-Ugric, 20% Slavic, 11% German, 10% Turkic, etc. words. In this virtual language there is not a single word of Magyar origin, it has no skeleton, it is deformed. The other Magyar language is based on a word-root system; it is endogen, capable of unrestricted word creation, consists of words organized into meaning-determining word-families of 100% Magyar origin. The Minoans had spoken this other Hungarian, I do as well. This language hardly does any changes to pronunciation. If one sound of a word changes than the word either drops out of its meaning-defining word-family or the whole word-family has to change with it simultaneously. It is hard to imagine a simultaneous change of hundreds of words and there is no need for it: new words can be composed in unrestricted numbers from the (unchanged) roots, whose meaning is delimited with the word-family, therefore no need for their declaration. Everybody understands outright the regularly derived words, and conversely, the meanings of words not anymore in the everyday use are easily comprehensible from the word-family they belong to. In one word, the Minoan did speak the systematized Magyar which has a backbone; they clearly imply to this in an inscription, this is why they sound so fresh even today.



ETHNOGRAPHY

MALAYEV, Alibek Kazhgaly uly

She-Wolf-Mountain

“In the Karadag Mountains on the borderline of China the waters flooded one of the caves and filled with clay a pit in the shape of a human body. In nine months under the sun’s rays this clay figure came to life. The Turkic ancestor called Ai-Atan appeared in the cave of his primogenitors and married a woman, who also appeared in the cave as the result of flood. They gave birth to forty children.” Such is the story according to the ancient Turkic genealogical legend which was found with the Mamluk tribes in Egypt in the 14th century.

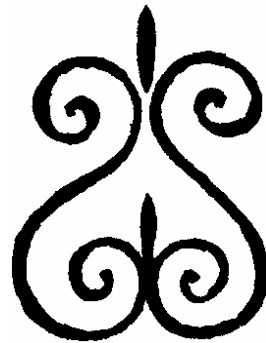
The woman, that seems to have appeared in the cave at the same time as Ai-Atan and whom he married, was mentioned in the myth much later than the events described in it. This logical link neutralizes the fact that in reality the woman who gave birth to the primogenitor of the Turks is actually the Karatau Mountain itself, which is situated in the south of Kazakhstan. The mountain range of the Karatau was always worshipped by the Kazakhs as a sacred place. A great number of rock engravings found there is evidence of this.

The image of the World Mountain, and, closely connected with it, the myth about the world structure are most ancient. In the mythology and ritual practice of the South-Siberian Turks the mountain is considered to be one of the objects having a wide polysemantic structure. Especially prominent is the motif of birth of heroes inside the mountain. The mountain is the place of habitation for epic personages, quite often it serves as their grave and also the place where the heroes’ souls abide. All the varieties of folklore motives are based on the image of the mountain as some kind of bearing center, with which the origin of the whole tribe and each of its members are connected.

The mountain is often likened to a human body, namely to a woman’s body. For example, in the Kazakh language the top of the mountain is called “*tau bassy*” (the head of the mountain), the slope of the mountain is called “*tau etegi*” (foot of the hill). There exist some more expressions — “*tau bauyrynda*” (in the liver of the mountain), “*tau koinauynda*” (in the bosom of the mountain) “*tau iygynda*” (on the shoulders of the mountain), etc. Similar images have found their reflection in Kazakh decorative ornaments.

Let us begin with the main forming pattern of the Kazakh ornament. I have named this pattern “*Uly Ana*” which means “Great Mother of the Human Race.” This kind of pattern is mainly carved on gravestones. I interpret it as a stylized image of the woman with a precious foetus — the baby in her womb, that is, a male baby.

Let us assume that two upper symmetrical curves in the “*Uly Ana*” pattern designate respectively the right and the left arms of the “Great Mother of the Human Race” and the vertical shoot between them is her head. Then the closed cavity, which is in the shape of an onion, represents the woman’s womb in the depth of which there is a symbol, “*koshkar muyiz*” or “*Ul*”, a man’s beginning.



First of all it is necessary to explain the gradation of the growth of the trefoil curves in the structure of the Uly Ana pattern, starting from a small trefoil (i.e. foetus drowsing in the mother's womb) to the top trefoil blossoming out under the abundant sun rays on the surface of the mountain.

Through its two centers Uly Ana simultaneously represents two phases: the initial — through which the semen passes into the womb of the Great Mother of the Human Race or Great Mountain (Uly Tau) and the final stage, when leaving the mountain, (that is, being born), the trefoil turns into a Great Hero (Ul).

By extension, that is why the World Tree rising on the top of the World Mountain is none other but the child of the Great Mountain — Uly Tau. It means that the World Tree and all its allomorphs symbolizing a male beginning presented as a variety of images: a picket, a staff, a stick, a stem, an image in the shape of horns, lumps, pikes, sultans, crests, cutises, tassels on helmets, fezes, hats, and all kinds of feather decorating a headgear — always model the top of the World Mountain. However, they are derivatives, i.e. secondary elements created and expelled from the bowel of the initial matter, the function of which is performed by the Great Mother Mountain.

The initial point is a primary one. From this it follows that all the rest in correlation to the initial point should be taken as the secondary ones.

Generally, the grain is considered to be the initial point of the ear. But this is not right. The initial point of the ear is the place in the ground whence the grain has appeared as the ear. Plainly speaking it is the place, the very hole (crack, dent, hollow or a pit) through which the grain (hero) having got into the earth's bowel "dies" in order to revive or to emerge as a new shoot up over the ground's surface owing to the intoxicating liquor of the nature (which in fairy tales is called "magic water" or "life-giving water", or vice versa "dead water"). The seed that falls down onto the stony, barren soil is doomed to die.

Hence, the ground is the initial point for a tree. It is not the whole earth, but the very place, where a hero (or a nation) came into the world. This place is called Motherland. And the main task of the hero is to defend the motherland.

But let us return to the pattern Uly Ana (Uly Tau). There are numerous images of women foreshortened in a synchronic view, either with birds in their hands or holding horses, or images of animals by the bridle. This is one of the most repeated motives in the ornamental systems of different countries and nations. All these systems are none other than the variations of the Uly Ana pattern. The

transformations of the basic, formative elements of Uly Ana are sometimes so exciting and unexpected that it takes you time to get used to them.

One of the hypostasis of Great Mountain is represented in the image of the She-Wolf-Mountain or as a variant of this image — the She-Wolf-Primogenitor giving birth to (or taking care of) a human child in the bowels of the Great Mountain.

There are many legends about the origin of the Turks which in either event are connected with the wolf, which was the main totem of the ancient Turks and Mongols. L. Gumilev gives an example of a legend about “the spread of the Hun’s homeland from the western border further to the west”. He continues to speak about Atilla’s power. This branch was completely exterminated by the neighbors and only a nine-year old boy remained alive. But the enemies cut off his arms and legs and left him in the bog, where a she-wolf got pregnant by him. However, the boy was killed and the she-wolf ran away to the Altai and gave birth to ten sons there. The clan propagated and grew, “and in several generations a certain Asen-shei together with all his kin left the cave and acknowledged himself as a vassal of the Zhuzhansky khan”. According to the legend the Altai Turks — Tukyu (Tyurkot) descended from the western Huns, not directly, but mystically via a she-wolf” (*Gumilev, 1993, p. 23*).

Mystical ties between a wolf and a raven were described by a Chinese chronicler some centuries ago. As the Chinese source tells us, before 119 B.C. the Hun leader made a raid on the kingdom of U-sunyei and its king and killed him. “U-sunyei king’s name was Kun-mo. Kun-mo’s father had his own state. The Hun chief attacked and killed Kun-mo’s father. At that time Kun-mo was a small boy. The Hun chief felt pity for the boy; he did not kill the child, but left him in the marsh at the mercy of fate. When the child started to crawl, a raven, flying above, saw him. He gave the child the meat he was carrying in his beak. Some time later a she-wolf appeared there and began to walk around the boy. Then she approached the child, brought the nipple of her breast to his mouth and after feeding the child, she left him. The Hun chief was watching all this from afar. He decided that the boy was a holy child. The chief ordered his people to take the boy with them, to care for him and create the best conditions of living for him. The boy grew up and turned into a courageous youth. The Hun chief appointed him a detachment commander in his army. Later, having become stronger, the youth had success and enjoying the confidence and patronage of the Hun chief. He eventually got his father’s state as a gift from the chief and became its king” (*Ogel, 1971, p. 12-14; Efendy, 1991, p. 18-19*).

We are going to demonstrate the obvious connection between Mountain and Wolf by comparing two prayer rugs, one of which is a part of the Keir Collection and the other is from the Berlin Islamic Museum. Both rugs — we are absolutely sure of it now — are not prayer rugs, though they were used as such.

The reason for this statement is the full ignorance of the meaning of the ornament on the rugs. If a true Moslem believer sending up prayers on those rugs knew the true meaning of the patterns — the rugs would have been destroyed immediately.

The thing is, these rugs represent an ancient pagan concept of hierogamy (holy matrimony) with a totem. In this case with the primogenitor of all the Turks — the She-Wolf.

The two rugs are absolutely identical from the point of view of their composition. Their border pattern is poorly worked out; the main development of the plot is represented in the middle part of the rug.



Carpets and rugs should be perceived from a synchronic (immediate) foreshortened position. Proceeding from this, further analysis will be based on the comparison of some definite pattern with the established structural standard in this paper, namely the first element — Uly Ana.

In the chosen rugs only two colors dominate: red — the color of the surface lit by the sun, and black, the color which represents the darkness of the maternal womb. The developing or maternal line “ana hett” forms a variant of an arch “heikal bashy”, i.e. the idol’s head in the upper part of the rug. The idol’s head (heikal bashy) is represented as three pointed shoot. In the structural matrix of Uly Ana they correspond to three upper curves.



Figure of matrix and composition of the rug in full size

Three lower curves ending in the womb of the Great Mother of the Human Race correspond to five-leaved shoots of red which penetrate deep into the dark area and is interpreted as the trunk or the body of the idol.

Thus the color not only divides the rugs of this kind into two zones, but also marks the center in the lower part of the rug, which is equapotent to the center in its upper zone. It is necessary to note that if three heads of the idol penetrate into the red area of the mountain — “*tag ustyu*”, its five-headed analogue swiftly bursts open the lower part of the rug (which is called by the Azerbaijani weavers “*etek*” — hem) and covers approximately the same, if not larger space in the depth of the mountain, in its very bowels, in “*tag arasy*”, i.e. in the canyon. The head of the She-Wolf-Mountain is horned. It is known that the primogenitor of the Kirghiz people is Horned-Mother-Deer. But as we know already the advantage of having horns owns any “*baibisher*”, i.e. older or first wife. The Kirghiz people have an ancient proverb “*Baibichenin bardygy — toodoi kara sandygy*” which can be interpreted as “All the hostess’ wealth is her big black chest, which is like a mountain”. The comparison of the black chest with the mountain is not by chance. Both the chest and the mountain cave represent space, where the most precious belongings are kept.

It is not by chance that goddess Umai’s head on the rock carving is decorated with a three-horned tiara. In Alan Medoev’s album “The Engravings on the Rocks” there are two such imprints. One of them was discovered at the Beilicul Lake in the foothills of the Maly (Small) Karatau range (South Kazakhstan). Another one was discovered along the natural boundary of Kuderge in the mountainous Altai. Both engravings are dated back to 6th-8th centuries and belong to the period of the late nomads (Tiurcu – Tugyu (Tukyu) or Tyurkots).

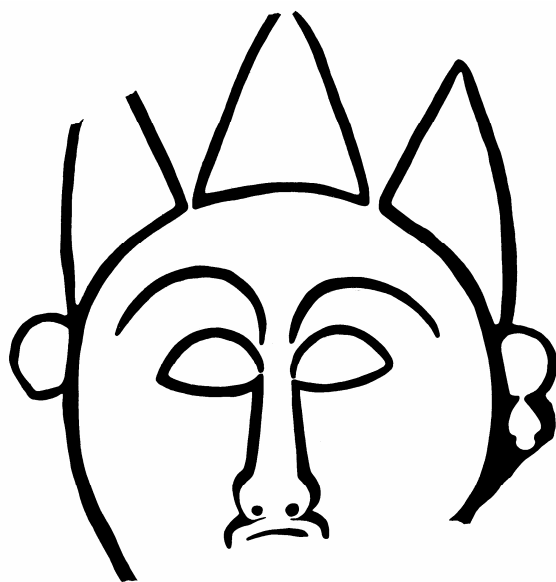


Figure of Umai

And what is really important is a vertical channel opening from bottom up into the womb. It is marked with diagonally made cuts on the image of the horned Umai, the rock carving found near natural

boundary Kuderge, as well as on the one placed next to Umai, hornless “*tokal*”. Moreover it is necessary to point out that the three images of women have earrings in their ears.

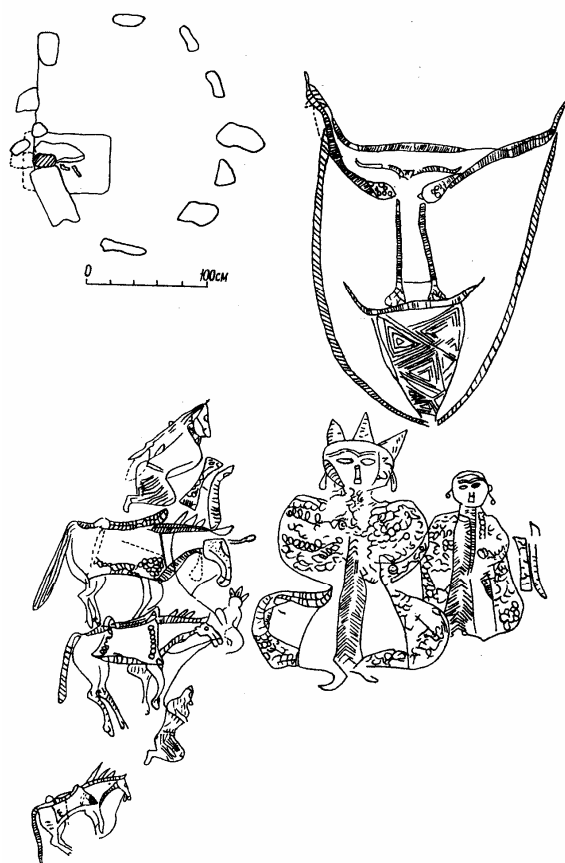


Figure from Kuderge

The numerical symbolism on the rugs is no less important. If we count the number of outer angles on the three-headed top of the black mountain the result is the uneven number 11. If we work out the number of the protuberances in the lower part of the rug, we will get an even (female) number in all the hand-made articles in which there is an inlet into the inner part of the rug, forming a schematic imitation of the inside of the first cave.

But all these calculations would not have been demonstrative if we did not have the main argument in favor of the version that the concept of hyrogamous or totemic matrimony is represented on the rugs of this type.

The argument under consideration is called “Turnip” — a well-known Russian tale. Most people, as it often happens, know the adapted version of the tale taught to schoolchildren. But we are talking about the version from the collection of “Russian People’s Tales” by A.N. Afanasyev. Here follows the tale.

Turnip

Once upon a time an old man planted a turnip. When the turnip grew up, the old man came to pull it out. He tried to pull the turnip out once, then again, but failed to get it out. The old man called for the grandmother. Grandmother came and gripped the grandfather they pulled the turnip again and again, but could not pull the turnip out. Then their granddaughter came. The granddaughter gripped the grandmother, grandmother gripped the grandfather, the grandfather gripped the turnip. They pulled and pulled and could not pull out the turnip. Shortly after that their dog ran to them. The dog gripped the granddaughter, the granddaughter — the grandmother, the grandmother — the grandfather, the grandfather — the turnip. They tried pulling hard, but in vain. Then a leg (?) came. The leg gripped the dog, the dog — the granddaughter, the granddaughter — the grandmother, the grandmother — the grandfather, the grandfather — the turnip. And again they failed to extract the turnip. Another leg came. It gripped the first leg. The first leg gripped the dog, the dog — the granddaughter, the granddaughter — the grandmother, the grandmother — the grandfather, the grandfather — the turnip. They pulled the turnip, but still could not manage to get it out (and they went on this way till the fifth leg came). The fifth leg came. Fifth leg took hold of the fourth leg, fourth leg — third leg, third leg — second leg, second leg — first leg, first leg — the dog, the dog — the granddaughter, granddaughter — the grandmother, grandmother — the grandfather, grandfather — the turnip. All of them pulled hard, then again and again! And at last, they dragged out the turnip! (Afanasyev, 1982, p. 78).

The most enigmatic personage in this tale is the fifth leg. The leg is so mysterious that even in the text it was marked by the author with a question mark. For us this riddle is not difficult, for in the lower part of the analyzed rugs all the five legs are represented with photographic precision, which is seldom met in rug patterns. They are represented by four three-pointed shoots (we marked them in the picture with numbers) and one five-pointed shoot is penetrating deep into the black depths of the mountain.

The uneven number “five”, for example, can be considered as a key to the mysterious meaning of the expression the dog’s “fifth leg”. When speaking about a hard-working student who was sitting a lot preparing for the examination some people say: “He studied the material well thanks to the fifth point”, or speaking about the same student who, having passed his exams successfully, went skating and suddenly slipped and fell down. In this case people would say: “He has landed down on the fifth point”. On hearing this, everybody would understand what part of body was meant. It is back, buttocks, rump etc. In the Turkic languages it refers to the semantic field of the morpheme “kut” (got, kot, goden, koden), which corresponds to the physical generating part of a living being.

Hence it is clear why the “fifth leg” becomes exactly the central and axial element in the composition of the rug from the Berlin Museum. The question addresses the reproductive abilities of the mountain. It is known that the mountain gives birth to a mouse. The mouse lives in a hole, i.e. in a cave. To be more exact, the hole (or the cave) with the male semen in it is represented in the lower part of the rug.

But before we come to the observation of the “treasures” in the cavity of the mountain (and the ornament like an X-ray machine allows us to see) we cannot but pay attention to the strange image; it is

when the ordinary “leg” is equated to the “fifth point” which has a higher status. In the tale about the turnip the “legs” are synonymous with the phallus, i.e. the “fifth leg”.

A seed, which falls into the earth, grows upwards. But in order to gain a new life, first the seed must die. If one looks closely at the flourishing bud of life in the womb of the She-Wolf-Mountain, one can observe it in a process: the seven-petalled bud growing is counterbalanced with a three-pointed shoot growing in the opposite direction. The equivalence of the two similar elements turned in opposite directions is marked by their identical color. But at the same time they are of different shape. At closer observation of the Berlin rug you can see that the shape of the three-pointed shoot directed downwards, reminds us of the four black paws of She-Wolf-Mountain, whereas the trefoil directed upwards is similar in its shape to three three-horned elements, which are (like the mountain itself) well shaped in the gray background bordering at the bottom of She-Wolf-Mountain. Here two three-horned elements “Ul” are visible between each pair of paws and the third element “Ul” crowns the top of the five-pointed cavity of the mountain.



It is appropriate to illustrate two figures here to compare: a) the bud of life and b) three-pointed shoots.

It is necessary to add here that color is of great importance. The hair of the Celestial Wolf — “Kerk Birry” (the primogenitor of the Turks) was of blue and gray (a kind of ash-gray) color.

No doubt by means of the binary opposition the main idea of the rug is duplicated here in a symbolic way: a sacred unio between a Human being — the primogenitor of the Turks (the pattern in the shape of three-horned element “Ul” directed upwards) — and Wolf-Mother (the pattern in the shape of three-pointed wolf’s paw directed downwards), which is henceforth functioning like patrimonial totem of the Turks.

The neutralization of the khitonic origin or so called “state of interim” is overcome owing to the well-developed symmetry of all the elements arranged in the red as well as in the black area of the rug.

Talking about the prayer rug’s synchronic structure, the vertical line on it can be considered an axis of the symmetry. Accordingly the main opposition here will be the opposition between the left and the right, i.e. between the male and the female.

In order to make our arguments more convincing we have decided to give another example. This is “Caucasian” (at least so say the authors of the covering text) embroidery on silk from Azerbaijan dating

from the 17th century. Its size is 72x93cm, and it is registered in Heinrich Kircheim "Orient Stars" under the number of 42.

The embroidery is made in the shape of an intricate red medallion situated in the middle of the black area with an unusual border and secondary patches made in the form of less intricate medallions, filling in the space inside the black area.

Let us concentrate on the central medallion. Even a fleeting glance is enough to understand that we are looking at another variant of Uly Ana pattern.

The starting point is a square in the lower part of the medallion, inside of which a pair of shoes (or stockings) is represented. The shoes on the man's side (i.e. on the right) are presented with their soles upward but the left shoe (or a stocking) on the woman's side is standing upright.



Moreover, on both sides of the square there are shoots — first on the exterior black part of the ground, then inside the contour forming the Uly Ana pattern. An analogous ornament is duplicated with a white line. A tree is growing from the square in the center of the medallion. The tree is black.

In the intervals between black and white lines there are two human figures: the male figure is to the right and the female figure — to the left. The tree, as well as the black and white lines, forming one inside another contours of the pattern Uly Ana are decorated with bows and rosettes.

The stylized small figures of birds crown the open upper part of the white contour line. Behind the male and female figures (although in the embroidery it looks as if the animals above their heads) there are two animals looking at each other. The open contour line of the outer (black) pattern Uly Ana is completed with quite conventional figures in which, none the less, we can see an element called by the Azerbaijani weavers “azhdakha” — monster.

For a statement like this there should be some reason. There are more than enough.

First, in both rugs on the upper red area to the right and to the left of the three pointed head of She-Wolf-Mountain there are strange creatures the contours of which are difficult to identify with real animals. There is no doubt that these are the allomorphs of the “azhdakha” (monster) elements, which we have revealed on the silk embroidery. Not so much their similarity is important as their location (topography) and their number, to be more exact — the pairs of the fantastic animals.

The archaeologists all over the world know the statue of goddess from Çatal Höyük in Central Anatolia, dating back at least to the 5th millennium B.C., discovered by J. Mellaart. This statue will serve us as a decoding key.

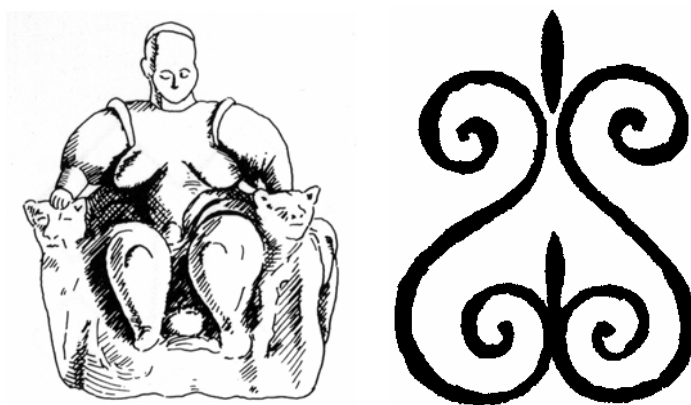


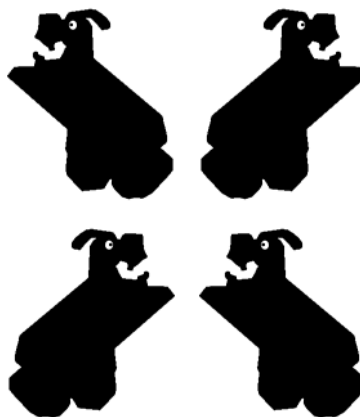
Figure of goddess Çatal Höyük and Uly Ana.

As far as the body of Mother-Earth can be presented both in the image of Great Mountain (Uly Tau) and in the image of Great Mother of the Human Race (Uly Ana), it becomes clear that the wild animals (presumably leopards) at the feet of the goddess of Çatal Höyük are her guards. But at the same time the goddess is the image of Mother of Earth, that is why the leopards guarding the “exit-entrance” into the goddess’ womb, as well as the horrible Cerberus dogs (we have spoken a lot of the identical function of cats and dogs) guard the entrance into Aid.

If we look more attentively at the dark background in the lower part of the rug, we can see two black contours representing two fantastic creatures. The manifestation of these contours in a separate picture clears up all doubts.



Moreover, we have the possibility to compare the plot of the ancient Turkic myth about the wolf and raven helping the primogenitor of the Turks with another literary example of Scandinavian mythology — the image of Great God Odin and two ravens at his service — Hugin (Thinking) and Munin (Remembering) and two wolves — Herry (Avaricious) and Freky (Voracious). This image is of course a synthetic one — as it incorporates birds, perching on Odin's shoulders and wild animals at his feet.



At the feet of the clay figure of the goddess from Çatal Höyük there are only two wild animals (Felidae family) but no birds. But the birds can be imagined for the goddess has shoulders and arms where they could perch. Maybe they have just flown away and are coming back soon.

Our thoughts are like birds without wings. While we are walking on the earth, invisible wolves running tirelessly are devouring our most precious thing — time.

Everyone is Odin of his soul. And everyone is face to face with his time.

Time has two characteristics: one — jolly and light like descending from the mountain (like walk on a market day of life) and hard — as climbing up the mountain (walk from the market) with loads of mistakes and disappointment.

It is not by chance that Odin's ravens have the names of Hugin — Thinking and Munin — Remembering. It is a great gift to be able to think and remember. And like wingless birds our thoughts balance the burden of our existence, cementing the scattered facts and events into meaningful and realized ways.

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МАЛАЕВ, Алибек Кажгали улы

ГОРА-ВОЛЧИЦА

«В горах Карадаг на границе Китая воды затопили одну из пещер и замыли в ней глиной яму, имевшую форму человека. В течение девяти месяцев под воздействием солнечных лучей эта глиняная модель ожила. Так появился в прародительской пещере предок тюрков по имени Ай-Атан, который женился на женщине, появившейся в этой пещере также в результате затопления. У них родилось сорок детей». Так гласит древнетюркская генеалогическая легенды, обнаруженная в Египте в XIV веке у мамлюков.

Женщина, на которой женился Ай-Атан, якобы появившаяся в пещере одновременно с ним, по всей видимости, появилась в мифе много позже описываемых в нем событий. Это логическая связка, нейтрализующая факт, что в действительности женщиной, породившей предка тюрков, является сама гора Каратау, расположенная на юге Казахстана. Горный хребет Каратау всегда почитался казахами как сакральное место, о чем свидетельствует огромное количество наскальных рисунков.

Представление о Мировой горе, а также тесно связанный с ним миф об устройстве мира является одним из древнейших. В мифологии и ритуальной практике южно-сибирских тюрков гора один из самых многозначных объектов. Особенно выделяется мотив рождения героев внутри горы. Гора служит жилищем для эпических персонажей и нередко их могилой, в ней же пребывают души героев. Все многообразие фольклорных мотивов базируется на представлении о горе как некоем плодоносящем центре, с которым связано происхождение всего рода и каждого его члена.

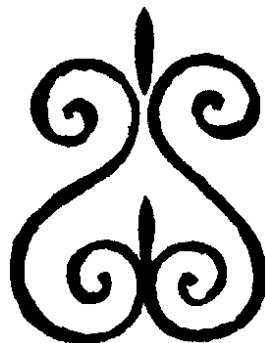
Часто гора уподобляется человеческому телу. Причем женскому телу. К примеру, в казахском языке вершина горы именуется *“тау басы”* (голова горы), склоны горы – *“тау етегі”* (подол горы), также говорят *“тау бауырында”* (в печени горы), *“тау койнауында”* (в пазухе горы), *“тау иыгында”* (на плечах горы), и т. д.

Подобные представления нашли отражение и в орнаменте.

Начнем с главного формообразующего элемента казахского орнамента. Я назвал этот узор *“Улы Ана”* – что в переводе с казахского означает *“Великая Праматерь”*. В основном данный узор изображается на надгробных памятниках. Я трактую его как стилизованное изображение женщины с заключенным в глубине ее утробы драгоценным плодом - ребенком, притом ребенком мужского пола.

Допустим, что два верхних симметричных завитка на узоре *“Улы-Ана”* обозначают соответственно правую и левую руку Великой Праматери, а вертикально ориентированный отросток между ними ее голову. Тогда замкнутая полость в форме луковицы будет означать

женское лоно, в недрах которого находится символ мужского начала - узор “кошкар муйиз” или (Ул).



Прежде всего следует объяснить градацию возрастания размеров трехлепестковых отростков (завитков) в структуре Улы Ана, от заключенного внутри полости маленького трилистника, (то есть дремлющего во чреве матери плода), до состояния внешнего трилистника, распускающего пышную крону под благодатными солнечными лучами на поверхности горы.

Таким образом, через два своих центра Улы Ана одновременно репрезентирует две фазы – начальную и конечную – которые проходит семя, оказавшееся во чреве Великой Праматери (Улы Ана) или же Великой горы (Улы Тау), выйдя из которой обращается в Великого героя (Ул).

По этой причине Мировое дерево, возвышающееся на вершине Мировой Горы не что иное как дитя Великой горы - Улы Тау.

Это означает, что Мировое дерево, а также все его алломорфы, символизирующие мужское начало в самых различных обликах - кола, посоха, палки, ствола, стебля, в виде торчащих рогов, шишаков, пик, султанов, гребней, хохолков, кутасов, кисточек на шлемах, фесках, шапках и шляпах, различного рода перьев, воодружаемых на макушку головного убора, который, надо сказать, всегда моделирует собой вершину Мировой горы, - являются производными, то есть вторичными элементами, сформированными и исторгнутыми из недр первичной материи, роль которой исполняет тело Великой Праматери – Горы.

Исходная точка первична. Следовательно, все остальное по отношению к исходной точке является вторичным.

Принято считать, что зерно - исходная точка колоса. Но это не так. Исходной точкой является место, откуда зерно взросло в виде колоса. Если говорить без обиняков, эта та самая дырка (щель, выбоина, лунка или яма), через которую зерно (герой), попадая в лоно земли, умирает, чтобы затем благодаря живительным сокам природы (в сказках эта “волшебная”, “живая” или же, наоборот, “мертвая” вода) возродиться вновь и вырваться на поверхность земли. Семя же, упавшее на каменистую, бесплодную почву, обречено умереть безвозвратно.

Исходя из этого земля - исходная точка дерева. Но не вся земля, а именно то место, где герой (или целый народ) появился на белый свет. Это место называется – Родина. И основная задача, стоящая перед героем - защита родной земли.

Но вернемся к узору Улы Ана (Улы Тау). Многочисленные изображения женщин в ракурсе синхронического обзора с птицами в руках, либо держащих под уздцы коней или фантастических животных - один из наиболее часто повторяющихся мотивов в орнаментальных системах самых разных стран и народов. Все они не что иное, как вариации узора “Улы Ана”. Трансформации основного формообразующего элемента “Улы Ана” иногда столь удивительны и неожиданны, что к этому нужно долго привыкать.

Одна из ипостасей горы Великой Горы представлена образом Волчицы-Горы или же вариантом этого образа Волчицы-Прародительницы, рожающей (вскармливающей или укрывающей) в недрах Великой Горы человеческое дитя.

Преданий о происхождении народа тюрков великое множество, и все они так или иначе связаны с волком, являющимся для древних тюрков и монголов главным тотемом. Лев Гумилев приводит легенду об “отрасли дома Хунну от Западного края на Запад”, то есть о державе Аттилы. Эта отрасль была начисто истреблена соседями: уцелел лишь один девятилетний мальчик, которому враги отрубили руки и ноги, а самого бросили в болото. Там от него забеременела волчица. Мальчика все-таки убили, а волчица убежала на Алтай и там родила десять сыновей. Род размножился, и “по прошествии нескольких колен некто Асень-ше со всем аймаком вышел из пещеры и признал себя вассалом жужаньского хана”. Итак, согласно этой легенде, алтайские тюрки – тукю (тюркот) происходят от западных гуннов, но не прямо, а мистически, через посредство волчицы” (Гумилев. 1993, с. 23).

Мистическая связь с волком и вороном отмечена китайскими летописцами несколькими столетиями раньше. Как сообщает китайский источник, до 119 года до н.э. гуннский вождь совершил набег на короля У-суньей и убил его самого. “Короля У-суньей звали Кун-мо. У отца этого короля было свое государство. Гуннский властелин напал на него и убил этого короля, бывшего отцом Кун-мо. В то время Кун-мо был очень маленьким. Гуннский властелин пожалел его и бросил в заросшее травой озеро на произвол судьбы. Когда ребенок стал ползти по степи, над ним пролетела ворона. Увидев ребенка, она подлетела к нему и отдала ему мясо, которое несла в клюве. Спустя некоторое время здесь появилась Волчица, которая стала обхаживать его (кружиться вокруг него). Волчица приблизилась к ребенку, дала ему в рот сосок своей груди и, накормив его, снова удалилась. Все это издали наблюдал гуннский властелин. Он решил, что ребенок является святым младенцем, и отдал его своим приближенным, приказав растить его и содержать в самых лучших условиях. Ребенок вырос и стал храбрым юношей. Гуннский властелин назначил его командиром одного из отрядов своей армии. Постепенно возмужав и достигнув успехов, пользуясь симпатией и покровительством гуннского властелина, он получил от него в дар государство своего отца и стал его королем” (Ogël, 1971, с.12-14); (Эфенди, 1991, с. 18-19).

Очевидную связь Горы и Волчицы мы намерены показать наглядно, на примере двух молитвенных ковров, один из которых находится в Кейрской коллекции (*Keir Collection*), другой в Берлине в Исламском музее (*Islamische Museum*).



Ковер из Берлинского музея



Ковер из коллекции Кейр

Оба ковра - в чем мы абсолютно уверены - не являются молитвенными, хотя и использовались в качестве таковых. Виной тому полное забвение содержания изображенных на коврах узоров. Если бы правоверные мусульмане, каждодневно совершавшие намаз на этих коврах, узнали об истинном содержании того, что они принимали за узоры, - ковры были бы уничтожены мгновенно.

Дело в том, что эти ковры репрезентируют древнейший языческий концепт иерогамного (священного) брака с тотемом; выражаясь без обиняков, с прародительницей всех тюрков – Волчицей.

Композиционно изделия совершенно идентичны. Бордюрная часть разработана слабо, основное развитие сюжета происходит во внутреннем поле ковра.

Ковры следует воспринимать в синхроническом (то есть сейчасном, непосредственном) ракурсе обзора. Исходя из этого обстоятельства, дальнейший анализ будет производиться по пути сравнения на предмет соответствия или несоответствия того или иного конкретного случая со структурным эталоном - а именно первоэлементом “Улы Ана”.

В выделенных коврах доминируют всего два цвета: красный - цвет освещённой солнцем дневной поверхности и черный - репрезентирующий собой мрак материнской утробы. Формообразующая, или материнская, линия – “ана хетт” образует в верхней части ковра вариант арки “хейкал баши”, то есть голову идола. Голова идола (хейкал баши) обозначена тремя выраженными отростками; в структурной матрице “Улы Ана” они соответствуют трем верхним завиткам.



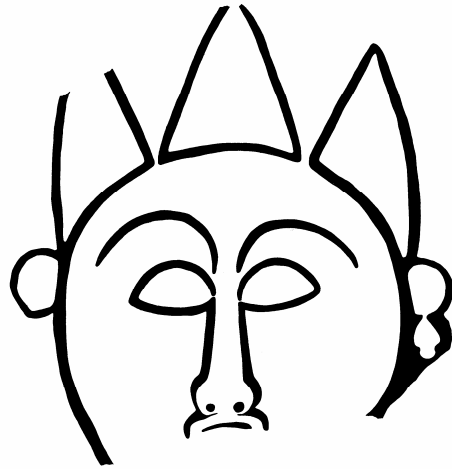
Сравнительный рисунок узора Алы Ана и композиции Берлинского ковра

С тремя нижними завитками, заключенными в утробу Великой Праматери Улы-Ана, соответственно соотносятся пятилепестковые отростки красного цвета, проникающие глубоко внутрь темного поля, трактуемого как туловище или тело идола.

Таким образом, цвет не только разделяет ковры данного типа на две зоны, но и выделяет в нижней части ковра равнозначный верхнему центр: при этом необходимо заметить, что если трехглавая голова идола вторгается в красное поле поверхности горы - "таг устю", его пятиглавый аналог, стремительно распирая нижнюю часть ковра, именуемую азербайджанскими ковроткачами "этек" - подол, занимает примерно такое же, если не большее, пространство в глубине горы, в самых ее недрах, в "таг арасы", т. е. в междугорье, или же ущелье.

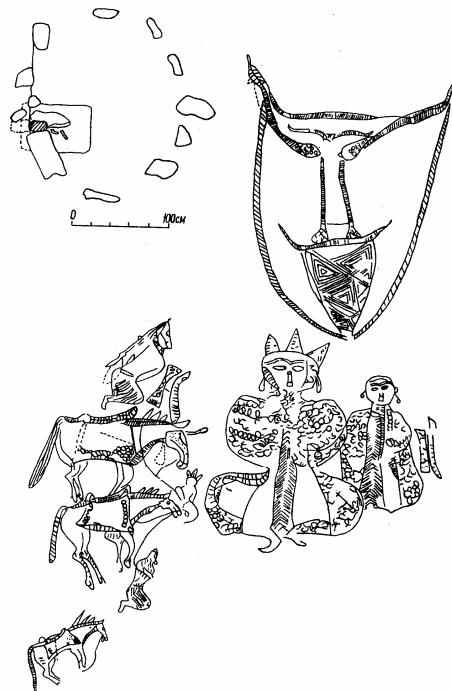
Голова "Горы-Волчицы" рогатая. Прародительница киргизов, как известно, - Рогатая Мать-Олениха. Однако, как мы уже знаем, прерогативой иметь рога обладает любая байбише - старшая и, стало быть, первая жена у мужа. У киргизов бытует очень древняя поговорка: **"Байбиченин бардыгы – тцидий кара сандыгы"**, что может быть переведено как "Вся наличность (богатство) байбиче (т.е. хозяйки дома, очага) - это ее большой, как гора, черный сундук". Сравнение черного сундука с горой далеко не случайность: ведь и сундук, и пещера выступают в качестве емкостей, где хранится самое ценное имущество.

Не случайность также, что голова богини Умай на наскальных изображениях увенчана трехрогой тиарой. В альбоме Алана Медоева "Травюры на скалах" приводятся два таких изображения: одно обнаружено у озера Бийликуль, в прегорной зоне хребта Малый Каратау (Южный Казахстан), другое в урочище Кудыргэ на горном Алтае. Оба изображения датируются VI – VIII вв. и относятся к периоду поздних кочевников (тюрку – тугю (тукю) или тюркоты).



Богиня Умай, озеро Бийликуль, Казахстан

И вот что действительно важно, так это вертикально восходящий внутриутробный канал, направленный от незамкнутого низа вверх, на что указывают диагональные насечки, как на изображении рогатой Умай из урочища Кудыргэ, так и у фигурирующей рядом с Умай комолой, то есть безрогой “токал”. Кроме того, надо отметить наличие серег в ушах всех трех женских изображений.



Богиня Умай урочище Кудыргэ, Алтай

Не менее важна в рассматриваемых коврах и числовая символика. Если посчитать число выступов на трехглавой вершине черной горы, их количество будет равняться нечетному числу 11, тогда как аналогичный подсчет в нижней части ковра неизменно будет выдавать уравновешенное четное, то есть женское, число во всех изделиях, где наличествует вдающаяся во внутреннее поле ковра схематическая имитация полости первопещеры.

Однако все эти подсчеты не имели бы доказательной силы, если бы у нас не было в запасе главного аргумента в пользу версии, что на коврах данного типа представлена концепция иерогамного, или тотемного, брака.

Аргумент называется “Репкой”. Речь идет о широко известной русской сказке. Большинству, как всегда, знакома адаптированная версия для детей младшего школьного возраста; мы же говорим о варианте, включенном в сборник “Народные русские сказки” А.Н. Афанасьева. Вот эта сказка.

Репка

Посеял дедка репку; пошел репку рвать, захватился за репку: тянет-потянет, вытянуть не может! Созвал дедка бабуку; бабука за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, вытянуть не могут! Пришла внучка; внучка за бабуку, бабука за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, вытянуть не могут! Пришла сучка; сучка за внучку, внучка за бабуку, бабука за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, вытянуть не могут! Пришла нога (?). Нога за сучку, сучка за внучку, внучка за бабуку, бабука за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, вытянуть не могут! Пришла друга нога; друга нога за ногу, нога за сучку, сучка за внучку, внучка за бабуку, бабука за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, вытянуть не могут! (и так далее до пятой ноги). Пришла пята нога. Пять ног за четыре, четыре ноги за три, три ноги за две, две ноги за ногу, нога за сучку, сучка за внучку, внучка за бабуку, бабука за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут: вытянули репку! (Афанасьев, 1982, с.78).

Самый загадочный персонаж в этой сказке - “пятая нога”. Нога настолько таинственна, что ее даже обозначили в тексте сказки вопросительным знаком. Для нас эта загадка не представляет никакой трудности, ибо в нижней части анализируемых ковров изображены - причем почти с фотографической достоверностью, что очень не часто встречается в коврах, - все пять ног. Это четыре трехпалых отростка (мы обозначили их на рисунке цифрами), а также пятипалый, глубоко вдающийся в черное тело горы.

Ключом или отмычкой к таинственному содержанию выражения “пятая нога”, к примеру, у собаки, будет нечетное число “пять”. Когда про усердного студента говорят, что он взял учебный материал “пятой точкой”, или все про того же студента, который, успешно сдав экзамены, катается на коньках и, поскользнувшись, опять же приземляется на “пятую точку”, у нас нет никаких сомнений, о какой части тела идет речь. Это зад, ягодицы, седалище, гузка и т. д., - что в тюркских языках относится к семантическому полю морфемы “кут” (*гот, кит, готен, киден*) и соотносится с телесным порождающим низом.

Отсюда ясно, почему именно “пятая нога” является центральным, осевым элементом в композиции ковра из Берлинского музея. Речь идет о порождающих способностях горы. Гора, как

известно, рождает мышь. Мышь живет в норе, то есть в пещере. И именно нора, или пещера, с вложенным в нее мужским семенем изображена в нижней части ковра.

Но прежде чем перейти к рассмотрению сокровищ, содержащихся в полости горы (а орнамент, подобно рентгеновскому аппарату, позволяет это сделать без каких-либо помех), мы не можем оставить без внимания странное обстоятельство, а именно, уравнивание заурядной “ноги” с высоким статусом “пятой точки”. В сказке про репку “ноги” выступают в качестве равнозначных синонимов фаллосу - “пятой ноге”.

Семя, упавшее на землю, растет вверх. Но чтобы дать новую жизнь, зерно само должно умереть. Если присмотреться к пышно расцветающему бутону жизни в лоне “Горы-Волчицы” можно увидеть как все это происходит: прорастающий вверх семилепестковый бутон уравнивается трехпалым отростком, ориентированным в обратную сторону.

Равнозначность, почти одинаковость ориентированных в разные стороны элементов подчеркивается одним и тем же цветом. При этом они разной формы. Если приглядеться, особенно хорошо это видно на берлинском ковре: форма ориентированного вниз трехпалого отростка напоминает собой конечности четырех черных лап “Горы-Волчицы”, тогда как ориентированный вверх трилистник совпадает по форме с тремя трехрогими элементами, так же, как и сама гора, четко прорисованными на сером фоне, окаймляющем низ “Горы-Волчицы”. При этом два трехрогих элемента “Ул” образованы в промежутках между каждой парой лап, а третий элемент “Ул” венчает верх пятипалой полости пещеры.



Добавим, что цвет имеет немаловажное значение. Шерсть прародителя тюрков Небесного Волка - “Қык Бүрі” была голубовато-серого (вариант - пепельно-серого) цвета.

Нет сомнения, что здесь посредством бинарной оппозиции символически дублируется основная идея ковра – Священный брак Человека - прародителя тюрков (ориентированная вверх структура в виде трехроглого элемента “Ул”) и Матери-Волчицы (структура в виде трехпалой волчьей лапы, ориентированная к низу), отныне выступающей в роли родового тотема тюрков.

Нейтрализация хтонического начала, или так называемой “промежуточности” преодолевается за счет четко разработанной симметрии всех элементов, размещенных как в красном, так и в черном поле ковра.

Так как перед нами молитвенные ковры, то есть синхронические структуры, - вертикаль выступает осью симметрии. Соответственно основными противопоставлениями здесь будут противопоставление правого и левого, то есть мужского и женского.

Для внесения в рассуждения большей убедительности мы решили добавить еще один пример. Это “кавказская” (во всяком случае, так ее называют авторы сопроводительного текста) художественная вышивка по шелку, датируемая XVII веком, из Азербайджана (размер 72 x 93 см.), помещенная в каталоге Хайнриха Кирхгейма “Восточные звезды” (*Heinrich Kirchheim “Orient Stars”*) за номером 42.



Фрагмент вышивки по шелку, XVII век, Азербайджан

Вышивка представляет собой медальон сложной формы красного цвета, помещенный в центр черного поля, окаймленного очень интересным бордюром, а также вторичными вставками в виде менее сложных медальонов, заполняющими собой свободное пространство внутри черного поля.

Сосредоточим внимание на центральном медальоне. Даже беглого взгляда достаточно, чтобы удостовериться, что перед нами очередная вариация узора “Улы Ана”.

Точкой отсчета является квадратная форма в нижней части медальона, внутри которой - изображение пары обуви (сапог или чулок), причем обувь со стороны мужчины (то есть справа)

изображена вверх подошвами, тогда как левый сапог (чулок) со стороны женщины изображен в стоячем положении.

Кроме того, по обе стороны от квадратной формы отходят отростки - сначала по внешней стороне черного цвета, затем внутри образовавшегося у этих отростков контура узора "Улы Ана", аналогичный узор дублируется линией белого цвета. Центральную позицию в медальоне занимает дерево, также произрастающее из квадратной формы. Дерево выделено черным цветом.

В образовавшихся промежутках между черными и белыми линиями помещены две человеческие фигуры: справа мужская, слева женская.

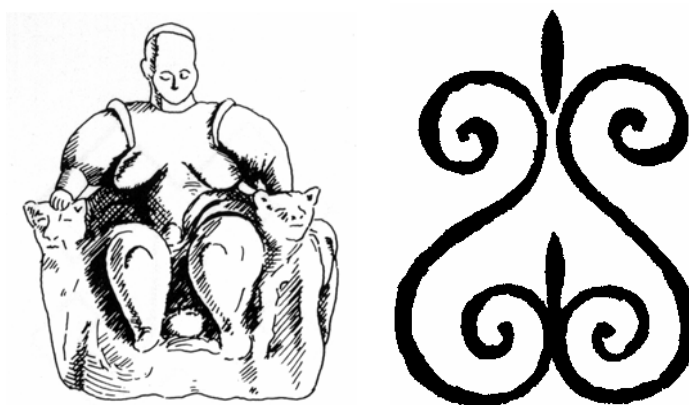
Дерево, а также черная и белая линии, образующие встроенный один в другой контуры узора "Улы Ана" украшены бантами и розетками.

Незамкнутые вершины белого контура венчают стилизованные фигурки птиц. За спинами, хотя на вышивке кажется, что над головами, мужчины и женщины - изображения двух животных, смотрящих друг на друга. Незамкнутый контур внешнего (черного) узора "Улы Ана" завершается достаточно условными фигурами, в которых тем не менее мы однозначно видим элемент, именуемый азербайджанскими ковроткачами "аждаха" - чудовище, чудище.

Для уверенности подобного рода, несомненно, должны быть какие-то основания. Оснований более чем достаточно.

Во-первых, в обоих коврах в верхнем красном поле справа и слева от трехрогой головы Волчицы (горы) фигурируют странные существа, контуры которых трудно идентифицировать с каким-либо действительно существующим животным. Нет сомнений, что это алломорфы элементов "аждаха" - "чудищ", которые мы выделили на вышивке по шелку. Здесь не столько важно сходство, сколько местоположение (топография) и количество, если быть точнее, парность фантастических животных.

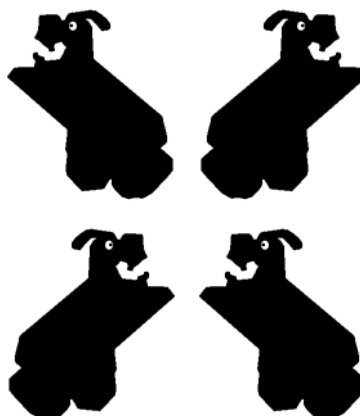
Археологам всего мира известна статуэтка богини из Чатал Гуюка, что в Центральной Анатолии, обнаруженная Дж. Меллартом (J. Mellaart) и датируемая 5 тысячелетием до нашей эры. Эта статуэтка послужит нам в качестве декодирующего ключа.



Сравнительный рисунок Богини из Чатал Гуюка и узора Улы Ана

Так как тело Матери-Земли с одинаковым успехом может быть представлено и в образе Великой горы Улы Тау, и в образе Великой Праматери Улы Ана, ясно, что сидящие у ног богини из Чатал Гуюка звери, предположительно леопарды, исполняют роль личной охраны богини. Но это образ Матери-Земли и потому леопарды охраняют “вход-выход” в лоно богини, так же как ужасные псы Церберы (идентичность функций “кошек” и “собак” достаточно нами освещена) охраняют вход в Аид.

Если хорошо приглядеться к темному фону в нижней части ковра, можно увидеть два черных контура репрезентирующих двух фантастических существ. Проявление этих контуров на отдельном рисунке снимает все сомнения.



Кроме того, у нас сейчас появляется сравнить сюжет древнетюркского мифа о волке и вороне помогающим первопредку тюрков с другим не менее хрестоматийным примером, каковым является образ Верховного бога скандинавской мифологии Одина, которому служат два ворона Хугин и Мунин - «Думающий» и «Помнящий», и два волка Гери и Фреки, «жадный» и «прожорливый». Последний образ, конечно же, синтетический, ибо объединяет в себе птиц, сидящих на плечах Одина и хищных зверей, стоящих у его ног.

Подле ног глиняной богини из Чатал Гуюка - только два хищника из семейства кошачьих, птиц нет. Но их можно помыслить, ибо у богини есть плечи и руки, где они могли бы сидеть. Не исключено, что птицы улетели, и вот-вот прилетят обратно.

Наши мысли подобны быстрокрылым птицам. Пока мы беззаботно разгуливаем по поверхности земли, бегущие подле ног невидимые волки деловито и неустанно пожирают наше самое главное достояние - время.

Каждый - Один своей судьбы. И каждый один на один со своим временем.

У времени две стороны: радостная и легкая как спуск с горы (поход на базар жизни) и трудная как подъем на гору (путь с базара) отягощенный грузом ошибок и разочарований.

Не случайно воронов Одина зовут Хугин - Думающий и Мунин - Помнящий. Думать и помнить - великий дар. И подобно быстрокрылым птицам наши мысли уравнивают брешь бытия, цементируя разрозненные факты и события в осмысленный путь.

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GEOSTRATEGY

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**European Tools of Conflict Management
in Central European States with Hungarian Minorities¹**

Abstract

Due to twentieth century peace treaties extensive Hungarian minorities live in the Central-European states Slovakia (600.000), Serbia (400.000), Romania (1.5 million) and Ukraine (200.000). These states are deeply divided along ethnic-linguistic, religious and cultural lines between the Hungarian minority communities versus non-Hungarian, i.e. Slovak, Serb, Romanian and Ukrainian majority communities. The situation of the Hungarian minorities and the relations of the Hungarians and the majority populations have not improved structurally after the fall of communism and the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe. This state of affairs negatively affects the relations between the states concerned and neighbouring kin state Hungary jeopardizing cohesion in the European Union and risking safety and security in Central Europe and the Balkans.

This paper presents an empirical analysis of the state of affairs in the territories inhabited by the Hungarian minorities discussing the root, character and scope of the conflicts. The paper further discusses the theoretical options for a solution screening the complete repertory of concepts of "territorial" politics, like ethnic autonomy and minority rights. The paper will analyse the architectural and legal options the EU offers for governing these conflicts, both territorial and non-territorial tools, including the spill-over effects of independent statehood and minority rights protection in the case of Kosovo. From the empirical data and the theoretical analysis a set of tools will be formulated fitting the nature of the societies involved contributing to the management of conflicts in the Central European states with Hungarian minorities. Finally, in an appendix the position of the Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin will be compared with the position of a national minority in Western Europe, the Frisians in the Netherlands. It will be concluded that their position is complementary and that more cooperation between them would be mutually advantageous.

¹ Paper presented at the 5th ECPR General Conference, 10-12 September 2009, Potsdam, Germany.

1. Ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin

Due to the Peace Treaties finishing the First – i.e. the Treaty of Trianon (1920) –, the Second World War and the new state formation after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and former Yugoslavia ethnic Hungarians have come to live in eight different countries in Central Europe, including the Republic of Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, Slovakia and Ukraine. Ethnic Hungarians who live in all these countries are in fact autochthonous inhabitants, especially in those areas that belonged to the former parts of the Hungarian kingdom as a constituting entity of the Habsburg Double Monarchy Empire.² In the Hungarian discourse, this territory is often called the *Carpathian Basin* being an area that is defined by geographical, common socio-cultural and linguistic features.³ Before we discuss the distribution and concentration of ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin we first have to define ethnicity in Central and Eastern European. Elsewhere I have argued relying on the work of Anthony Smith (1991) that ethnicity in Central and Eastern Europe is closely related to the practical knowledge of language.⁴ This correlation can be characterized in terms of a generalization but it is only true if and only if it is read from left-to-right:

Smith's generalization for Central and Eastern Europe:

If you are of X ethnicity then you speak language X, vice versa is not true.

Smith's generalization has a number of consequences for ethnicity Central and Eastern Europe. As will be argued below ethnic conflicts in Central- and Eastern Europe, including the ones in the Carpathian Basin often take the shape of language conflicts. Because of Smith's generalization *ethnic engineering*, i.e. the altering at purpose of the ethnic distributions in a multi-ethnic state by the state authorities, in Central and Eastern Europe is often a matter of language policy. Any restriction by the state of the language rights of ethnic groups other than the majority group will cause conflict situations leading to deeply divided societies along ethnic-linguistic lines.

Now we have identified the main feature of ethnicity the following diagram displays the ethnic distribution in the Carpathian Basin. In diagram 1 the most important ethnic groups living in the Carpathian Basin are listed:⁵

² Hence, we will frequently speak about *Hungarian in the successor states* in the case of the eight states above.

³ See Marác (to appear) for further discussion.

⁴ See Marác (to appear).

⁵ Compare Kocsis, Bottlik and Tátrai (2006, 28)

Diagram 1**Ethnic distribution in the Carpathian Basin**

Ethnic group	Number	Percentage
Hungarians	11.706.000	39,7
Romanians	5.464.000	18,5
Slovaks	4.716.000	16,0
Croats	2.828.000	9,6
Serbs	1.497.000	5,1
Russins/Ukrainians	1.125.000	3,8
Roma	579.000	2,0
Germans	372.000	1,3
Slovenes	82.000	0,3
Czechs	60.000	0,2
Montenegrians	38.000	0,1
Russians	33.000	0,1
Bosnyaks	27.000	0,1
Others	105.000	0,4
Unknown	828.000	2,8

This diagram demonstrates that the biggest ethnic group in the Carpathian Basin is the Hungarians, i.e. the Hungarians have a relative majority. The following diagram displays the distribution of the ethnic Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin in eight different countries:⁶

⁶ Compare Glatz (1993), Kocsis and Kocsis-Hodosi (1995) and Kocsis (2005).

Diagram 2**Ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin**

	Carpathian Basin
Hungary	10.360.000
Slovakia	710.000
Ukraine	200.000
Romania	1.930.000
Former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia)	455.000
Austria	5.000
Total	13.660.000

As can be seen from this diagram, most of the ethnic Hungarians live in the Republic of Hungary where they constitute more than 90 percent of the population. In all other seven countries the Hungarians form a numeric minority. As a consequence of the fact that ethnic Hungarians live in eight states, an ethnic conflict between ethnic and non-ethnic Hungarians has the potential of affecting stability and peace in eight states.

A more microscopic view allows us to specify also the relevant multi-ethnic and multi-lingual distributions in the regions of the successor states where the ethnic Hungarians live. The following diagram displays the ethnic distribution in these regions based on the census data of 2001:⁷

⁷ Kocsis, Bottlik and Tátrai (2006, 29).

Diagram 3**Ethnic distribution in Carpathian Basin states**

Territory	Percentage of state nationality	Percentage of national minorities
Hungary	91,2	1,3
Slovakia	85,5	11,5
Sub-Carpathia (Ukraine)	80,5	18,3
Transylvania (Romania)	74,6	23,8
Vojvodina (Serbia)	65,0	26,7
Pannonian Croatia	90,1	7,7
Mura-region (Slovenia)	85,0	9,5
Burgenland (Austria)	87,4	12,5
Carpathian Basin	83,7	11,5

Ethnic Hungarians live mostly in compact territories bordering to Hungarian kin state. These regions include the southern part of Slovakia; the Sub-Carpathian region of Ukraine; the northwestern part of Romania, i.e. Transylvania; the northern part of Serbia, i.e. Vojvodina; the Pannonian part of Croatia; the Mura-region in Slovenia and the Burgenland area in Austria. This geo-ethnic distribution in the Carpathian Basin is basically the core of the conflict between Hungary and the ethnic Hungarian minorities involved on the one hand and the states involved on the other hand. Any improvement of the situation of the ethnic Hungarian minorities in Hungary's neighboring states can be interpreted – and is quite often interpreted as such – as the improvement of the Hungarian geopolitical position in Central and Eastern Europe. The ultimate fear of the successor states is that ethnic Hungarian minorities will adopt a policy of national self-determination and will have secessionist claims to join their kin state Hungary.

In order to inventarise the potential of the individual Hungarian minority cases for conflict we have to make another shifting. Three factors play an important role in pacifying Hungarian minority issues in the Carpathian Basin.⁸ First of all the numerical factor is a relevant factor in controlling the conflict potential. It is unlikely that small ethnic groups even if they are being treated by the states concerned under European standards will be a source of easily inflammable conflict. The small ethnic Hungarian groups in Slovenia (30.000), Croatia (30.000), Austria (5.000) and Ukraine (200.000) do not constitute a secessionist threat to the states involved. They are simply too small in number. This fact also plays a role in the offering of the ethnic Hungarian groups in countries like Slovenia, Croatia, Austria and Ukraine more

⁸ See Marác (2008).

rights than in countries like Slovakia and Romania that include a more substantial number of ethnic Hungarian. As a consequence, the Hungarian language enjoys a constitutional status in the former countries and areas where Hungarian is spoken. The Hungarian language enjoys the same rights as the majority languages, including Slovene, German, Ukraine and Serbian-Croatian. A second pacifying factor is the presence of a reciprocal minority in Hungary, like the cases Slovenes and the Croats. In these cases, the states involved will have the mutual interest of offering concessions to their minorities. Finally, the relation of Hungary with its neighbors is also relevant factor. With Austria (1955), Ukraine (1991), Slovenia (1992) and Croatia (1992, 1995) Hungary has concluded state treaties on good neighborliness and cooperation. In these treaties, the Hungarian minorities received the rights to preserve their identity.⁹ Although the ethnic Hungarian groups in these states have a better formal judicial position than the ones in Slovakia, Serbia or Romania there is much complaining from the sides of the Hungarian that there is a gap between the *de jure* possibilities and the *de facto* realization of minority rights, except for the Slovenian case.¹⁰ Although, these cases do not have a potential to cause large-scale ethnic conflicts nationalist tensions in the areas inhabited by the Hungarians in Ukraine, Croatia and Austria might fuel conflicts in other areas with Hungarian minorities and vice versa. A wise policy for managing ethnic conflicts in these areas would be to implement the options Europeanization offers in the region.

Hence, three cases with Hungarian minorities remain that have the potential for conflict and tension, namely the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia, Transylvania (Romania) and Vojvodina (Serbia). In order to receive insight into the scope of problem we have to specify the ethnic distribution depicted in *diagram 3* much further.

In Slovakia, almost the entire ethnic Hungarian group lives in the southern parts of the country in a stroke of 30 kilometers next to the border with Hungary that is 681 kilometers long. Although the ethnic Hungarians form a substantial group in Slovakia, i.e. more than 10 percent of the inhabitants of Slovakia counting more than 600.000 people their geographic distribution is rather complicated. In a number of districts in South Slovakia, ethnic Hungarians form an absolute majority; in others the ethnic Hungarians are only a relative majority and in a few districts ethnic Slovaks are the majority population. In Romania, most of the ethnic Hungarians live in the northwestern part of the country, i.e. the Transylvanian area which is a traditional multi-ethnic region. In fact, the Hungarian minority in Transylvania lives in the northern part of the area stretching from the Hungarian-Romanian border to the Székely region at the feet of the Eastern Carpathians mountains deep into the centre of present-day Romania.¹¹ In this "corridor", the ethnic Hungarians are not present in equal intensity; three sub areas can be distinguished. First, ethnic Hungarians live in the so-called *Partium* area, i.e. in fact the former eastern parts of Eastern Hungary, next to the border with Hungary. In the *Partium*, a substantial percentage of ethnic Hungarians constitute an absolute or relative majority in a number of local districts. Secondly, in the middle part of the corridor, in the area with the capital of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca (Hungarian Kolozsvár, German Klausenburg) the

⁹ See Marác (1995, 267); Lábadi (2003, 182); Kolláth (2003, 190-201) and Szoták (2003, 218-219).

¹⁰ See for discussion Beregszászi and Csernicskó (2003, 121-122), Lábadi (2003, 189), Kollát (2003, 202-203) and Szoták (2003, 218-219).

¹¹ The Székely are ethnic Hungarians displaying a peculiar set of ethnographic, cultural features due to their status as border guards they got in the Hungarian kingdom.

Hungarians form a relative minority but in some districts they have a relative or absolute majority.¹² Finally, in the so-called Székely region where about 800.000 ethnic Hungarian, i.e. half of the Transylvanian Hungarians, live ethnic Hungarians are in an absolute majority. Paradoxically the Székely area enjoyed territorial ethnic autonomy in the darkest years of Stalinism between 1952 and 1968.¹³ In the northern part of Serbia's Vojvodina region an absolute majority of Hungarians live in the Backa (Hungarian Bácska) area with the town Subotica (Hungarian Szabadka) as its centre. The 350.000-400.000 Hungarians constitute 15 percent of the inhabitants of the Vojvodina region.

2. The roots of ethnic conflicts in the Carpathian Basin

The ethnic conflicts between Hungarians and non-Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin have their own history and dynamics. It is not my goal to present a complete overview at this place of the history of these ethnic conflicts. The roots of these conflicts must be searched for in the peculiar social power structure in the feudal society that developed after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Hungarian kingdom. At the core of this power struggle stood the Hungarian king, an Austrian Habsburg and the Hungarian nobility.¹⁴ The Hungarian nobility enjoyed traditionally a strong position in the Hungarian kingdom because it controlled the main sources of economic activities, i.e. the agricultural sector.¹⁵ The different nationalities of Hungary, including most of the ethnic Hungarians, were subordinated as villeins to the Hungarian nobility. The Hungarian king tried to restrict the power of the Hungarian nobility by forming a coalition with the upper ranks of the nobility, the magnates and the lower echelons of the society, i.e. the villagers. With the slow disappearance of the feudal society and the awakening of the modern nationalism in the beginning of the nineteenth century, this constellation of social power in the Hungarian kingdom started to change.¹⁶ The role of the nobility became less important and the concept of the nation was embraced by the several ethnic groups of the Hungarian kingdom. Instead of manipulating the social classes the Habsburg rulers of Hungary started to play the different ethnic "nations" off against each other in order to maintain control over the Hungarian kingdom. This strategy was already used with much success by the Habsburgs in the Austrian parts of the Empire. In the Hungarian part, the first successful case of Austrian "ethnic divide and rule" was the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848.¹⁷ Vienna organized the Serb, Croat and Romanian forces in order to crush the Hungarian ambitions for a democratic and independent society. These engineered antagonisms between Hungarians and non-Hungarians formed the roots of the ethnic conflicts between these groups. These hierarchies between the ethnic groups were sometimes reversed. In case of the **Ausgleich** of 1867, for example, the Hungarians became the *primus inter pares* when the Viennese Court and the Hungarian nobility divided power in the framework of the Double Monarchy and the non-Hungarian nationalities of

¹² See Brubaker et al. (2006).

¹³ Fülöp and Vincze (2007, 41-48).

¹⁴ See Cadzow, John, F. et al. (1983).

¹⁵ See Rady (2000).

¹⁶ Bogdan (1989, 88-93).

¹⁷ Bideleux, Robert and Ian Jeffries (1998).

the Hungarian kingdom had to accept Hungarian supremacy.¹⁸ The roots of these ethnic conflicts were so strong that even after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire and the disappearance of the Habsburgs and the social power constellation the nationalist antagonisms remained alive. The nationalist antagonisms between Hungarians and non-Hungarians even worsened after the Treaty of Trianon (1920) when the principle of national self-determination was only applied to the non-Hungarian nationalities of the Hungarian kingdom that had joined the camp of the victorious Entente Powers during the First World War. Due to the Treaty of Trianon, the Hungarian kingdom lost more than two-third of its territory and ethnic Hungarians became “minorities” in the newly established states Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greater Romania. Since Trianon these new states want to secure their newly acquired territories by implementing a harsh anti-Hungarian ‘homogenization and assimilation’ policy. Consequently, the Hungarian identity and language have been oppressed by all sorts of means.¹⁹

Interestingly, the Hungarian versus non-Hungarian ethnic conflicts in the successor states exists independently of the political system. In the communist period, Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin were victims of a double oppression. They not only had to cope with the consequences of a horrible communist dictatorship, but had to suffer an anti-Hungarian, nationalist policy as well. Hence, some commentators qualify this political system as national communist dictatorship.²⁰ Although the ethnic Hungarian minorities were treated in all the Central and Eastern European communist countries more or less the same, the most extreme instance of this anti-Hungarian policy was the dictatorship of the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceaușescu. Under his leadership it was not even tried to keep the oppression of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania latent. In the framework of communist workers solidarity an ambitious anti-Hungarian program of homogenization and assimilation was executed leading some researchers to qualify this policy with respect to the Hungarian minority as anti-Hungarian ‘ethnocide’. From the whole range of anti-Hungarian measures the following main strategies may be singled out.

1. *Altering the ethnic composition in areas that were densely populated by Hungarians.* Regions that were densely populated by ethnic Hungarians became fragmented due to repeated district provisional changes. By manipulating district boundaries it was possible to bring down the number of Hungarians and artificially raise the number of the “majority” population group. Especially the district boundaries in the Székely region were changed such that ethnic Hungarians could not constitute an absolute majority. This type of *ethnic engineering* was also performed in Czechoslovakia by redrawing the borders of districts in the southern parts of Slovakia. By doing so in the opposite direction of the geo-ethnic distribution of the Hungarian minority, i.e. in the north-to-south direction, there was nowhere a majority, not even a relative majority of ethnic Hungarians in the southern regions of Slovakia. The redrawing of district borders as a strategy of ethnic engineering was also committed under the rule of the Serbian leader, Slobodan Milošević in the multi-ethnic areas inhabited by the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina in the first half of the 1990.

¹⁸ Bogdan (1989, 113-126).

¹⁹ See Marác (1996) for a more detailed discussion.

²⁰ See Behrends, Jan C., László Marác, Gábor Egry, Amieke Bouma and Pierre-Frederic Weber (2009, 545-555).

2. *Breaking down the cultural institutions of the Hungarian community.* Most of the Hungarian cultural institutions that still existed after the Second World War were systematically broken down. When it came to educational institutions, it was common tactics to merge Hungarian schools with Romanian, Slovak or Serbian schools under the pretext of “communist fraternization”. The next step was to Romanize, Slovakize and Serbize education and to dismiss Hungarian teachers. In this way, the Hungarian Bolyai University in Cluj (Hungarian Kolozsvár) ceased to exist in 1959 when it had to merge with the Romanian Babes University. Libraries and archives were either destroyed or moved which thus effectively eliminated the Hungarian community’s collective memory as well.

3. The suppression of the Hungarian language and the restrictions placed on Hungarian in public and cultural life and in education.

One of the main aims of the anti-Hungarian homogenization politics was to lay restrictions on teaching *of* and *in* the Hungarian language. By manipulating curricula and the numbers of pupils in a class, it became possible to systematically stamp out Hungarian. At vocational schools, for instance, teaching in Hungarian was reduced to the minimum, because it was said to be ‘better’ for the pupils to learn technical subjects in the official state language.

4. Distorting history in education and the culture while at the same time promoting feelings of guilt among Hungarians towards the majority population. Myths created about Romanian, Slovak and Serbian history were presented to the Hungarians as dogmas. In these myths, the Hungarians were portrayed as barbarians and intruders into Europe. Hungarian history, thereby, came to be viewed as something inferior. The so-called cultural oppression of Hungary’s nationalities, the so-called Magyarization politics in the Hungarian kingdom in the period between the **Ausgleich** of 1867 and the beginning of the First World War in 1914 was partly increased by propaganda during the First World War. Continually hammering on the Magyarization politics served not only to justify anti-Hungarian politics in these states “to repay in kind”, but also to cultivate feelings of guilt among Hungarians in neighbouring countries. What was drummed into the Hungarians was that the Romanians, Slovaks and Serbs had suffered “long and intensely” under Hungarian feudal oppression. It was, therefore, perfectly understandable that these nations harbored such strong resentment towards Hungarians.

5. *Psychological warfare targeted at the Hungary community.* The underlying aim was to create a constant atmosphere in which Hungarians perpetually felt intimidated and humiliated and to give them the suggestion that they might well, at any given moment, fall prey to physical violence. In the anti-Hungarian psychological warfare scheme language was crucial. During the communist era in Romania, Hungarians were officially referred to as ‘the nationality cohabiting with the Romanians’. If the objective of this phrasing was offensive and designed to make the Hungarians feel uncomfortable, then the unofficial name in the Romanian language given to the Hungarians, *bozgor* ‘the homeless’ could only possible make them feel even the worse. Encapsulated in this discriminatory metaphor was the message that the Hungarians were not only merely tolerated, but also that they really did not belong in the land of the descendants of the Dacians and Romans.

6. *Restricting the scope of Hungarian churches.* During communism the Hungarian church organizations were something vitally important. The Hungarian churches being often the last place where people could come together uncontrolled and the Hungarian language could be used without repercussions. The vast

majority of the Hungarian churches in the successor states are either Catholic or Protestant. This created much tension in Romania, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine where the established state church was the Orthodox Church and where this faith at least went before all others. In a non-hierarchical setting of church organization, like in Slovakia which is for the greater part Catholic the Hungarian Catholics constituted an integral part of the Slovak church organization. The danger of 'mixed' church organizations was that Hungarian Catholics were often unable to follow the mass in their own language. In such way, church organizations were proved to be effective vehicles in the process of assimilating Hungarians.

7. The curtailing of personal and cultural contacts with other Hungarians and the viewing of such contacts as a threat to the state. Contacts between members of Hungarian national communities and with Hungarians from the kin state were seriously impeded in the communist era. These contacts could easily be controlled and restricted, because in the socialist countries visas were required for traveling. In this way, it was possible to exercise complete control over contacts between individuals and cultural associations. Official inter-Hungarian contact was only possible between those who belonged to or represented the communist party or its alibi organizations.

3. Ethnic Conflicts after the Fall of Communism

It is no exaggeration to claim that under the rule of communism Hungarian national communities were exposed to a politics of ethnocide. The sole aim of which was to systematically destroy these communities. The collapse of communism at the end of the 1980s and in the beginning of the nineties brought much relieve to the Hungarian communities, except for the Hungarian in Yugoslavian Vojvodina that suffered from the excesses of the Yugoslav civil wars in the nineties. Although the Hungarians remained out of these wars the Hungarian communities in both Serbia and Croatia suffered immensely from the war. Hungarian villages in Croatia in the so-called Baranja Triangle (Hungarian Barony) bordering with Hungary were attacked by Serbian irregular forces and were demolished. Young Hungarians were forced to serve in the Serbian Army to be sent to the fronts in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. A number of these young Hungarians left its homeland as deserters. Another problem the Hungarian community in Vojvodina was confronted with was that the Serbian central authorities were resettling ethnic Serbian refugees from Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo to Vojvodina. As a consequence, the ethnic composition of the Vojvodina was altered at the advantage of the Serbs and the vulnerable relations between Serbs and non-Serbs in Vojvodina were burdened with new traumata and conflicts.

The transformation of the Central and Eastern European societies from a totalitarian to a democratic society offered after the collapse of communism brought a number of improvements of the situations of the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin, although in most countries the legal status of the Hungarian communities was left unsolved structurally.²¹ Interestingly, of the three problematic cases, namely Slovakia, Romania's Transylvania and Serbia's Vojvodina quite recently with the adoption of the proposal for the implementation of an autonomous region of Vojvodina by the Vojvodinian regional

²¹ See Schöpflin (1993).

Parliament the constitutional status of the ethnic Hungarians has the best perspectives in Serbia. Although article 1 of the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (henceforth, AP of Vojvodina) drafted in October 2008 considers the AP of Vojvodina as an autonomous territorial unit within the Republic of Serbia, article 6 of the Statute declares equality in exercising their rights of all the autochthonous nationalities and minorities on the territory of the province. This implies that the Hungarian language is assigned officially an equal status to Serbian, Slovak, Croat, Romanian and so on. So far the Statute of the AP of Vojvodina has only been recognized by Vojvodina's regional Parliament but not by the national Parliament of Serbia. Much will depend on the question whether the pro-European reformist forces in Belgrade parliament will have the strength to grant Vojvodina its autonomy. The delay already causes friction between Novi Sad and Belgrade being afraid that Vojvodina will develop into a second Kosovo.

In the post-communist era, neither Romania nor Slovakia assigned its Hungarian national communities constitutional rights. This means that since the fall of communism any right that has to do with the protection, preservation and development of the Hungarian identity, culture and language has to be regulated by a separate law. The adoption of laws is however very much dependent on the distribution of power in the political arena, that is in the Romanian and Slovak Parliaments. Being the political representatives of national minorities it is impossible for their parties to have a majority in parliament without the support of a political party sensitive to the specific interest of the non-majority population as well. Slovakia's joining the Union in 2004 and Romania in 2007 has not changed this state of affairs. Recent figures of electoral results demonstrate that the political representatives of the Hungarian minorities in these countries are indeed a minor political factor that can only represent their case effectively if they find coalition partners that are open to their claims as well.

In Slovakia, the Party of the Hungarian Coalition (MKP), that is in fact an umbrella organization got with the latest parliamentary election 20 seats of 150 seats in the Slovak Parliament that is 11.71 percent of the votes. The Hungarian Coalition managed to reach two seats of the 13 seats reserved for Slovakia with the last EP elections. The governing Slovak coalition consisting of three political parties, including SMER, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the Slovak National Party has with 85 seats of 150 a comfortable majority in the Slovak Parliament. This allowed the nationalist government under leadership of Prime Minister Fico to announce a number of anti-Hungarian laws. In Romania, the most important political representative of the Hungarian minority, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR) received 22 seats (6.59 percent) at the election of November 30, 2008 of the 334 seats in the Romanian Parliament. DAHR was not invited to join the governing liberal-socialist coalition of PDL and PSD-PC who hold together 229 seats (68.56 percent) of the 334 seats. A combination of DAHR and the electoral list of the ethnic Hungarian member of the EP, László Tökés succeeded in achieving three seats of the 33 reserved for Romania in the EP elections in June 2009. In Serbian 2008 parliamentary election, the representatives of the Hungarian minority in Serbia, the Hungarian Coalition, a political coalition of three ethnic Hungarian political parties won four of the 250 seats. Even more important for the Hungarians of Vojvodina was the election for the provincial assembly of Vojvodina in May 2008. The Hungarian Coalition under the leadership of István Pásztor managed to get nine (7.5 percent) of the 120 seats. The Vojvodinian counterpart of the governing Democratic Party in Serbia, 'For a European Vojvodina' managed to receive an absolute majority in the Vojvodinian Parliament of 64 seats. Hence, these figures

show first that the ethnic Hungarians have set up effective political organization even in Romania, Serbia and Slovakia that are represented at the relevant political level. Secondly, these political representatives of the Hungarian minorities in these countries always have to look for coalition with a party representing the majority population in order to have a chance to make their point.

If we consider the tactics of homogenization in the post-communist period a number of things have changed since the fall of communism. The general situation of the Hungarian minorities has improved. There is no acute threat of ethnocide but all the policy concerning the Hungarian minorities in the states concerned remain disadvantageous to them. Let us compare the homogenization and assimilation tools of communism with the state of affairs in the post-communist period.

The altering of the ethnic composition in areas with Hungarian minorities has not been an official policy in Romania or Slovakia. At least not in the way it was done under communism by positioning settlers in the multi-ethnic territories inhabited by ethnic Hungarians in order to change the ethnic composition of those territories. However in all the states concerned the borders of the administrative districts inhabited by Hungarians have always been drawn detriment to the interest of the ethnic Hungarians. In Slovakia a new system of public administration was introduced in 1996. In the framework developed by the Meciar-government the country was divided in 8 regions and 79 districts. The regions and districts were designed from north-to-south and not from east-to-west. The former make-up was disadvantageous for the Hungarian minority, whereas the latter one that was supported by the Hungarian political representatives would have been more in the interest of the ethnic Hungarians. The Slovak Parliament adopted the redrawing of the regions and district in north-to-south direction. As a result of this division, the Hungarian of Slovakia came to live in several different, i.e. in five of the eight regions and some regions with a Hungarian majority were attached to Slovak regions in such a way that they lost their majority. This happened to Žitný ostrov (Hungarian Csallóköz), an area with a Hungarian majority that was attached to the Trnavský region (Hungarian Nagyszombat region). In Romania, the system of public administration introduced in 1968 during the dictatorship of Ceaușescu of 1968 is still in force. The administration served the anti-Hungarian goal to reduce the number of Hungarians in administrative units while increasing at the same time the number of ethnic Romanians. As a consequence, ethnic Hungarians only form an absolute majority in the Székely provinces of Harghita (Hungarian Hargita) and Covasna (Hungarian Kovászna). Note however that these provinces do not cover the territory of the traditional Székely region that includes large parts of the provinces of Mureș (Hungarian Maros) and Brașov (Hungarian Brassó). Political actions from the side of the ethnic Hungarians to change the borders of the Székely provinces were unsuccessful so far. Vojvodina is divided into seven districts in accordance with Serbian constitutions of 1992 that was drafted in the Milošević years. This nationalist constitution was not in the interest of the Hungarian and other ethnic minorities living in Vojvodina. Therefore, the ethnic distribution of the Hungarians in Vojvodina in multi-ethnic areas inhabited by them does not match the administrative borders of the districts in the Vojvodina.

The network of cultural institutions of the Hungarian communities has to be rebuilt after the fall of communism. In the nineties the Hungarian communities had to struggle in the political arena and in court for regain control over the school system and the school buildings that were merged with non-Hungarian schools during communism. The Hungarian communities were not always successful in fulfilling this ambition. Several Romanian governments decided that the Bolyai University of the Transylvanian capital

Cluj-Napoca (Hungarian Kolozsvár) would remain part of the Babeş-Bolyai University. Instead, the Romanian state declared the Babeş-Bolyai officially a multilingual university performing education in Romanian, Hungarian and German, the traditional languages of Transylvania. To counterbalance this decision Hungarian communities have set up new educational and cultural institutions, like the private Hungarian language university Sapiientia that has faculties in several towns in Transylvania. However, even this move to circumvent Romanian domination is not the easiest solution. Administrative obstruction by the Romanian authorities can take place easily due to accreditation of these new teaching institutions. Hungarian language educational institutions must apply for accreditation at the Romanian Ministry of Education that is a time- and energy consuming procedure with no a priori guarantee of success.

In most of the states in the Carpathian Basin, the Hungarian language has been the target of discriminative and restrictive provisions, like laws specifying when the Hungarian language may be used and what percentage of the total inhabitants of an administrative unit must be ethnic Hungarians in order to use Hungarian. Article 13 of the Romanian constitution stipulating that the Romanian language is the only official language of the country has enormous consequences for the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual communities of Romanians, Hungarians and Germans in Transylvania. Consequently, meetings of the trade union for example must be kept in Romanian. Next to the constitutional article specifying the official language of the state, further legal instruments have been designed that restrict the use of Hungarian and other minority languages, like the Law on Education or the Law on Public Administration of 2001. Article 32.127 of the Law on Education stipulates that the subjects of history and geography are allowed to be taught only in Romanian. Consequently, Hungarian school kids in Transylvania do not learn the topographical names in their mother-tongue Hungarian but only in Romanian. Because of article 215 of the Law on Public Administration the use of Hungarian and other minority languages is very restricted in public administration. Only if a national or ethnic minority constitutes at least twenty percent of the population of an administrative unit may local names, street names and other topographical indications be specified in the language of the minority. Therefore, even in a city like Cluj-Napoca (Hungarian Kolozsvár, German Klausenburg) where at least 70.000 speakers of the total speakers, i.e. 19.9 percent of the total inhabitants according to the last census of 2001 signs of local and street names in the city are only monolingual in Romanian. However, even if the twenty percent threshold is satisfied official correspondence with local authorities has to take place in Romanian and formal acts like wedding ceremonies even if it concerns Hungarian-speaking couples saying yes may only take place in Romanian.

Distorting history in education and in culture. The Romanians and Slovaks stick also after the collapse of communism to their myths of origins, the Slovak myth of the Great Moravian Empire and the Romanian myth about their Daco-Roman ancestry. The Great Moravian myth states that the Slovaks are descended from the Great Moravians who, long before the 9th century, had established the so-called Great Moravian Empire. The Daco-Romanian myth claims that the present Romanians are descended from the Dacians and the Romans and that the Romanians thus inhabited what is now Romania, including Transylvania, before the Hungarians and that they, moreover, occupied a far greater territory of which is now inhabited by Hungarians.²² The Slovaks and the Romanians, therefore, misuse history to argue for the fact that their ancestors lived in the Carpathian Basin first and to treat their own ethnic Hungarians

²² See Marác (1996, 64-76) and Malcolm (1999, chapter 2) for a critical review of the Slovak and Romanian myths of origin.

“intruders” and second class citizens. These myths about the origins of the Slovaks and Romanians have no scientific basis but are still taught at school and universities as serious theories with a scientific foundation. Moreover, even Hungarian students are obligatorily to take notice of these myths in the course of history classes. The fact that history must be taught in Romanian and that no foreign textbooks may be used according to Romanian law imply that all the conflicting issues in Romanian and Hungarian history cannot be counterbalanced from a Hungarian point of view. Therefore, as an ethnic Hungarian in Romanian it is difficult to acquire an objective interpretation of the conflicting issues of the Romanian and Hungarian history.

Because of the fact that the democratic transformation of Central and Eastern has made it possible to organize the public domain by civil organizations the Hungarian church organization have awoken to fresh activity. It is however too simple to state that they function without difficulties. The Hungarian church organizations are still taking legal action to get back church properties and buildings that were confiscated under communism.

Due to the collapse of communism and the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe, the crossing of borders has become easier. This implies that inter-Hungarian cross border contacts in the Carpathian Basin have normalized. For example, more than a half a million ethnic Hungarians participate in the Pilgrimage of Csíksomlyó, a village in the Eastern Carpathian Mountains on Whitsaterday. The enormous crowds of ethnic Hungarians from all over the world attend the mass in the open air in the Hungarian language. Although the ethnic Hungarians can gather again in Csíksomlyó, the authorities do not leave them alone. The Romanian army also participates in the pilgrimage by taking pictures and making video films from the hill at the end of the valley of the ethnic Hungarians present. Hence, even during the most sacred moments crowds of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania are treated as a threat to the state.

In conclusion, although the transformation from a totalitarian system to a democratic system has brought some relieve to the ethnic Hungarians in the Central and Eastern European states with extensive Hungarians national communities, i.e. Romania, Slovakia and Serbia their status has not been solved structurally. In fact, the Hungarian national communities have been denied a constitutional status making them to fight for each of their rights separately. This implies that conflicts have emerged with respect to what the Hungarian communities consider as their legitimate rights, i.e. the right to define itself as a group that has the right of national self-determination, including linguistic and cultural rights.²³ So far, Hungarian representative organizations have used peaceful and political means to fight for these rights. It is to be expected that the conflicts over these rights will deepen in these societies for there is no consensus between the Hungarian communities and the non-Hungarian majorities over fundamental issues concerning the ethnic-linguistic, religious and cultural domains of life. Hence, along these lines these societies were and are deeply divided. In the democratic context, anti-Hungarian, nationalist tactics of homogenization are not that effective as during communism, although in weakened form and intensity the Romanian, Slovak and Serbian state implement measures promoting assimilation and homogenization of the Hungarian communities. This anti-Hungarian policy will certainly lead to

²³ See Halperin et al. (1992) and Zoltani and Koszorus (1996) for a discussion of group rights to defuse tensions in a global setting.

instability and more tensions within these states but also stressing the relation between these states and the Hungarian kin-state and it will have spillover effects to the situation of the other Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin. Without managing these conflicts, they threaten cohesion within in Europe and stability, security and peace in Central Europe and the Balkans. The question arising what the further Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe has to offer in managing these conflicts.

4. Pacifying the ethnic conflicts in the Carpathian Basin

Slovakia and Romania are already members of the Union whereas the democratic forces of Serbia are preparing for candidate membership accepting the Copenhagen criteria for accession. Hence, Europe is able to influence and to manage the pacification of the conflicts with Hungarian minorities in these countries. The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. the implementation of liberal norms and values in these societies has contributed to a strengthening of the position of national and ethnic minorities, more precisely in the case of the following three fields. First, national and ethnic minorities have the legitimate right to define themselves as a group. The Union does not only respects individual human rights but also collective minority rights, although it must be admitted that the canonical set of minimum conditions and provisions defining collective rights is less clear than in the case of individual human rights. Second, due to the establishment of a free civil society, national and ethnic minorities have been able to establish legitimate political representative organizations and other non-governmental organizations that can express the legitimate claims of the ethnic communities involved. Third, because of the regeneration of a Central European public space in the sense of Habermas (1991) and due to the principle of freedom of movement not hindered by borders in the Union national and ethnic Hungarian communities are able to foster contacts with other ethnic Hungarian communities all over the Carpathian Basin. These processes have contributed to the development of a Hungarian cultural community using the same language for communication. Free access to information and Internet strengthens the ties within this cultural community.²⁴

The core of the conflicts between the majority population and the Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin is that the Hungarian representatives try to end the situation of oppression and discrimination due to their minority status in the states involved, while the states concerned refuse to acknowledge the Hungarian claims because they declare themselves national unitary states in which its sovereignty and territorial integrity cannot be questioned. To overcome their minority status the Hungarian minorities refer to the principle of national self-determination which as Bruno Coppieters (2003, 255) correctly points out is only partly compatible with the sovereignty of a multinational state, whereas sovereignty is still the corner stone of the international order. Conflicting parties in the Carpathian Basin invoke either the principle of the territorial integrity of states or the right to national self-determination. Coppieters (2003) argues that the absolutizing of these opposing principles will lead to violent conflicts. It is however clear that cause of the ethnic Hungarians minorities in the Carpathian Basin which are in fact "trapped" minorities is a just, because they suffer and suffered national oppression and

²⁴ See Marác (to appear) for further discussion.

discrimination as discussed above in the Romanian, Slovakian and Serbian state. These minorities are also traumatized by the memories of attempts and clear cases of ethnocide. Hence, another argument for applying the principle of national self-determination in these cases would be to prevent a renewed threat of ethnocide.

In order to manage the ethnic conflicts in the Carpathian Basin we will match the claims of the different Hungarian ethnic communities involved with the solutions that are at the disposal of the Union and the internal community for such cases. The principle of national self-determination can be implemented in two ways, including territorial solutions and non-territorial solutions. Let us discuss first the territorial options.

4.1. Territorial solutions

A full-scale application of the principle of national self-determination is not a policy that is supported by the representatives of the Hungarian minorities in the successor states, although in a technical sense it would be possible for the ethnic Hungarian territories with a Hungarian majority, especially the Hungarians of Slovakia and the Hungarian in northern Vojvodina to join their kin-state Hungary. For the Hungarians of Transylvania redrawing the borders with Hungary would constitute more difficulties because a corridor is needed to reach the Székely territories. However, with the secession of territories with ethnic Hungarian majorities the Romanian, Slovak and Serbian state would certainly not agree. Hence, any declaration of the principle of national self-determination would be unilateral in these cases. As Bruno Coppieters (2003) argues, this has the unwanted result of escalating into war.²⁵ Furthermore, the international community, including the Union, only honors unilateral secession as an exceptional right. In the case of Kosovo, this right was granted to the Albanian community because of large-scale human rights violation classified as 'genocide'. Because the oppression and discrimination has not the form of genocide in the Hungarian areas of the successor states, the international community would not grant a unilateral secession of the Hungarian side. Hence, the recognition of the independence Kosovo is not a precedent for any territory with ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin.²⁶

From the argumentation above it follows that the realization of the principle of self-determination for the ethnic Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin could only take place internally resulting into territorial autonomy for ethnic Hungarians. Actually, in the states under discussion only partial ethnic autonomy could be realized however, because a number of Hungarians would be excluded from the ethnic autonomous territories and new minorities would emerge in the ethnic Hungarian territories due to the inclusion of a substantial number of Slovaks, Serbs and Romanians. New conflicts would arise that could only be circumvented if these ethnic autonomies would respect minority rights and the equality of languages. In fact, three territories with an ethnic Hungarian majority would qualify for ethnic autonomy in the states concerned. Firstly, Zitny Ostrov (Hungarian Csallóköz) in the south of Slovakia that is an

²⁵ Coppieters (2003, 254)

²⁶ At this point, I disagree with Swiss-Hungarian commentator Ankerl (2008), although I agree with him that the Székely strive for autonomy is a just cause but could only be realized under present circumstances as a case of internal self-determination.

island between the several branches of the Danube stretching from the capital Bratislava (Hungarian Pozsony) to Komárno (Hungarian Komárom). Žitný Ostrov has an absolute majority of ethnic Hungarians. This territory is however not embedded in the existing Slovak state structures however. Instead, Žitný Ostrov region is distributed over four different Slovak regions not constituting a territorial-administrative unity. In this way, the Slovak administrative reform of 1996 has in fact made a separate ethnic Hungarian administration of Žitný Ostrov impossible. Furthermore, several Slovak governments have already expressed that they will not support any establishment of a Hungarian ethnic autonomy in this region, since in their view Slovakia being a national unitary state. Concerning Hungarian territorial autonomy there is conflict between the Hungarians of Slovakia and the Slovak authorities because the representatives of the ethnic Hungarians of Slovakia, the Party of the Hungarian Coalition has not formulated a plan for ethnic Hungarian autonomy yet.

Contrary to Slovakia, the ethnic Hungarian communities in Romania and Vojvodina are striving for territorial autonomy. In 2003, a Székely National Council has been established in the Székely region promoting ethnic territorial autonomy of the Székely region. According to the Székely National Council, the Székely region matches the historic Székely region consisting of the provinces Harghita (Hungarian Hargita), Covasna (Hungarian Kovászna) and a part of the present-day province of Mureș (Hungarian Maros). The Székely region numbers 750.000-800.000 inhabitants, that is about half of the ethnic Hungarian population in Transylvania. Further, the ethnic Hungarians have an absolute majority of 80 percent against the Romanians 17 percent on the territory of the Székely region. In 2004, the Székely National Council drafted a Statute for the Autonomy of the Székely region that was finalized in 2006. The Székely Statute for territorial autonomy is comparable to the autonomy statute of South-Tyrol in Italy. The Statute declares that an autonomous Székely region will fully respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Romania state (article I.3.). Furthermore, it respects the minority and language rights of the Romanians as well. The Székely National Council has placed the issue of territorial autonomy on the agenda by organizing referenda in the Székely region on the question of the autonomy statute and the redrawing of the borders of the Székely provinces. Romanian authorities however have refuted these referenda arguing that they are unconstitutional. The Székely National Council avoided a unilateral declaration of Székely autonomy and handed over the Székely Statute for Autonomy to the Romanian Parliament for discussion. However, the Romanian Parliament refuted to discuss the Statute for the Autonomy of the Székely region in 2004 arguing that it is illegal.

Similar to the Székely National Council, Vojvodina's Hungarian Coalition advocates an autonomous multi-ethnic region in the northern part of Vojvodina called Hungarian Regional Autonomy. The proposal for the creation of the Hungarian Regional Autonomy is based on the autonomy model of Bolzano-Bozen (Alto Adige/South-Tyrol). This Hungarian ethnic territory would include nine municipalities in total. Six of them with an absolute Hungarian ethnic majority, namely Kanjiža, Senta, Ada, Bačka Topola, Mali Iđoš and Čoka (Hungarian Magyarkanizsa, Zenta, Ada, Topolya, Kishegyes and Csóka), as well as two ethnically mixed municipalities with a relative Hungarian majority, including the municipalities of Subotica and Bečej (Hungarian Szabadka and Óbecse) and finally the municipality of Novi Kneževac (Hungarian Törökkanizsa) with an ethnic Serb majority. According to the 2002 census data, the Hungarian Regional Autonomy numbers 358.126 inhabitants. With 52.10 percent, the ethnic Hungarians constitute an absolute majority, followed by 25.74 percent Serbs, 5.31 percent Croats, 4.87

percent Bunjevci, 3.50 percent Yugoslavs, 1.69 percent Montenegrins, 1.34 percent Roma and others. The Hungarian Regional Autonomy will not include 38.96 percent of the ethnic Hungarians living in Vojvodina and Serbia, i.e. about 72.000 people. Nationalities other than Hungarians will be granted minority rights and their languages will enjoy equal status. The Serbian political parties represented in the Vojvodinian Parliament have refuted the proposal of a territorial autonomy for ethnic Hungarians, a Hungarian Regional Autonomy in the northern part of Vojvodina. The Serbian political forces are willing to grant the ethnic Hungarians national equality at most in the framework of the AP of Vojvodina (compare art. 6). This means autonomy in exercising minority and language rights, similarly to the other nationalities of Vojvodina, including Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians, Roma, Bunjevic, Ruthenians, Montenegrins, and so on.

4.2. Non-Territorial Solutions

Pursing of the territorial solutions will certainly sharpen the conflicts in the Carpathian Basin, although the proposals for ethnic autonomy of the Hungarian communities in Transylvania and Vojvodina do not violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states involved, i.e. Romania and Serbia. More realistic and probably with less violent consequences are the options for the implementation of the principle of national self-determination in the form of minority and linguistic rights. The framework of the Council of Europe includes the most explicit formulation of such rights.

At present the Council of Europe specifies two legal treaties that are relevant for the protection of minority languages and national and ethnic minorities, namely the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML, CETS no. 148) signed on November 5, 1992 in Strassbourg and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM, CETS no. 157) concluded on February 1, 1995 in Strassbourg. It is generally accepted that a general application of these conventions contributes significantly to the stability, democratization and peace in Europe.

The FCPNM supports the positive discrimination of the identity of minorities on the basis of human rights and general freedom rights, it recognizes the fact that minority rights are collective rights and that cross-border cooperation is not only restricted to states but also local and regional authorities can take part in this. These provisions are highly relevant for the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin. As we have discussed above the Hungarian border separates ethnic Hungarian communities from their co-nationals in Hungary. The following diagram demonstrates that states with the biggest groups of ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, namely Romania, Serbia and Slovakia have ratified and implemented the FCPNM as well:

Diagram 4**Entry into Force of FCPNM (CETS no. 157)**

States	Signature	Ratification	Entry into Force
Romania	01/02/95	11/05/95	01/02/98
Serbia	11/05/01	11/05/01	01/09/01
Slovakia	01/02/95	14/09/95	01/02/98

The ECRML has been motivated by the fact that languages are part of a common cultural heritage and that the protection of languages is necessary to neutralize assimilatory state policy and uniformization by modern civilization. Again the states with the biggest groups of Hungarian speakers have ratified and implemented this charter. Consider the following diagram:

Diagram 5**Entry into Force of ECRML (CETS no. 148)**

States	Signature	Ratification	Entry into Force
Romania	17/07/95	29/01/08	01/05/08
Serbia	22/03/05	15/02/06	01/06/06
Slovakia	20/02/01	05/09/01	01/01/02

In principle, the Hungarian language communities all over the Carpathian Basin are legally protected by these two conventions. A weakness of both conventions is that the Council of Europe has no sanctioning mechanism at its disposal, if contracting parties violate the conventions. In Central and Eastern Europe this can easily happen if more liberal, pro-European governments are replaced by governments conducting a nationalist course or if governments jockey a nationalist course to mobilize popular support among the majority electorate. In May, 2009 the ethnic Hungarian directors of the State School Inspectorate of the Székely provinces Harghita, Covasna and Mureş were replaced by Romanians who did not even speak the Hungarian language. The dismissal of the ethnic Hungarians raised public demonstrations of Hungarians and the Hungarian political representatives accused the Romanian government of 'ethnically cleansing' the state offices. Contrary to the obligations to protect and promote the languages of national minorities in the framework of the ECRML signed in 2001 by the pro-European government of Dzurinda, the nationalist government under leadership of Prime Minister Fico recently completed the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 270/1995 on the state language of the Slovak republic. The law has entered into force on September 1, 2009. Instead of protecting the

languages of the national minorities in Slovakia, including Hungarian, the act calls for the protection of the state language and specifies when the official state language must be used banning the free use of Hungarian from the official segments of life. All servants belonging to the state are obliged to speak the state language, i.e. Slovak only. Consequently, ethnic Hungarian employers of the Fire and Rescue Services are allowed to speak with each other only Slovak (art. 1.6.1). In fact, the normal social behavior for ethnic Hungarians even when employed by the Slovak state will be frustrated. The Slovak language law also specifies that anytime the language of the minority is used it must be accompanied and preceded by the state language. For example, the complete educational and administrative documentation of Hungarian schools has to be bilingual (art. 1.4.3). The most macabre provision is maybe article 1.5.7 dictating the use of the state language with respect to scriptures on monuments, memorials and memorial tables. If any other, non-state language is used, let say a Hungarian scripture on a tombstone, it has to be preceded in the state language, i.e. Slovak and the scripture of the non-state language consists of letters of the same or smaller size than the scripture in the state language. So even the dead men in Slovakia are not allowed to rest in peace for the language on their tombstone is controlled by the state. To do otherwise than the Slovak language law specifies is not without sanctions. In case of offences, the Ministry of Culture can impose a fine from 100 to 5000 EUR.

The Slovak implementation of Act No. 270/1995 must be viewed as a pre-emptive move. The geo-ethnic distribution the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia might not be adequate for establishing territorial autonomy but note that the territory of the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia is continuous with Hungary. It is to be expected certainly after the introduction of the borderless Schengen zone between Slovakia and Hungary that the position and the role of the Hungarian language as a vehicular language in the Carpathian Basin is getting more important.²⁷ So instead of satisfying the provisions of the ECRML Slovak nationalist measures, like the language law are trying to prevent this spontaneous process of Hungarian language revitalization in the ethnic Hungarian territories, contrary to the spirit and letter of Europeanization of the region.

The EU has not yet adopted the Council of Europe's conventions on minority rights protection but almost all of the EU member-states, or states opting for Union's membership, like Serbia have signed and ratified these conventions.²⁸ Hence, it is reasonable to expect that this type of benchmarking in the framework of the Council of Europe will be adopted in the future by the Union as well. Some commentators argue that the Union has set a step forward by adopting minority rights as an accession criterion at the EC summit in Copenhagen (1993), it has failed however to elaborate a canonical set of norms that have the force of a single European standard.²⁹ Without such a standard, the so-called minority rights of the Copenhagen criteria are open to different interpretations. Their realization fully depends on ad hoc political procedures and mechanisms that have to be applied in each case separately. By adopting the standards of the Council of Europe in this domain, the Union would have a more coherent policy with respect to the protection of minority and language rights. Apart from broadening the

²⁷ See Marác (to appear) for discussion.

²⁸ The importance of the ECRML in the field of minority language protection has been recognised by the European Parliament though, which in its Resolution on Regional and Lesser-used Languages (2003) referred to the Charter as the "key Europe-wide legal frame of reference applying in this sphere."

²⁹ See Demeter and Tonk (2008) for discussion.

political platform and implementing a set of standards on minority rights another reason, why the Union should adopt the FCPNM and ECRML is that the Council of Europe contrary to the Union cannot imply sanctions on its member-states violating the provisions of these conventions. The Union however acknowledges all sorts of procedures to sanction its members if they do not fulfill legal obligations. In the present state, the Slovak government simply can neglect the Council of Europe's reprimanding imperatives because of implementing a language law detrimental to the minority and language rights of its Hungarian community.

A promising case of a non-territorial solution for ethnic conflicts that could lift the standards of the protection of minority rights in Central and Eastern Europe are related to the recognition of the independence of Kosovo. A proposal under responsibility of the Secretary-General of the UN addressing the UN's Security Council was elaborated in order to pacify the conflict between the Albanian majority and the other minorities of Kosovo, especially the Serbian minority.³⁰ The Serbian minority is a relatively small minority, i.e. under five percent of the total population of Kosovo but it has an absolute majority in some areas around the town of Mitrovica in the northern parts of Kosovo. In fact, the UN, i.e. the international community, including the Union was only willing to recognize Kosovo's independence if and only if the rights of the ethnic communities other than the Albanians were fully recognized. As a consequence, the national self-determination of the communities of Kosovo has been satisfied without granting these communities territorial provisions other than the territory of the state of Kosovo. For this purpose, an annex was included in the proposal for the settlement of Kosovo that specified the rights of the different communities and their members. The Annex, i.e. *Annex II The Right of Communities and their Members* consists of four parts, including the basic provisions (art. 1); obligations for Kosovo (art. 2); rights of communities and their members (art. 3) and participation of communities and their members in public life and decision-making (art. 4). The document stated that traditional groups, i.e. national or ethnic, linguistic, or religious, have specific rights (art. 1.1) and that they are fully equal in all areas of economic, social, political and cultural life (art. 2.4). Furthermore, the new state Kosovo is urged to conduct an active policy of promoting the rights of Communities by preserving, protecting and developing their identities (art. 2.1) and by adopting the standard of international agreements, such as the Council of Europe's FCPNM and ECRML (art. 2.2). Therefore, Kosovo has to ensure an effective protection of sites and monuments of cultural and religious significance to the Communities (art. 2.5) and should act against of a policy of assimilation and protect persons belonging to the Communities against such a policy (article 2.6). In sum, the rights of Communities and their members enjoyed in the field of expressing, maintaining and developing their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and culture (art. 3.1a) can be characterized as a instance of 'non-territorial autonomy'. This implies that Communities in Kosovo have a full control over their own educational system and their language enjoys full equality (art 3.1b-f,h). Not only local names, street names and other topographical indications may be used in the languages of the Communities but they also have the right to use their languages in the communication with local or central state authorities (art. 3.1f,i). Communities have full access to and special representation in public broadcast also in their language (article 3.1j). Also the use and display of Community symbols is a right that has been implemented (article 3.1g). Members of Communities in Kosovo enjoy unhindered contacts among themselves within Kosovo and may establish and maintain free and peaceful contacts with

³⁰ See United Nations Security Council (2007).

persons in any states, in particular those with whom they share an ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or a common cultural heritage, in accordance with the law and the international standards (art.3.11). This article guarantees the free contact of the Serbians in the northern parts of Kosovo with those living in the South and with the ethnic Serbs from Serbia proper and the Serbian entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e. the Republic Srpska. Important is also article 4 of Annex II, regulating the participation of Communities and their members in public life and decision-making. Article 4.4 states that the Communities and their members shall be entitled to equitable representation in the employment in public bodies and publicly owned enterprises at all levels, including in particular in the police service in areas inhabited by the respective Community. This article guarantees that the minority communities are also proportionally represented in the states administrations and their bodies.

It is easy to demonstrate that the ethnic Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin enjoy less rights than the Serbian community in Kosovo, although the ethnic Hungarian communities are often not a numerical minority in the areas inhabited by them. Contrary to the ethnic Serbs Hungarians in Slovakia, Romania and Serbia are confronted with hierarchies and asymmetries. International agreements, like the FCPNM and ECRML can be and are violated by national legislation and practice as the completion of the Slovak language law no. 270/1995 unambiguously demonstrates. Neither Slovakia, nor Romania and Serbia are urged to undertake special measures in order to promote the identity of their Hungarian minorities. Therefore, there is no effective protection of the sites and monuments of cultural and religious significance to the Hungarian communities and no effective policy against assimilation in Slovakia, Romania and Serbia. The use of the Hungarian language in education and all areas of life is seen as a special right to be regulated by law. Language laws include special provisions in order to restrict the use of the Hungarian language, like a threshold of at least twenty 20 percent of ethnic Hungarians living in an administrative unit to use topographical indications in the Hungarian language. Ethnic Hungarians are not allowed to employ the Hungarian language in their contacts with local or central authorities, not even in administrative units where they are in absolute majority. Law forbids the use and display of the symbols and flags of the Hungarian or Székely communities. In the provinces of Harghita and Covasna, the provincial governor has ordered the removal of Székely flags that were put on the wall of offices of local administration in towns where the Székely community forms the absolute majority. Although contact with other ethnic Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin is in principle unhindered, the Romanian, Slovak and Serbian authorities often view these contacts as a threat to the state. The Slovak border police regularly control visitors from Hungary in the areas inhabited by the Hungarian minorities, although formally there should be no border control because both Hungary and Slovakia are members of the Schengen Agreement. The Romanian police specially observe Hungarian mass events attended by Hungarians from all over the world. This practice is certainly intimidating for the participants of such events. There is certainly not an equitable representation of members of the ethnic Hungarian communities in the public bodies of the state. Ethnic Hungarians are hardly represented in the armed services in the areas inhabited by them. The provisions specified in the Statute of the AP of Vojvodina come close to Annex II of the proposal for the settlement of Kosovo. In the Vojvodina proposal, the ethnic Hungarians would overcome their position as a minority and being acknowledged non-territorial self-determination, like the Serbian Community in Kosovo. The Statute of the AP of Vojvodina does not enjoy the support of the national Serbian Parliament yet.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have discussed the position of the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin in the neighbouring countries of Hungary. We have demonstrated that ethnic Hungarian communities live in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual areas in seven states. Further, we have argued that the most important feature distinguishing ethnicity in the Central and Eastern European region, including Hungarian ethnicity is linked to the control of language. Hence, it is to be expected that in countries where conflicts with the Hungarian minorities appear the Hungarian language is the target of oppression institutionalized legally. This turns out to be the case in especially Slovakia, Romania and Serbia. These states are deeply divided along ethnic-linguistic, religious and cultural lines. We have further argued that ethnic oppression and discrimination of the Hungarians communities continues after the fall of communism as well, although the acute threat of ethnocide has vanished due to the Europeanization of Central Europe. The conflicts between Hungarians and non-Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin are rooted in history and have their own dynamics. It is not to be expected that they will be solved by a technical implementation of provisions protecting national and ethnic minorities only. These conflicts must be managed however because escalation can seriously threaten peace, stability and cooperation in Central Europe and the Balkans. Furthermore, these conflicts affect the relations of the states with Hungarian minorities with kin-state Hungary that has modestly been backing the claims of the political representatives of the Hungarian minorities. Because the states concerned are members of the European Union and Serbia is applying for candidate membership these conflicts fall under the authority of the Union, which has to act in these cases because its cohesion will also be affected in case of escalation.

It is true that on the territory of the Union both territorial and non-territorial solutions exist to solve the conflicts in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual areas inhabited by national and ethnic minorities. However, the Union lacks a uniform policy of implementing a canonical set of standards nor does it have a procedure to satisfy the so-called internal self-determination of "trapped" ethnic minorities, like the national and ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. The wide range of different instances of minority rights that appear in the European space is very much depending on the context and circumstantial factors. The Union in absence of a canonical set of minority rights norms and a procedure to implement these rights is often being accused of politics of 'double standards' with respect to the treatment of minority conflicts. However, it is not only the Union's fault of lacking a coherent policy; sometimes the geopolitical differences make a similar treatment for all cases impossible. It must be admitted that it will almost impossible to treat the ethnic Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin in a similar way. Following the policy and practices in the Union two sorts of solutions for these are available, i.e. territorial and non-territorial solutions.

With respect to the territorial solutions, the representatives of the Hungarian minorities refer to the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic case of South-Tyrol and territorial autonomy granted to the Basque country and Catalonia in Spain. The claims of ethnic Hungarians in the northern part of Vojvodina (Serbia) and the Székely region in Romania for territorial autonomy meet fierce resistance from the Romanian and Serbian state. These states declare themselves national unitary states not allowing any form of territorial autonomy on their territory. Even an AP of Vojvodina that the national Serbian Parliament in Belgrade has not recognized yet would not support territorial autonomy for the Hungarians in the northern part of

the Serbian province. The Hungarians of Vojvodina would only be granted 'cultural autonomy' in the framework of a Serbian Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Enforcing in these cases territorial autonomy would lead under these circumstances to acts of violence, and even to civil war with all the risk of spillover effects. Hence, in order to manage these conflicts the Union cannot support territorial Hungarian ethnic autonomy in the Carpathian Basin.

With respect to the non-territorial solutions, the situation in Europe is complex and far from non-ambiguous. For example, only the countries from Central and Eastern Europe had to fulfill special requirements concerning national and ethnic minorities when joining the Union. However, even in these cases there was no canonical set of standards, nor a transparent and predictable procedure. More promising is the approach of the Council of Europe because it adopted two conventions, i.e. the FCPNM and ECRML that grant 'non-territorial cultural and linguistic autonomy' to national and ethnic group in traditional multi-ethnic and multi-lingual areas. The states concerned are required to conduct an active policy to preserve, to protect and to develop the identity of traditional minority groups. In this case, traditional minority groups may overcome their 'minority' position without questioning the sovereignty of the states concerned. However, the Council of Europe has no effective sanctioning mechanism when its members violate the FCPNM and ECRML ratified by them. In order to use these conventions effectively the Union should develop mechanisms to support and control the implementations of these conventions. Moreover, because most of the member states have ratified the FCPNM and ECRML, these Council of Europe's agreements should be adopted by the Union.³¹ The Union already admitted that these conventions could be effective tools in managing ethnic conflicts in multi-ethnic areas, like in the case of Kosovo where both conventions are included in the proposal for the settlement of Kosovo. Concerning the ethnic Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin, the Union has the possibility of strengthening the non-territorial solution for at least the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina. The minority right guaranteed by Statute of the AP of Vojvodina is close to the implementation of the FCPNM and the ECRML, which has both been ratified by Serbia already. The Statute of the AP of Vojvodina grants the Hungarian community 'cultural and linguistic autonomy'. The implementation of the Vojvodina Statute would pacify the ethnic conflicts in Serbia giving a strong signal to the other cases of the Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin as well. If Serbia wants to qualify for candidate membership of the Union, the Union should make the candidate status also dependent on Serbia recognizing the multi-ethnic character of Vojvodina as reflected in the Statute of the AP of Vojvodina.³²

³¹ The countries which oppose both conventions are France, Greece and Belgium only.

³² The European Union failed to make Slovakia clear that it should respect the rights of its national and ethnic minorities when Slovakia entered the Union on May 1, 2004. The Union accepted that Slovakia did not abolish the so-called Beneš Decrees named after the President of the Second Czechoslovak Republic, Eduard Beneš who drafted a program for the new Czechoslovakia at the end of the Second World War on April 5, 1945. The Beneš Decrees declare the German and Hungarian minorities collectively guilty for the outbreak of the Second World War and the collapse of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The so-called Beneš Decrees legitimized the expulsion of the Germans from Súdetenland and the expropriation and the deportation, i.e. in fact the ethnic cleansing of the Hungarians from Slovakia between 1945 and 1948. The Union accepted Slovakia as a member, while Slovakia had confirmed the Beneš Decrees in 1993 introducing the concept of 'collective guilt' into the Union. This should not have happened sending the Slovaks the wrong signal and making the European legal system filthy. The Slovak Parliament confirmed the Beneš Decrees again on September 20, 2007. Only the ethnic Hungarian MPs of the Slovak Parliament voted against this confirmation. The confirmation of the Beneš Decrees only serves to keep alive the psychological warfare against the Hungarian minority by the Slovak authorities. So, it must be concluded that the European Union itself has become a

Appendix

Comparing Hungarian minorities with the Frisian minority in the Netherlands

As the recognition of the FCPNM and ECRML demonstrate European policy aims at safeguarding linguistic diversity in Europe. For European language communities it is relevant to exchange experiences and to cooperate in the European context. By making comparative analyses and case studies we gain deeper insight into the actual state of affairs. European context and solidarity offer the national and ethnic minorities a platform to break out of their trapped positions in nation states. In the present European context, national and ethnic minorities can advocate their case by lobbying the European organizations, like the Council of Europe and offices and organizations of the Union, like the European Parliament, Eurydice, Eblul, Eurolang and so on. With the extension of the Union to Central and Eastern Europe a number of new national and ethnic minorities have entered the Union.

These minorities may profit from the experiences Western European minorities have in the field of legal provisions, education and educational research. The legal status of Central and East European minorities was often denied during the years of communism and the authorities did not allow research into minority issues treating ethnic issues as non-existent within a communist society. On the other hand, West European minorities can learn from Central and East European national and ethnic minorities how maintain their identity during difficult times. In sum, it is justified to compare the cases of the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin with the one of the Frisian minority in the Netherlands since both groups fall under the same Council of Europe's conventions, i.e. ECRML and FCPNM. Comparing and discussing such case studies provide input into the regional and national debates aimed at the improvement of their position and the protection and promotion of their minority rights.

Legal position

The Frisian minority in the Netherlands lives in the bilingual Dutch and Frisian province of Fryslân. About 55 percent of the 620.000 inhabitants of this province that Frisian is its mother tongue and almost 76 percent of the population consider themselves belonging to the Frisian minority.³³ This mismatch between Frisian language speakers and persons of Frisian identity is a striking difference with the situation of the Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin. Above we have argued that Hungarian identity is closely connected to the control of the language, at least at an oral level, in agreement with the left-to-right reading of Smith's generalization. Another difference between the two cases has to do with typological considerations concerning the languages involved. In the case of Fryslân, the dominant languages Dutch and Frisian are closely related languages belonging to the branch of western Germanic languages. This pair is often joined by English that is spoken as an L2 being compulsory in the Dutch educational system. In this context, it is to be expected that interference will affect the quality of Frisian.

factor in the oppression of the Hungarians in Slovakia by allowing pieces of legislation that do not match the norms and values of the Union itself.

³³ See Riemersma and De Jong (2007).

For the Hungarian minority speakers in the Carpathian Basin hardly such a risk exists. The “borders” between the Hungarian language and the official languages, i.e. Slovak, Serbian and Romanian are much sharper than between the languages used in Fryslân, Hungarian being a non-Indo-European language having a peculiar vocabulary and structure different from Slavic and Latin languages.

Although Fryslân is not recognized as an autonomous region within the constitution of the Netherlands, nor does the Dutch constitution acknowledge any separate clause for the Frisian language this does not mean that the Frisian identity is legally worse off than the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin. From an international point of view, their legal position is comparable for the Netherlands, like Romania, Serbia and Slovakia has signed and ratified the ECRML (entry into force 1998) and FCPNM (entry into force 2005). However, there is an important structural difference between the Frisian case and the cases of the Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin. The province of Fryslân is embedded in the state structure of the Netherlands; it is one of the twelve provinces, including almost all of the speakers of Frisian in the Netherlands. Consequently, the province of Fryslân and its provincial and local authorities are not seen as “hostile” bodies in the state structure of the Netherlands. Rather the Dutch central government considers the provincial Frisian government as the negotiating partner in the issues related to the Frisian identity. In 2001, the central government of the Netherlands and the provincial government of Fryslân signed a Covenant in which the contracting parties agreed that they have a common responsibility in protecting and promoting the Frisian language and culture in the province of Fryslân.³⁴ As a consequence of the Covenant and the Dutch international obligations, the central government in The Hague formally recognized the bilingual status of the province of Fryslân. This implies that the Frisian language has acquired a legally protected position in judicial, administrative, and educational matters and various sectors of society. Therefore, it is legal for Frisians to correspond with their local authorities in their mother tongue. In case of the Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin, the policy of administrative architecture has been precisely the opposite of the Frisian one, namely not to embed the territories inhabited by Hungarians into the state structure. The only exceptions are the Székely provinces of Harghita and Covasna that are embedded in the state structure of Romania. However, even if these provinces would receive a similar status comparable to Fryslân in the Netherlands, they are not able to represent all the speakers of Hungarian in Transylvania; most of the speakers of Hungarian live outside the Székely provinces. These provinces could represent more effectively the Hungarian identity, if Romania would be no longer a national unitary state devolving political power from the central government in Bucharest to the provincial governments of the Székely provinces. The debate on decentralization in Romania has not even started but it could get impulses from the subsidiarity and decentralization debate in the framework of the Union, like in the Netherlands of devolving political power, especially in the field of Frisian linguistic and cultural affairs from the central government in The Hague to the provincial government in Fryslân.³⁵ An advantage of the fact that the provincial government of Fryslân is legally competent in Frisian language, culture and educational issues is that it can develop a language policy on its own. Already in 1969, the provincial authority of the Frisian province gave itself the powers to determine the official spelling of the Frisian language. In 1980, the Frisian language has been introduced as a compulsory subject in primary education. Although

³⁴ See Riemersma and De Vries (2009, 37).

³⁵ See Riemersma and De Vries (2009) for more details.

researchers and the Committee of Experts reporting to the Council of Europe concerning the evaluation of the ECRML qualify the position of Frisian as a subject and a medium in education as marginal - there is not even bilingual education with Dutch and Frisian on equal footing - the provincial government of Fryslân can attain targets, like improving the situation of the Frisian language in education. The provincial government can stimulate the introduction of Frisian as a medium of instruction in primary education and a compulsory subject in the upper grades in secondary education or extending trilingual education to secondary schools which includes the use of Frisian and English as medium of instruction.³⁶ Hungarian representatives of Hungarian identity in the successor states cannot plan any future concerning educational matters. They are on the defense all the time.

Educational position

Part II (art. 7) of the ECRML provides a minimum standard for every regional or minority language, both in terms of teaching the language and teaching through the medium of the language, depending on the situation of each language group. De Jager and Van der Meer (2007) make these minimum standards on language education in regional and minority languages more explicit by introducing provisions and conditions concerning the following set of parameters, including education models, education goals, availability and quality of teaching materials, teacher's qualification and teacher training, position and role of the Inspectorate and the legal position of the language concerned. In the appendices of their study, De Jager and Van der Meer (2007) have included the country reports on Frisian in the Netherlands and Hungarian in Slovakia. In our analysis below, we will heavily rely on their findings.

Concerning the education model there are substantial differences between Hungarian in Slovakia and Frisian in the Netherlands. As an outcome of the tradition, the education model in the Carpathian Basin rooted in the Hapsburg Monarchy could be qualified as a 'separate' system of monolingual schools. There exist some schools with parallel classes in which education in the official majority languages and the Hungarian minority language takes place but even in these cases the instruction takes place separately. Hungarian is however never taught in the majority language classes in schools with these parallel classes; even if the school is in an area where the minority language is dominant in daily use. In Slovak, Romanian and Serb schools only the state languages are subject and a medium of instruction, while in Hungarian language schools the official languages are taught as an L2. This means for Hungarian pupils in Slovakia one hour a day in the framework of Slovak language and literature lessons. The only cases in which Hungarian is not a medium of instruction is the teaching of regional geography or history. This is not allowed in a language other than the state language in Slovakia, Serbia and Romania.

Slovakia has ratified the ECRML at level i subscribing to make available education in and of the Hungarian language in both primary and secondary education.³⁷ This education model seems reasonable accommodating the traditional situation and satisfying De Jager and Van der Meer's recommendation for countries that ratified the Charter at level i. These countries should guarantee that both primary and

³⁶ See De Jager and Van der Meer (2007) and Riemersma and De Vries (2009) for more discussion.

³⁷ De Jager and Van der Meer (2007, 10).

secondary schools use the minority language as language of instruction for more than 50 percent of teaching time.³⁸ However, we understand the most important weakness of this model, if we compare it with the provisions for Frisian. The situation of the Hungarian school system in the successor states is far better than the one of Frisian in the Netherlands. The Netherlands ratified the European Charter for primary education only at level ii which means that the Netherlands subscribed to make available only a substantial part of primary education in Frisian. Note however that Frisian in Fryslân is a compulsory subject, while as De Jager and Van der Meer (2007, 10) correctly point out Hungarian in Slovakia but also in Romania and Serbia is optional. In those countries, minority speakers can choose between instruction in the minority language or in the majority, i.e. the official language. Consequently, although the education of Hungarian in Slovakia has a far better position than Frisian in the Netherlands there are almost twice as much pupils that have followed Frisian as a subject in Fryslân's primary schools than Hungarian pupils having followed Hungarian as a subject in Slovakia's primary schools, i.e. 64.865 pupils for Frisian in 2004 and 36.249 pupils for Hungarian in 2007.³⁹ The data are even more negative to the Hungarian side if we take into account that there are living almost twice as much ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia than Frisians in the province of Fryslân. Of course, even in the case of level i obligations it is always possible to frustrate the system with technical and administrative means. One can neglect the creative aspect of the minority language by making available a specific set of teaching material only. In Slovakia, most of the course books are translations from Slovak.⁴⁰ Again, the problem of centralism surfaces not respecting the interest of the minority language when a pedagogical supervisor for minority schools is attached to the State School Inspectorate not knowing the minority language, as is required by Slovak law. Alternatively, ethnic Hungarian school inspectors are replaced by Romanians who do not speak the minority language without giving an official explanation by the authorities, as happened in May 2009 in Transylvania. Hence, the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin will fully agree with De Jager and Van der Meer's (2007, 27) recommendations that the Council of Europe should stimulate countries to organize a supervisory body or to appoint special inspectors within a supervisory body who specifically monitor *in* and *of* the minority language, who publish periodic reports and have knowledge of the minority language and characteristics of high-quality instruction in a multilingual setting.

Conclusion

In this part, we have made a comparative analysis of the situation of the Frisian language in the province of Fryslân and the situation of the Hungarian language in the successor states. The comparison is also justified, because both cases fall under the conventions of the FCRNM and ECRML. By comparing the situation of European minority languages we gain more insight into the position and role of the minority languages, we are able to detect earlier and easier deficiencies in the European system and it will

³⁸ De Jager and Van der Meer (2007, 26).

³⁹ See De Jager and Van der Meer (2007, 48) for the data on Hungarian in Slovakia and Riemersma and De Jong (2007) for the data on Frisian.

⁴⁰ See De Jager and Van der Meer (2007, 15).

be easier to develop strategies to improve the position of the minority languages in a general European system. Furthermore, the results of comparative analyses keep the debates going in the panels where European policy is made.

The Frisian situation and the Hungarian minority situation are in a way complementary. Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia, Transylvania (Romania) and Vojvodina (Serbia) have the option of receiving education in and of the minority language, both in primary and secondary education. In fact, the Hungarian pupils learn to master all the repertoires of Hungarian language but it is almost impossible to use the Hungarian language in the official public life in the successor states, Hungarian being restricted and discriminated by language laws. In Fryslân, the situation is the other way round. It is perfectly possible to use the Frisian language in all domains of life, Fryslân being recognized as a bilingual province. However, the Frisian educational system is still poorly developed for the teaching in and of the minority language, especially in secondary education. Although Frisians have the right to correspond with local and provincial authorities, unlike ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, it hardly happens, for only 17 percent of the inhabitants of the province have mastered the skill of writing in Frisian. In sum, it would be interesting to do more research on how the Frisians in the Netherlands and ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin could learn for each other's situation in order to improve it.

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LITERATURE & ARTS

EKUKLU, Bülent

Zeki Demirkubuz ve “Kader”

-II-

“Bekir’in Hiçliğe Giden Serüveni”

Demirkubuz’un dramatik yapı açısından en güçlü filmleri arasında yer alan “Kader” hakkında konuşurken, filmin ana izleğini şöyle çözümlmek mümkün: Bekir’in saplantısının odağında Uğur var. Çünkü Bekir Uğur’u gittiği her yerde takip ediyor. Ancak Uğur’un da benzer bir saplantısı var. O da Zagor’u takip ediyor ve onun için de Zagor, onun Bekir için temsil ettiğine benzer bir obje oluşturuyor. Ancak bu paralellik üçünü de bu kadere mahkum ediyor çünkü Zagor suça eğilimli ve gittiği her yerde olay yaratan, suç işleyen ve dolayısıyla muhtemelen hayatının sonuna kadar “mahkumiyet” çekecek birisi. Dolayısıyla Uğur için bir “kavuşma” ihtimali yok. Benzer bir biçimde Uğur, Bekir’i şiddetle ve ısrarla reddettiği için Bekir’in de Uğur’a dair bir beklentisi/umudu olduğunu söylemek, böyle bir umut varsa bile bunun gerçekçi ve gerçekleşebilir olduğunu söylemek güç. Dolayısıyla karakterlerin her biri için, aslında o saplantının odağı haline getirdikleri o nesneye ulaşma ihtimalleri yok. Ama belki bütün bu uğraşı, o çabayı, o yolculuğu seviyor olabilirler diye düşünmek mümkün. Bekir’i ya da Uğur’u, onların terkettikleri sıkıcı hayattan -belki çok şey vadetmeyen, daha güvenli ya da korunaklı görünen ama çok şey vadetmeyen hayattan- böylesi tehlikeli, sonu kötü bir yola sevkeden şey de aslında bu yolculuğu yapma arzusu olabilir.

Bu film, “tür”ü açısından karakterlerin birçok şehirde dolaşması nedeniyle bir “yol filmi” gibi de görülebilir. Ama yol filmlerinde sıklıkla karşılaşılan temalardan birisi, karakterlerin kendilerini keşfetmesi, hayatla ya da başka şeylerle yüzleşmesidir. Burada onu söylemek pek mümkün değil, çünkü bu filmde karakterler bir yere ya da bir şeye ulaşma hayaliyle ya da kendilerini keşfetme amacıyla değil, içinde bulundukları belalı durumdan belki sadece hoşlandıkları için, onu yaşama arzusunu sevdikleri için ve kontrolsüzce devam ediyorlar yolculuklarına diyebiliriz. Dolayısıyla film için bir “duygusal mecburiyet” hikayesi denilebilir. Onunla birlikte gelen bir “teslimiyet”, kendine kötülük etme arzusu, o arzuyla birlikte gelen haz duygusu, onları bu yolculuğa devam etmeye zorlayan şey gibi görünüyor.

Kahramanlar bir hazzın mı peşinde(dir)ler?

Kendisini çaresiz hisseden insanlar/karakterler, içinde bulundukları koşulları değiştiremediğinde, varoluşlarına bir tür tanrısallık atfederek kendilerine zarar verebilecek birtakım kötülükler yapabilir ve bundan haz duyabilirler. Bunu belki bir tür “narsizm” olarak açıklamak yerinde olur. Bu olguyu “Kader”

filminin karakterleri açısından düşündüğümüzde ise durum şöyle açıklanabilir: Bekir, onun için kurgulanmış bir hayatın içinden (huzurlu ve güvenli bir hayatın içinden) onu acılara sürükleyecek bir tutkunun esiri olarak, en çok kendisine zarar vereceği büyük kötülükler yaparak (ailesini terk ederek, bileklerini keserek vb.); böyle bir hazzın peşinden gidiyor olabilir. Filmin bir sahnesinde Uğur Bekir'e, "bunu niye yapıyorsun?" diye sorar ve sahnenin sonunda yüzüne tükürür. Uğur'un Bekir'e çok şiddetle tepki gösterdiği, onu eleştirdiği hatta yargıladığı bir sahnedir bu. Oysa Uğur'da aynı durumdadır ve benzer davranışlar sergilediği, benzer bir tavır içinde olduğu tartışılmazdır. Çünkü sevdiği adam Zagor, Sinop cezaevine gitmiş, orada başka bir suç işlediği için başka bir şehire, oradan da farklı farklı yerlere sürülmüştür. Uğur'da onun peşinden giderek her şehirde Zagor'u takip etmektedir. Uğur Bekir'e yukarıda anlattığım şiddetli tepkiyi gösterdiğinde, bütün bu süreci pavyonlarda şarkıcılık yaparak, fahişelik yaparak yaşamıştır.

Karakterlerin aşağılanması rağmen hastalıklı tutkusunun peşinden koşmasının "Kader" filmindeki öne çıkan örneklerinden biri şudur: Bekir İzmir'de Uğur'la "kötülük istemek" üzerine konuşup onu yolundan vazgeçirmeye çalıştıktan sonra başaramayınca peşini bırakır. Fakat bir süre sonra Uğur'un peşinden Sinop'a gelir ve bir otel odasında bulur onu. Uğur'un onu kovmasından, hakaret edip küçümsemesinden sonra da gururunun kırılması yüzünden bileklerini keser. Aslında bu sahne filmin geneli için ya da Bekir'in hikayesi için bir özet olarak görülebilir: Uzun karanlık ve Uğur'un gölgesinin üzerine düştüğü bir koridorda bileklerini keserek "kaderine" bir tür teslimiyet yaşar Bekir. O tutkuyla gelen teslimiyetin -artık başına gelecek şey neyse- en son intiharla sonuçlanacak kadere teslimiyetin göstergesi olarak okunabilir bu sahne. Çünkü Bekir serserilik yapar, pavyonlarda çalışır, Uğur için daha önce bir kez vurulur İzmir'de. Pavyonda kurşunlanır ve ailesi onu alıp iyileştirdikten bir süre sonra karısıyla ve çocuğuyla olan hayatını terkedip tekrar Uğur'un peşine düşer. Zaten filmde birkaç kez Bekir'in İstanbul'daki karısıyla, çocuğuyla yaşadığı evde duramadığını, birkaç kez kapıdan döndüğünü ve tekrar Uğur'un peşine düştüğünü görürüz. Sinop'a yani kader çizgilerindeki büyük karşılaşma anına gelmeden öncede yaşadığı ve onu bu karşılaşmaya sürükleyen benzer şeyler vardır zaten Bekir'in. Karısıyla ve çocuğuyla birlikte yaşadığı evden çok anlık bir kararla çıkıp, Uğur'u bulmak için Sinop'a geldiği, sonun başlangıcı diyebileceğimiz, "artık benim yazgım budur, bunu yaşamak zorundayım, nereye varırsa varsın" dediği yerin başlangıcıdır. O teslimiyetin göstergesi olarak da bileklerini kesmiştir.

Bekir Uğur'la Karşılaşmasaydı Kaderi Nasıl Olabilirdi?

Film, Bekir'le Uğur'un hikayesini izlerken bu alternatif senaryoyu da düşündürüyor bir yandan. Bekir'in yaşadığı çevre, arkadaşları düşünüldüğünde aslında bu alternatif hayat konusunda da fikir yürütebiliriz. Bekir'in, kendisi için sonu belirsiz bir macera sayılacak bu yolculuğa çıkmaması durumunda yaşayacağı olası hayata dair ipuçları ve benzer hayatlar vardır filmde. Örneğin kahvehanede geçen sahneler vardır. Ancak ona benzer hayatlar süren insanlara oranla birçok açıdan daha avantajlı sayılabilecek bir hayatı da vardır Bekir'in: babasının ticari bir taksisi vardır. Bekir bir süre taksicilik yapar, Uğur'la tanıştığı halı dükkanını çalıştırır. İyi bir apartman dairesinde yaşamaktadır. Nitekim Bekir'den beklenen de bu avantajlı (!) hayatın ona sunduklarını kullanıp bunu büyütmesidir. Yani daha

fazla çocuk sahibi olmasıdır mesela. Dükkanları çalıştırıp işi büyütmesidir vs. Yani “iyi, düzenli/güvenli bir hayat sürdürmesidir” ki bu hayat zaten ihtimal dahilindedir. Dahası onun için kurgulanmış ve aile tarafından hazırlanmıştır. Dolayısıyla Bekir için böyle bir –alternatif- senaryo zaten hazırdır. Öte yandan Bekir bu hazır ve güvenli hayatı tercih etmeyerek ve bütün bu acılı yolu -bilerek ya da bilmeyerek- seçerek bir sorumluluk almış da olur. Bekir bunu seçer ama bunun ne kadar kontrolünde olduğu tartışılabilir. Çünkü, filmin son sahnesinde Bekir Uğur’a “herkes bu hayatta birşeye inanır, bende sana inanıyorum” der. Bu Uğur’la ilgili meselesini bir anlamda bir inanç haline getirdiğini de gösterir. Bu bir taraftan da Bekir’in artık içinde bulunduğu durumu, takip ettiği bu tutkuyu, peşine düştüğü şeyi sorgulamadığını gösterir. Çünkü, birşeyi inanç haline getirmek, bir tür dogmalaştırmak olduğu için insanın en azından bununla ilgili sorgulamaları artık bir kenara ittiği manasına gelir. Dolayısıyla Bekir, birçok şeyle yüzleşir belki ama bir süre sonra bunu neden yaptığını, Uğur’u neden takip ettiğini artık sorgulamaz.

Bekir’in Hiçliğe Giden Serüveni

Bekir’in hiçliğe giden serüveni vardır aslında bu filmin içerisinde: Hem fiziksel anlamda, hem erkeklik gururu açısından ölümünü getiren. Ki, Uğur’un da ona en çok hakaret ettiği noktalardan birisi “senin hiç gururun yok mu” olur. Film boyunca, Sinop’taki sahnede, İzmir’deki sahnede erkeklik gururu ve onuru açısından da Bekir’i yokoluşa, bir tür eriyişe götüren, zaman içinde erozyona uğratan bir süreç vardır. Ve bu süreç Bekir’in dönüşümünü yani bir taraftan esrara alışması, ekonomik olarak sefaletle sürüklenmesi, bıçaklanması, bir serseri hayatı sürdürmesi, İzmir’de parklarda yatıp kalkması gibi fiziksel bir boyut içerir. Bir taraftan da daha ruhani bir açıdan erimesi, silikleşmesi, kişisizleşmesi gibi bir süreç içerir.

Bekir’in hiçliğe giden serüveni olarak adlandırdığımız bu dramatik dönüşümü Doğu kültürlerinde sıklıkla gördüğümüz bir tema, bir motifle ilişkilendirmek mümkün. “**Benliğin erimesi**” ve “**bir başka benliğe ulaşma**”, bir hiçlik içerisinde aslında daha büyük, daha Tanrısal, daha aşkın bir aşka ulaşmak gibi okumak da mümkün. Bekir’in bilinçli olarak bu anlamda spiriüel bir yana sahip olduğunu söylemek güç. Hatta tersi bile söylenebilir. Bunun güçlü ispatlarından biriside şu sahnedir: Filmin bir sahnesinde Bekir erkek arkadaşlarıyla birlikte esrar içerken, aynı mahalleden bir arkadaşı Bekir’le Uğur’un hikayesini anlatarak bunun, Kerem ile Aslı’nın, Leyla ile Mecnun’un hikayesinden daha büyük bir aşk hikayesi olduğunu söyler. Fakat Bekir bunu hem reddeder, hem de şiddetle tepki gösterip onların duymak istediği cinsellik içeren bir erkek hikayesi anlatır. Dolayısıyla Bekir böyle ruhani, mistik bir aşkın kahramanı, parçası olmak istemez. Böyle bir destansılık atfetmez hikayesine. Ama o bunun farkında olmasa da hikayesinin böyle bir alt metni olduğu söylenebilir.

Karakterlerin içsel çelişkileri drama duygusunu besleyen, bütün hikaye içerisindeki dönüşümü tetikleyecek, çatışmayı besleyecek bir kavramdır. Çünkü hikaye başlangıcında Bekir’in Uğur’a ilişkin, hatta Uğur’un da Zagor’a ilişkin bir umut beslemesiyle başlar ama zaman içerisinde tam da bu bahsettiğimiz çatışma dolayısıyla büyük bir kavgaya, hem kendi içinde hem de öteki karakterlerle arasındaki çatışmaya dönüşür. Bekir’in yukarıda bahsettiğimiz değişimi yaşayabilmesi için, yani

başlangıçtaki masumiyet anından onu hiçliğe/yokoluşa götürecek teslimiyet anına kadar hem fiziksel anlamda, hem hayatının kurgusu açısından, hem de ruhani olarak değişime götürecek noktada bütün bu çelişkilerle ilerleyen bir yol vardır. Filmde, bu dramatik yapıyı kullanan bir izlek olduğu söylenebilir.

Bu izleği “yazgısına teslim olmak” diye adlandırmak da mümkündür. Çünkü Bekir’in, Uğur’un “beni niye takip ediyorsun?” sorusuna verdiği cevap genellikle şudur; “bütün bunlar düşünüldü, hesap edildi. Anlıyorum ki artık bu yol benim gideceğim yoldur.” der ve filmin en sonunda Kars’taki sahnede yaptıkları konuşmada da bunu söyleyerek geleceğe dair teslimiyet yaklaşımını belli eder Bekir. Dolayısıyla bu konuyu sorgulamayı artık bıraktığı şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Nitekim o sahnede “Bu kapı ahiret kapısı, burası sırat köprüsü, artık burdan geri dönüş yok” sözü vardır Bekir’in.

Hikayeleri açısından Bekir’le Uğur’un tuhaf bir tür “kader ortaklığı” vardır. Belki Uğur’un İzmir’deki sahnede Bekir’in sözlerine çok şiddetli tepki vermeyip o konuşurken ağlaması, bu ortaklığı farketmesi olarak yorumlanabilir. Çünkü aradan geçen zamanda Uğur da, Sinop’ta biriyle evlenmiş, bir çocuk sahibi olmuştur. Fakat adamı terketmiştir. Çünkü adam onu Uğur’un tabiriyle “eve kapatmak” istemiştir. Zagor’un peşinden gitmesine izin vermemiştir. Şimdi Bekir’in de 2 çocuğu vardır ve çocuğuna ilaç aldığı bir akşam eve uğramadan Uğur’un peşinden Kars’a gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla ikisi içinde aslında kapatılmaktan, özgürlüklerinin kısıtlanmasından ya da tümüyle maceradan yoksun, korunaklı, belki tatsız, tekdüze bir hayat sunulmasından kaçış gibi bir seçim söz konusudur. “Kader ortaklığı”ndan kastedilen bu ortaklıktır. Yani film boyunca birbirlerine çok benzer maceralar yaşayan ve paralel giden 2 öykünün varlığıdır. Ve her ikisi içinde geçerli olan bir karşılıklı esaret durumu vardır.

Demirkubuz Sinemasında ‘Vicdan’ın Yüğü

Kader filminin ve genel olarak Zeki Demirkubuz’un anlattığı öykülerin etkileyciliği, hem çok içli ve sert, hem çok gerçek ve -hepimizin başımıza gelmese de- çevremizde görebileceğimiz hikayeler olmasından kaynaklanır. Ayrıca Fatih Özgüven’in sinema diline ilişkin, çok başarılı bir yorumu vardır; **“Anlattığı duyguya bu kadar uyumlu görüntülerin eşlik ettiği, görüntü açısından da, sinema dili/görsellik açısından da o duyguyla atbaşı gittiği çok az film vardır. Bu filmin etkileyciliği biraz da onda yatıyor.”** Buna katılmamak mümkün değil. Çünkü, film boyunca izlediğimiz bütün o sıkıcı ev içlerini, eski battaniyeleri, mutsuz insanları, üzerine ağır sis çökmüş varoş mahallelerini, insanların iç sıkıntısıyla sigara içtiği balkonları, kötü apartmanları en azından çocukluk hatıralarımızdan biliriz. Dolayısıyla bu hikayenin “insanı oturduğu yere mihlayan” ya da en sonunda “bir duvara çarpmış hissi veren” etkileyciliği de bundan, bu söylediğimiz sertlikten ve sahicilikten kaynaklanır. Belki melodrama daha yakın başka birçok versiyonda anlatılabilecek şeylerden ayrılan tarafı da budur bu filmin. O melodramların büyük bir kısmında anlatıldığı gibi işlemez çünkü hayat çoğu zaman. Yani bu hayatta herkes bir fırsatını bulup bir şekilde fabrikatör olma, işini büyütme, ünlü ve zengin bir şarkıcı olma ve sonra onu yokoluşa götürecek kötü hikayelerden, mutsuz sonlardan, “kötü yola düşmek”ten kurtulup mutlu bir hayat sürme şansına erişemez.

EKUKLU, Bülent : Zeki Demirkubuz and “Destiny”

-II-

“Bekir’s Adventure into Nothingness”

In terms of dramatic structure "Destiny" is among the most powerful films in Demirkubuz’s cinema. Chiefly, the film tells the story of three characters who are condemned to the same fate. Bekir has an obsessional love for Uğur and follows her wherever she goes. However, Uğur has a similar obsession; she is in love with Zagor and follows him everywhere. For Uğur, Zagor represents a similar object that she represents for Bekir. Zagor is the kind of man who can’t stay away from trouble and always gets involved in crime. Therefore, Zagor is continuously transported from one prison to another and he is expected to live in jail for most of his life. It follows that there is no possibility for Uğur to meet Zagor. Similarly, since Uğur strongly and persistently refuses Bekir, Bekir cannot have any expectation about Uğur.

Thus, for all the three characters, there is in fact no possibility to reach the object which became the focus of their obsession. However, they keep on trying. Maybe they love to ride and struggle. For Bekir and Uğur, the reason to leave their safe lives and have this dangerous and consuming adventure may be this desire for the road.

Are the Characters Longing for Pleasure or Desire?

The three characters that are helplessly bound to each other and are unable to break their chains, may also be enjoying this state as it confers a kind of divinity to their existence. The feeling that they could harm themselves may even yield some pleasure. Therefore, it would not be inappropriate to term it "narcissism".

As an outstanding example of the characters’ persistence in their morbid passion is the deep love of Bekir despite suffering great humiliation. Bekir stopped following Uğur after they had a talk about “demanding evil” in İzmir and he could not convince her to come back. But after a while, he still goes to Sinop and finds Uğur in a small hotel. Uğur insults Bekir and sends him away. Through this humiliation Bekir cuts his wrists and attempts suicide.

In fact, this scene may be seen as the summary of the film or the summary of Bekir’s whole story: Bekir surrenders to his “destiny” when cutting his wrists in a long dark corridor where Uğur’s shadow falls.

Burden of Conscience in Demirkubuz’s Cinema

The reason of the deep impression that the film “Destiny” and Demirkubuz’s films in general make on us is twofold: at the one hand it comes from the fact that Demirkubuz’s films are very sensitive and hard, while on the other it is due to their closeness to everyday reality. Fatih Özgüven, instructor and writer,

interpreted the film's visual language as follows: **"There are very few films in which the images would accompany the emotion of the story which is told. In terms of its images, visual (cinema) language and the emotion, a very successful harmony is achieved here. The impressiveness of this movie comes from this harmony."** Unfortunately, we cannot agree with this comment because throughout the film we watch all those boring home insides, old blankets, unhappy people, a heavy fog on the suburban neighbourhoods, balconies where people are smoking and bad apartments, and we know all these things from our childhood memories at least. So, it is a kind of a story which "fixes people to their seats" or gives the sense of "hit a wall" at the end. This impressiveness of the film is due to its strength, hardness and reality, as we have said.



MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

The Immortal

Review of the exhibition "*The Immortal Alexander the Great*" of the Hermitage Amsterdam

<http://www.hermitage.nl/en/>

(18.09.2010 – 18.03.2011)

There was certainly an exchange of cultural goods and services between East and West well before the birth of Alexander the Great. On a geographical map Europe seems to be a branch of the big tree of Asia. Likewise felt the Greeks: they recognized that most Eastern cultures were much older than their own. Their culture was justified by stating that it had an Eastern origin. According to the Hellenic traditions, the Pelasgians (the pre-Greek inhabitants of Greece)¹ were reclaimed from barbarism by Oriental strangers. Diodorus recounts that Attica is indebted for the arts of civilized life to the Egyptian Kekrops (a mythical figure: half-man, half serpent/fish). To Kekrops is ascribed the foundation of the city of Athens, the institution of marriage, and the introduction of religious rites and ceremonies. In Alexander's time this myth was still a living tradition. Alexander (356-323 BC) himself was proud to tell that he descended from the Pelasgians through the line of Hellenic Kings. Even the Greek national heroes, such as Perseus and Heracles, were said to have Eastern origins².

The Greeks' esteem towards Easterners and especially Egyptians remained unchanged on the field of philosophy and science³ over the centuries. However, they became increasingly proud of their own culture, especially, after the Greco-Persian wars. Written texts attest that by the 4th century BC the Greeks regarded themselves morally, militarily and even culturally superior to the people of Eastern lands (e.g. Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians)⁴. A stereotype developed in which hardy Greeks live as free men in city-states where politics are a communal possession, whereas among the womanish barbarians everyone beneath the Great King is no better than his slave.⁵

In 334 BC, about 150 years after the Greco-Persian wars, the balance of power was still not settled in favor of one or the other of the two great powers. In that year the young Macedon King Alexander the

¹ The Pelasgians were the inhabitants of Greece and the Aegean area. They flourished from the Neolithic Period and up until the Bronze Age.

² They can have either Egyptian or Assyrian origins (Dandamayeva, 2010). Most scholars also agree that Greek creation myths have Near Eastern origins.

³ Both Plato (427-347 BC) and Pythagoras (582-500 BC) stated that they and other great Greek philosophers had studied and learned their knowledge in Egypt.

⁴ The originally neutral word 'barbarian' referring to all foreigners evolved into a pejorative term meaning a person who was uncivilized and practiced the most vile and inhuman acts imaginable. (Interestingly, there is another, recent connotation to the word barbarian: a tall, fierce, fair-skinned warrior; a positive, heroic figure.)

⁵ Cit. Webster's Online Dictionary

Great invaded the Persian-ruled Asia Minor and began a series of campaigns lasting ten years. During his campaigns he defeated the Persian king Darius III Codomannus and created an empire which stretched from the Adriatic Sea to the Indus River. The conquered lands included Asia Minor, Assyria, the Levant, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Media, Persia, and parts of modern Afghanistan, Pakistan and the steppes of central Asia. On this vast territory a common civilization, Hellenism, had been established which flourished for almost 200 years and Greek was in fact the *lingua franca* of the time⁶.

Alexander's campaigns were unquestionably great physical and military achievements. However, his kingdom was by no means the vastest or the greatest the world has ever seen (even the Achaemenid Persian Empire preceded it both in territory and number of inhabitants). Nor was the trade of cultural and material goods between the East and Greece new or unprecedented. The relations between the Greeks and the people of the East had its ups and downs. Just before Alexander's time, the long-lasting dispute with the Persians brought about an intensification of the relations together with a significant influence of Greek art on the East.

Then what is the reason behind Alexander's fame which has not faded away for two millennia? Why are the innumerable artistic depictions made of him in written, sculpted or painted form, why is he included in the Hebrew, Christian and Islam traditions, what is the reason for his immense popularity in the classical and post-classical cultures of the Mediterranean and Middle East? The answer lies not in the historical facts but in mythology. Myths should not be confused with tales. A myth is a story that communicates a psycho-social truth, explains the world and provides examples of how people should live in it. Alexander's greatness lies in the fact that he was a perfect incarnation of the archetype of the *Hero*. In this respect Alexander has more to share with mythic kings such as Gilgamesh or Odysseus than with the military genius Hannibal or Napoleon. Alexander regarded himself superhuman, half god half man, and his contemporaries — even the subdued — shared this feeling. He made a 500 km journey through the Egyptian desert to the oracle of Siwa for the sole purpose of asserting his divine status. In Alexander's life we can find all composing elements of the heroic cycle⁷; including the three phases (departure, initiation, and return), and the decisive personages such as a loyal friend or *Herald* (Hephaestion) and the sage or *Mentor* (Aristotle). Since Alexander was a perfect embodiment of the *Hero* and because archetypes are universal characters living in all human soul we find resonations to Alexander's image in many cultures and over many centuries. This is why the word 'Immortal' holds in title of the exhibition.

The exhibition in the Hermitage Amsterdam introduces us a unique, 370-piece collection of masterpieces related to the myth, reality and heritage of Alexander the Great. In the main hall of the exhibition we are welcomed by artworks from the 17th to 19th century visualizing some of the deeds and conquests of the Macedon king. These artworks were mostly conceived in the Baroque era when the image of Alexander was identified with perfection, aristocracy and art patronage. The latter is reflected in

⁶ The influence of the Greek language on Sanskrit in the Hellenistic era was so significant that it inspired the 19th century establishment of the 'Indo-European language family' (see e.g. Winters, 2010)

⁷ Joseph Campbell, 2008.

Sebastiano Ricci's famous painting 'Apelles painting Campaspe'. The story⁸, frequently adopted in the Baroque, signs a new status of the artist. There is a particularly impressive series of six finely carved reliefs from Antoine-Marin Melotte on "The military triumphs of Alexander the Great". It was engraved on the order of the Alexander-enthusiast Catherine the Great. Equally interesting is Antonio Tempesta's series of twelve engravings, published around 1590, which served as a source of inspiration for a whole group of imitators. A fascinating, 4.5x6.9 meters long tapestry from the workshop of Jan Frans van den Hecke (Brussels, end of 17th century) is based on Charles le Brun's painting 'Family of Darius before Alexander' which once so delighted Louis XIV that he immediately ennobled Le Brun and created him 'Premier Peintre du Roi'. Next to the loud and pathetic Baroque artworks we find fine Italian Renaissance objects of noble serenity: richly decorated steel helmets and a beautiful breastplate covered with curving ivory plaques and carved images.

In the second part of the exhibition we travel back in time to the everyday and the mythic reality of the Macedon king. Innumerable wondrous objects are exhibited here from Macedonia, Greece and the Eastern lands, in the order of Alexander's campaigns; iron and bronze helmets, skillfully forged bronze greaves⁹, black and red-figured amphorae, meter-tall volute kraters, golden Greek olive crowns... What craftsmanship existed before the age of mass production! A series of Roman marble sculptures from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, based on Greek originals, catches the eye. The beautiful piece 'Heracles fighting a lion' is a copy of the famous Greek sculptor Lisippus' work, with 16th century additions. Another copy based on a Lisippus' statue, much praised in ancient times, is 'Eros with a bow'. Particularly rich is the collection of cameos and coins. Among them we find the legendary 'Gonzaga Cameo' from the 3rd century BC, which passed through the hands of many famous European collectors, e.g. Queen Christina of Sweden, Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I. The collection of items from the nomad Scythian cultures of central Asia is of great archaeological interest.

The third part of the exhibition, called Alexander's Legacy, is placed on the second floor. Alexander (Iskander) played a prominent role in Persian literature. A series of finely executed 15th and 16th century Persian miniature illustrations, copied from the Khamsa of the poet Nizami Ghanjavi, is of particular interest. Fourth-century reliefs from Palmyra demonstrate the endurance of Greek traditions outside Greece. Similarly, a fragment of paper with Greek text, but in Coptic script, originating from the 9th century Egypt, proves that Greek was still being used in the Coptic Church at that time.

A special merit of the exhibition is that nearly two-fifths of the objects in Hermitage Amsterdam have never even been on show in St. Petersburg. However, the interactive maps aiming to help the visitor to follow Alexander's journey, seem to work better as a demonstration of digital virtuosity than an instructive tool. The exhibition is accompanied by a richly illustrated catalogue.

In parallel with the Hermitage Amsterdam's exhibition, two other collections on Alexander the Great are currently on display: one in the Allard Pierson Museum of Amsterdam (Alexander's Legacy – Greeks

⁸ Pliny the Elder (XXXV, 10) records that Alexander once commissioned a painting of his most beautiful mistress Campaspe from Apelles, the most famous Greek artist. However, upon noticing the artist's love towards Campaspe, Alexander generously presented his lover to Apelles and contented himself with her portrait.

⁹ Shin armour

in Egypt; 17.09.2010 – 20.03.2011) and another in Madrid (Alexander the Great, Meeting with the East; 03.12.2010-03.05.2011), the latter featuring over 330 original pieces from 30 museums all over the world.

A superb catalog accompanies the exhibition, published both in English and in Dutch:

- THE IMMORTAL ALEXANDER THE GREAT — ISBN 978 90 78653 226 (English)
- DE ONSTERFELIJKE ALEXANDER DE GROTE — ISBN 978 90 78653 219 (Dutch)

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The Exposition

Foto: Jørgen Koopmanschap



The fight of Heracles and the Nemean lion

Rome, fragments from the 2nd-3rd century AD, with possible corrections from Italy, 16th-17th century. Marmor, 65 cm.

© State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg



TRAVELOGUE

TAPON, Francis

Finland—or call it Suomi

Finland is nearly a perfect society. Everything works. Cities are clean. There is no crime. People are nice. It's just that the winters suck.

Finland is big and empty. It is about 80 percent of the size of California, yet has roughly 15 percent of the population (five million versus 40 million). Most Finns live in the south, around Helsinki, to enjoy the country's best weather, which is horrible most of the year.

Few Americans know where Finland is. The answer is simple: it's where Santa Claus lives. Really. Rovaniemi is a quaint town on the edge of Lapland, the northernmost region in Finland, and is Santa's global headquarters. However, St. Nick was officially born in Korvatunturi (meaning "Ear Mountain"), which is even farther north. Santa Claus thought that Korvatunturi was a bit too chilly, so he set up shop a bit south of there in Rovaniemi. That's like moving from Houston to Dallas to escape the heat.

Although most of the world agrees that Finland is where Santa Claus lives, not everyone believes that Finland is part of Scandinavia. Looking at a map, it seems like Finland is in Scandinavia, along with Sweden and Norway. However, Finns say that Scandinavia has little to do with geography and more to do with the historical, cultural, and linguistic heritage that Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland share. They say that if you must slap a label on Norway, Sweden, and Finland, then call them *Nordic* countries. Telling a Finn that he's in Scandinavia won't insult him, but telling him that he's in Eastern Europe will.

Still, maps don't lie—Finland is directly north of the Baltic states. Given that the Baltic states are solidly in Eastern Europe, that means Finland is in Eastern Europe. Of course, like all Eastern European countries, Finland will vehemently deny that they are in Eastern Europe. Finns will cry that they are in *Northern* Europe, and that Eastern Europe is a "political concept" that only includes countries that used to be in the Warsaw Pact. Despite their denials, I figured that two weeks in Finland would be a nice warm up for the "real" Eastern Europe. It's ironic that my "warm up" almost froze me to death.

Hiking all "night" at the Arctic Circle on the summer solstice

I celebrated the longest day of the year by going way north to the Hautajärvi Nature Center and hiking the 80 kilometer (50 mile) Karhunkierros Trail. If you can say the name of that trail, you deserve a trip to Finland. It means "The Bear's Trail." The path starts at a place called Hautajärvi, which means "Grave Lake." With such cheerful names, I wondered if it was smart hiking this trail alone.

The rangers told me most people take four to six days to hike it. I had only two days of food and there were no stores nearby. I figured I'd move fast with a light backpack, so I went for it. However, after just five hours of steady hiking, a self-locking outhouse stopped me cold. Fortunately, I escaped and kept hiking throughout the night. At 2:00 a.m. the sun hid behind a mountain and 30 minutes later, it started

rising again. The Karhunkierros Trail features ravines, primeval forests, and suspension bridges over whitewater rivers. The civilized Finns have built *pitkospuu* (narrow wooden paths) to preserve the vulnerable vegetation and to make you an easy target for the gangs of mosquitoes.

After hiking all night, I stopped at the Jussinkämpä cabin at 6:30 a.m. to sleep for four hours. After 13 hours of hiking, I had covered 45 kilometers (30 miles). Most of the trail, like most of Finland, is pretty flat, with some rolling hills. After my nap, I walked the last 35 kilometers, finished by midnight, and stayed in an adorable one-person hut at the trail's highest point, Valtavaara, which rises a modest 491 meters (1,600 feet). I was surprised that nobody was in the hut given the perfect conditions and the 360-degree views. Maybe it's because it's an emergency shelter and not meant for camping. Or perhaps it's just because there simply aren't that many Finns in Finland.

The rangers were shocked that I returned so quickly. What was my secret for covering 80 kilometers in 30 hours? Endless sun and some fine friends pushing me along: hordes of bugs. Only seeing the occasional reindeer would make me stop. And seeing Santa Claus too.

Hitchhiking towards Oulu

The next bus out of the Ruka region was leaving in six hours. Even though cars were infrequent, I figured I could get to Kuusamo, the next major town, faster if I just hitchhiked. After 30 minutes, a small blue car pulled up. The muscular driver seemed bigger than the car he was driving.

"Kuusamo?" I asked tentatively, not knowing if he understood English.

"Yes, come in," the dark-haired man replied with a unique accent.

It's rare to see dark hair and olive skin in Lapland. After all, when it's freezing nine months a year, you don't have much of a chance to get a tan. The driver was a 36-year-old Turkish man who had been living in Lapland for 17 years after marrying (and divorcing) a Finnish wife he originally met on a French beach. This former body builder had biceps that could crush my skull like a nut.

"So you're from America?" he asked.

"Yes," I sheepishly answered, knowing that this Turk could hate America. I quickly added, "But my mom is from Chile and my dad is from France." I figured that telling him this would make it more likely that he would just shoot me and not behead me.

"So what do you think of Bush and the war in Iraq?"

I sighed. It was the summer of 2004 and the Iraq War was in progress and was unpopular throughout the world (except America). "I think Bush should have been more patient and tried to get more countries to agree with him before going into Iraq..."

"I think he did the right thing," he interrupted, "You know, Saddam was a really bad man. People in Iraq suffered. Yeah, Bush might have done some things better, but it's good that America went into Iraq. I like Bush."

A pro-Bush Turk? No wonder he was living in Finland!

After about an hour of chatting, he dropped me off in Kuusamo. I caught a bus to the port city of Oulu. This quaint seaside town was made for strolling. While I was hanging out on the dock, I met a Finnish woman named Outi Joensuu. Outi kindly invited me to join her and some friends for some drinks by the wharf. Before bidding farewell, I learned a bit about the Finns.

I like looking like the president of a country, even if it is a woman. — Conan O'Brien, TV comedian who is popular in Finland partly because he looks like Tarja Halonen, the first female President of Finland

If the United Nations (UN) had a survey, I'm sure that Finland would be voted as "The Country Least Likely to Start World War III." They are a peaceful people. Almost... too peaceful. Nobody hates the Finns. However, that doesn't stop some from going over to Finland to beat up on them anyway. First, the imperialist Swedes came in the twelfth century. The Swedes conquered the Finns and ruled them for 700 years. The Swedes dominated the Finns so tightly that it wasn't until 1863 when the poor Finns finally convinced the Russians (who were ruling them at the time) to let Finnish have equal status as Swedish. Notice that the Finns didn't request to have their language be more important than Swedish, just equal. And it took over 700 years to reach that milestone.

Finland's rivalry with Sweden goes way, way back when we were under Sweden's rule. We always think they are better than us. We played against them so often for so many years. Every country has one opponent they want to beat and for us, it's Sweden. — Saku Koivu, Former Captain of Team Finland's ice hockey team

Today, Swedes are only six percent of the Finland's population, but Swedish is Finland's official second language, Finns must learn it at school, and many signs are bilingual. I asked a Swede to explain why they don't speak Finnish. One tall blond Swede said, "Why would you want to learn a language that so few people speak, especially when most of those people speak English?" Good point. So why should the Finns to learn Swedish? The pacifist, non-confrontational Finns just do. And it gets better.

Ahvenanmaa—Swedish Islands in Finland

To fully understand how much the Swedes are still milking their 700 years of domination, consider the Ahvenanmaa archipelago (Åland in Swedish) in the southwest corner of Finland. It has approximately 6,500 islands (about 80 are inhabited). Ahvenanmaa is roughly between the Swedish mainland and the Finnish mainland, but it officially belongs to Finland. The Swedes are so brazen that they've somehow managed to control this archipelago and make it an exclusive Swedish-speaking enclave. That's right, Finnish-speaking Finns are discouraged to live on an island in their own country because it's effectively reserved for Swedish-speaking Finns. You speak Finnish on this Finnish island? Go home. Sorry, we only speak Swedish in this part of Finland.

Lentokonesuihkuturbiinimoottoriapumekaanikkoaliupseerioppilas — The longest Finnish word, which means Airplane jet turbine engine auxiliary mechanic non-commissioned officer student (with words like that, I might prefer Swedish too)

Let's see how far the Swedes have imposed their way. In 1921, the League of Nations (the precursor to the UN) said that Ahvenanmaa belongs to Finland, but it sure doesn't seem that way. Unlike any other province in Finland, this island province has its own internal parliament, which shares the power with the governor. The Finnish government can't amend the Ahvenanmaa Autonomy Act without the approval of the island's parliament. Ahvenanmaa is a demilitarized and neutral territory. Even the Finnish Navy can't park their boats on these Finnish islands!

They collect their own taxes, spend it all on their 25,766 inhabitants, and have few financial entanglements with the rest of Finland. To own property, vote, and conduct business on Ahvenanmaa you have to obtain the Right of Domicile. To get that, you have to live on this Finnish island for five years and speak excellent *Swedish*. Any international treaty entered into by Finland requires the consent of the Parliament of Ahvenanmaa to become valid also in Ahvenanmaa. Ahvenanmaa has its own postage stamps and flag. Ahvenanmaa websites use the .ax suffix instead of the .fi Finnish suffix. While Finland has two official languages (Finnish and Swedish), Ahvenanmaa has only one official language: Swedish! The poor Finnish government has to translate all documents it sends there into Swedish if they want the local parliament to read it. It's amazing they don't use the Swedish currency and carry Swedish passports!

How did the Ahvenanmaa natives get away with all this? To find the answer you have to turn back the clock 200 years. The reason they're part of Finland and not Sweden is that Russia kicked Sweden's ass in the war of 1808-09. To end the war, the Swedes agreed to hand Finland over to Russia. Russia said that wasn't enough, so Sweden tossed them a bone, or, in this case, an archipelago—Ahvenanmaa.

Russia called all their newly acquired territory (including Ahvenanmaa) the Grand Duchy of Finland. Therefore, when Finland declared its independence from Russia in 1919, the Finns thought it was only fair to keep Ahvenanmaa. After all, for the last 110 years it was all part of the same Duchy and Sweden lost that territory fair and square. However, the Ahvenanmaa populace preferred rejoining their Swedish motherland. The Finns, tired of fighting, agreed to a compromise that gave them all the autonomy that they enjoy today.

If trying to understand Finland's history gives you a headache, just you wait. These convoluted situations exist throughout Eastern Europe. Attempting to understand them is hard enough when you speak the local language, so you can imagine the throbbing headaches I had during my travels.

Many impartial observers believe Ahvenanmaa is an exemplary solution to a minority conflict. Ahvenanmaa is special not just because nobody died fighting for its autonomy, but also because it's been demilitarized for many years. Ahvenanmaa's relationship with the Finnish government is truly fascinating. But what's even more fascinating is that there is relatively little animosity between the Finns and Swedes. As we'll soon see, Eastern Europeans get hysterical over much more trivial issues.

The Finnish Culture

Finnish culture discourages violence and emotional outbursts (unless you're drunk, which happens every weekend). On the other hand, just because they're peaceful doesn't mean they're cowards or wimps. They've defended themselves against the Russians many times and live in one of the coldest regions of the planet. However, when it comes to most disputes with the Swedes, they are like the

husband who would rather not argue with his nagging wife. “Yes, dear,” the Finns say to the pesky Swedes. In the tranquil minds of the Finns, it’s just not worth getting upset about minor issues that hardly matter. In short, the Finns have let themselves be forced to learn the useless Swedish language instead of telling the Swedes the same thing the Germans told the French: “Listen, you assholes, if you want to talk to me, you talk to me in English!”

It was 1:47 a.m. in Helsinki and I was desperately looking for someone who could speak English. That night I would learn something more about the Finnish character—they are incredibly trustworthy and generous.

An odd night in Helsinki

The youth hostel where I was staying had a 2:00 a.m. curfew. After 2:00 a.m. there was absolutely no way to enter the building and it wouldn’t reopen until 6:00 a.m. With 13 minutes before closing, I was lost.

How did I get into this predicament? Earlier that evening I met the oddest couple: a petite bubbly blond and a sour, chubby Goth girl. They had invited me to come with them to a nightclub. The hyperactive blond girl was named Aila and was dressed mostly in pink, while her best friend, Marketta, wore severe black clothes and used mascara and eyeliner by the liter. While I struggled to understand why these two girls were friends, the nightclub played ear-splitting metal music. “Music” is a generous term: *noise* is more accurate. The bouncy blond did most of the talking while her Anti-Christ friend lurked in the shadows.

To overcome the screeching metal music, Aila would yell at me like I was a 95-year-old without a hearing aid. Toward the end of the evening, she surprised me by inviting me to join her and her boyfriend to her summer cottage. I had met Aila just a few hours before, yet she was inviting me to her summer cottage. Yes, she would have her hefty boyfriend to protect her, but still. Those who hike long distance trails in America call such unexpected generosity from strangers *trail magic*.

Unfortunately, going to Aila’s summer house would require staying in Finland longer than I had planned. I was eager to enter Eastern Europe. I thanked her profusely for her trail magic and then left the nightclub at 1:30 a.m. with my ears ringing as if a mosquito were stuck in my ear. Suddenly I remembered my hostel’s 2:00 a.m. curfew and needed a quick, cheap way to return home. Fortunately, Finland has a marvelous invention for just such a getaway—free bikes.

Finland’s free bikes

Walk around the picturesque Helsinki and you’ll see colorful bikes on the sidewalk. Make a one euro deposit and you can bike throughout the flat capital. Their bike lanes are more like bike highways, complete with special traffic lights, lanes, and signs. The designated bike lanes are obvious because they’re on a pink pavement and always between the sidewalk and the street. As a result, it’s easy to avoid pedestrians and cars, although with a million bikes, accidents do happen. After biking by Helsinki’s

fabulous monuments and its immaculate wharf, drop off your bike at any one of the many bike depots to get your one euro deposit back. Yes, bikes are free in Finland.

Before you move to Finland to enjoy the free bikes, reflect on the downsides. Just like grazing commons are abused, common bikes are mistreated. Many of the bike depots were empty—all the bikes were checked out. Part of the problem is that there aren't enough bikes to meet the demand. The other problem is that some people check them out indefinitely. There's nothing stopping you from taking the common bike home, parking it in your garage, and using it whenever you feel like it. Like all honor code systems, a few people unscrupulously take advantage of it. Fortunately, Finland is a wealthy society and so such abuses are rare, but it does happen. Moreover, some don't take care of objects that aren't theirs. The free bikes are carelessly thrashed; as a result, broken bikes sit at depots patiently waiting to be repaired. Taxpayers pay the bill. It's easy to understand why many Finns are not happy to hand over half their income to the government.

However, at 1:34 a.m. I was thrilled that the Finnish government taxes its citizens to death because I found a working bike on the sidewalk. I plopped a euro into the bike, thereby releasing it, and then peddled toward my hostel. Or at least, so I thought. By 1:47 a.m. I was struggling to decipher my Helsinki map. The street was deserted. However, in the distance a lone woman was walking my way. I biked over to her and asked her if she spoke English. She did. She was a slender blond in her 40s, wearing pink pants. It was remarkable that she was walking alone in such a deserted area—it was either a testament to Finland's safety or to her stupidity.

I pointed to my map and said, "I need to get to *here* in the next 12 minutes."

"You'll never get there," she informed me with an accent. "It's at least 30 minutes away. You won't find a taxi here either."

I had left all my camping gear in the hostel, so I couldn't camp out. I had only two options. One is that I could get another room in a hotel, but that would be expensive and I would feel stupid renting a second room when I'm already paying for one. The other is that I could party all night. It was near the summer solstice, so the nights hardly got dark in Helsinki and the Finns often party until 6:00 a.m. While I contemplated my undesirable options, the lady stunned me when she said, "Well, if you want, you can sleep on my couch."

I couldn't believe my luck. This lady, named Lea, had spent just a few minutes talking with me and trusted me enough to invite me to her house! What's more stunning is that Lea was the mother of five children. Many Americans would think she was taking a foolish risk of inviting a strange man to her home. However, the Finns have more confidence in their fellow humans, at least ones riding free bikes.

We walked to her apartment. It was small, clean, and modern. She offered me a bite to eat. A *perinneruoka* is a traditional Finnish dish, which is traditionally not eaten. That's right; Finns only eat a *perinneruoka* if it's a holiday or if they're old farts. The typical Finn does not eat "traditional food." Instead, most Finns favor *kotiruoka*, which means "home-made food." That night Lea offered me a simple *kotiruoka*.

Finnish food is yummy. They favor dark rye bread and dairy products. Lea offered the following spread in the middle of the night: *ruisleipä* (classic Finnish bread, which is similar to dark brown rye bread), *juusto* (savory cheese), *viili* (a yogurt-like fermented milk product), and *lihapullat* (Finnish

meatballs). Some of their fruit names sound just like the English words: *meloni* (melon) and *banaani* (banana). However, others are completely different: *päärynä* (pear) and *viinirypäle* (grape).

The Finnish temple: the sauna

As I washed my hands in the bathroom, I found something unexpected and unusual there: a sauna. Finns value a sauna like Americans value a home theater—it's hard to be truly happy without one. We chatted about saunas while we munched on the *kotiruoka*. Eventually Lea said, "Do you want to try the sauna with me?"

I hesitated. In America, getting into a sauna at 2:30 a.m. is a bit risqué. But I'm in Finland, I reminded myself. Getting into a sauna in Finland is like watching something on a home theater in America. I agreed. "OK, then get in," she said, "And I'll go change my clothes."

I got naked, wrapped a towel around my waist, and walked into the hot sauna. Moments later Lea shocked me when she walked in: she was completely naked—not even a skimpy towel.

She giggled when she saw me sitting meekly in a corner with a towel around me. She laughed, "You're obviously not Finnish! You don't wear towels in saunas! Give it to me," she said with a smile.

This was one of those travel moments when I was glad to be a man.

I wasn't in Rome, but I thought, "Do as the Romans do." I stood up and humbly took my towel off. I sat down again and looked at my penis. What was I supposed to do with it? Just let it lie there in plain view? Or should I cross my legs and tuck my unit in between my legs so that only my pubic hair is visible? Or does doing that make me gay?

Lea sat next to me and was saying something, but I wasn't listening. I was thinking about my penis and what to do with it. Then I reminded myself that she was naked next to me. For a mother of five, she certainly has an amazing body. Uh oh. I am thinking too much. No, not with that head; my other head. Suddenly I lost control of my unit. He started to get bigger. *Oh no! Stop! Please!* Of course, the more I thought about not thinking, the more I couldn't help but think about what I was thinking.

It expanded more. Is she noticing? What is she chattering about anyway? *Who cares!* Just get that boy down! Maybe I should tuck it in! But if I tuck it in now, I'll draw her attention there. Just ignore it! *No!* It's getting engorged with blood. Is it hot in here or is it me?

Finally, I thought of the ultimate libido killer: Michael Moore. I repeated in my head, "Michael Moore. Michael Moore. Michael Moore...." I imagined the fat, hairy Michael Moore next to me, naked. Instantly, I began to deflate. *Whew!*

I finally started listening to her and then interrupted, "Hey, where are your kids anyway?" I had seen their photos throughout the apartment and there were a few closed doors that surely led to their rooms.

"They're away for the weekend with their father."

"Oh, that's nice," I said. Awkward silence.

Lea said quietly, "Would you like a Finnish massage?"

Oh no. Not again. My blood was leaving my brain again and heading south. How should I answer her question? Her delicate hands grazed my back. *Francis, behave. Michael Moore! Michael fucking Moore!!! Damn it! It's not working! I know, I'll lie on my stomach! That will hide everything!*

"Sure, I'd like to try a Finnish massage," I said while quickly flipping onto my stomach. Lea's soft hands caressed my back. Thinking of Michael Moore wasn't helping. I imagined Michael's hands rubbing my legs, but it was useless: Lea's hands were too small and she just wasn't a fat film director.

Lea's wet hands went up and down my body. Thank God I'm on my stomach. Her soothing voice was as soft as her hands. I was in Finnish heaven. She eventually massaged my butt and that's when I blurted out, "You're, er, I mean, *it's* really hot," I stammered. "Can I take a shower?"

"Yes," she whispered. "It's just right there," she pointed to the nearby shower. I rose with my back to her so that she couldn't tell what else had risen. Of course, she knew something was up. She was grinning mischievously.

After an ice cold shower, I dried off while Lea showered. Little did I know that I would have two more interesting sauna experiences in Eastern Europe.

Around 3:00 a.m. the sky was brightening as the sun started to rise. That's exactly when I went to sleep. As I lost consciousness, I realized that I was falling madly in love with Finland.

Software is like sex: it is better when it's free. — Linus Torvalds, the Finn who invented Linux

I woke up at 9:00 a.m. and Lea served me a flavorsome Finnish breakfast, which consisted of open sandwiches caked with margarine. Finns have been gorging on rye and whole grain bread long before the rest of world realized how healthy it is. For toppings, I could choose between a hard cheese and cold cuts. Lea also offered me some *viili* (yogurt) with muesli and jam. She apologized that she didn't have any *puuro* (porridge), which is made with rolled oats and eaten with *voisilmä* (literally "butter eye"). Lea was more lively than the typical Finn, who is so calm that it's almost creepy. The Germans are almost as stoic, but at least they get mad every once in a while and start a world war.

Even the Finns admit that they are horribly shy (unless they are drunk). However, Finns are friendly and helpful once you start talking with them. My experience with Lea is a perfect example. Finns are safe, trusting, and generous. They also produce smart kids. When Lea bragged about how smart her kids were, I thought she was just another deluded parent. I was wrong.

The smartest kids in the world

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) tested 400,000 15-year-olds in 57 countries on science, math, and reading. Finnish teenagers placed number one in science and ranked number one overall. As a result, school administrators from all over the world have been descending on Finland to learn their secrets. For example, during one six-month period, one Finnish school had 300 foreign journalists visiting it. What they learned shocked some observers.

Consider that the typical Finnish high-school student: gets only 30 minutes of homework on an average night, doesn't have a school uniform, has no honor roll or valedictorian status to strive for, has no

tardy bell to hear, didn't start school until the age of seven, and doesn't stress that much about going to college. Teachers don't send their gifted students to special classes, but instead effectively make them an assistant teacher. Still, the smart ones aren't as polite as the teachers. For example, when someone asks a stupid question, Finnish kids often bark out, "KVG!" That stands for *kato vittu Googlesta* (check it out on Google, you cunt)! You gotta wonder what it says about the future of the human race when the smartest kids on the planet are calling each other cunts.

So what is the secret to the Finnish success? While I waited for the Helsinki's awesome Museum of Modern Art to open, I looked at Finnish teenagers to see if I could see the answer. They were smoking, had dyed hair, and sang Bob Dylan's "Knocking on Heaven's Door." They didn't appear that different from American teenagers, yet American students got a C in the global competition despite spending 20 percent more student than Finland.

The main reason for the Finnish educational success is that teachers are highly valued and have substantial autonomy. Although teachers in Finland are paid about the same amount as American teachers (and they have similar costs of living), the job is highly coveted—nine out of ten applicants are rejected. Those who become teachers work hard to stay there. Most importantly, teachers in Finland are *entrepreneurs*—they customize each class depending on the needs and abilities of the students, instead of having to follow some nationwide mandate/curriculum.

When the Swedes and Russians were dominating Finland, the Finns asked themselves if they could be good at anything. They decided to make their education system their source of national pride. Therefore, in the early 1970s the Finns arrived at a consensus and stuck with it. If teachers want to make minor adjustments, they're free to do so. Nationally, they haven't futzed with the education system for decades. Another secret is that teachers will quickly and aggressively tackle the problems of struggling students. Finally, there may be yet another reason for the Finn's success. Because the five million Finns are the only people on the planet who speak Finnish, everyone learns English quickly. One of the main reasons they learn English so fast is that they never dub their foreign movies or TV shows—they only use subtitles. This has two benefits. First, by hearing English often, the Finns absorb English rapidly. Second, by reading subtitles, the young Finns improve their reading skills. Finland's reading scores are far ahead of all other countries. Studies show that learning a foreign language accelerates brain development. While other countries wait until sixth grade to teach a foreign language, the Finns start in third grade.

We don't need to copy everything in the Finnish educational model. A common mistake when people look at the best of the best is to conclude that we should copy everything. We forget that they may be the best *despite* a methodology, not *because* of it. Nevertheless, we ought wander to Finland and learn from them.

Do you know what Finns call their country?

Understanding what the Finns call their country tells a lot about their easy-going, non-confrontational culture. Before I reveal what the Finns call their country, let's see what other countries call Finland: *Finlande* (French); *Finnland* (German); *Finland* (Swedish, Dutch, and Portuguese); Φινλανδία (Greek — it sounds like "Finladia"); *Finlandia* (Spanish and Italian); 핀란드 (Korean—sounds like "Peen-lan-duh");

Финляндия (Russian—sounds like “Finlyandiya”); フィンランド (Japanese—sounds like “Finrando”; and 芬蘭 (Chinese— sounds like “Fenlan”); *Ufini* (Swahili); *Finnország* (Hungarian); *Finnland* (Icelandic). Therefore, it’s safe to say that most countries in the world call the country where the Finns live something that sounds like “Finland.”

OK, so what do the Finns call their country? *Suomi*. Yeah. That’s right. *Suomi*. This has absolutely nothing to do with the phonetic sound of “Finland.” How did this happen? Simple. A few thousand years ago, the Finns introduced themselves to their neighbors. The exchange went something like this: “Welcome Stranger, what land do you hail from?”

“*Suomi*,” replied the Finn.

“Oh really? Hey honey, this guy says he’s from a place called Finland!”

“No,” the Finn said, “It’s not called Finland, my country is called *Suomi*!”

“Yeah, whatever. You’re from *Finland*, bucko!”

I realize that all languages do funny things with names. For example, in Chile people called Francis are sometimes called Paco. In America, folks called Robert are also called Bob and of course, every Richard is obviously a Dick.

So it’s not surprising that sometimes we dramatically alter the names of countries. I don’t expect every country to pronounce a foreign country exactly how the locals of that country pronounce their country’s name. But at least they should make a halfhearted attempt at getting it right. For example, it’s lame that Americans call the capital of the Czech Republic *Prague*, when the locals call it *Praha*. Come on, how hard is it to say *Praha*? Or calling the capital of Portugal (*Lisboa*) *Lisbon*? Saying *Lisboa* is hardly a tongue twister. But at least Lisbon and Prague aren’t completely off the phonetic mark. So I can easily forgive such minor changes, even though sometimes the excuse for it is pretty weak.

Changes that are more egregious are harder to forgive, like Greeks calling Switzerland *Elvitia* or English speakers calling *Deutschland* Germany. But these are usually isolated cases. Most of the time countries pronounce foreign countries in the same phonetic ballpark of what the locals call it. However, most of the world fails to call Finland by its proper phonetic name of *Suomi*. Who is to blame for this global chaos? Germany, as usual.

Early Germans used the word *Finn* to describe nomadic hunter gatherers. Nobody knows when or why that word got associated with the Finns. After all, there were hunter gatherers everywhere, why should the home country of the Finns get that tag? However, many scholars blame the Germanic people for mislabeling Finland, even though the oldest written account of the “land of the Finns” was found on two Swedish rune stones that had the words *finlont* and *finandi*.

On the other hand, it’s possible that the Finns themselves are to blame for the name Finland. Some historians believe that early Finns didn’t call their country *Suomi*, but called it *Suomaa*. In Finnish *suo* is sometimes mistranslated into “swamp” or “bog.” So *Suomaa* would mean Bogland or Swampland. Those names wouldn’t exactly bring in the tourists. A better translation of *suo* would be *fen*. Fens, which are common in Finland, are wetlands fed by alkaline, mineral-rich groundwater. With that more accurate translation of *suo* the word *Suomaa* would then mean “Land of the Fens,” or more simply *Fenland*.

However, whatever the etymology of Finland is, there's still no good excuse for why no one calls Finland by its real name, Suomi. The Finns can call their country whatever they want and it's the job of the foreigners to imitate the phonetic sound. The Finns could easily mount a global campaign to get all the nations in the world to change how they pronounce their country's name. For example, Myanmar, a far poorer country than Finland, went on an expensive global crusade to force everyone to stop calling their country Burma. Myanmar is phonetically much closer to the actual country's name than Burma (which the colonialist British coined).

Even cities force geographers throughout the world to redo their maps. For example, Mongolia didn't like that English speakers could easily spell the name of their capital, so they changed it to from Ulan Bator to Ulaanbaatar. Bombay now wants to be called Mumbai. Peking must be called Beijing. St. Petersburg has been a real pain in the ass for cartographers because it's changed its name three times in the last 100 years (Petrograd; Leningrad; St. Petersburg). Therefore, the Finns would not piss off the mapmakers of the world too badly by asking them to call their country some derivation of the word Suomi. If we can make the change for Myanmar, we can do it for Suomi.

It says a lot about the Finnish character that they don't try to make the whole world change the way they're called. Finns are relaxed, peaceful, and calm. What's the point of creating a stir over something that, in the grand scheme of things, is pretty minor? It's just a name, after all. There is no need to make a big fuss about such a petty issue. Therefore, the Finns quietly accept the state of affairs, just as they accept that Swedish is their official second language and that Swedes have practically taken over one of their archipelagos.

So then, why don't the Finns just give in to the rest of the world and call their country something that sounds like *Finland*? After all, if everyone in the world calls you Ralph, then maybe you should just call yourself Ralph even if your real name is John.

The reason the Finns don't change their country's name to reflect what the rest of the world calls them is also quite telling about the Finnish character. These guys are tough and proud in their own subtle, quiet way. There is a quiet intensity about the Finns. You may not realize how much they care about it until you push them over the brink. This is the reason why the Russians have never been able to fully conquer the Finns. The Finns are not like the stubborn child who will yell "NO!" and throw a tantrum; they are more like the child who just shakes her head firmly and pouts without saying a word. With the kid who throws a tantrum, you have a chance of persuading him, but with the stubborn, quiet head shaker, you don't stand a chance.

Therefore, next time you watch the World Cup or the Olympics and you see an athlete with jersey that says SUOMI, think about the meaning behind this amazing country's name. Think about what it says about the people who live in this magical land of fens.

Finlandization

After visiting Lapland (highly recommended), I returned to Helsinki and visited a medieval town (Porvoo), the former capital of Finland (Turko), and the southernmost point of Finland (Hanko). They're all fascinating places to check out. Finland's complex history, filled with Russian and Swedish occupation,

gives visitors a taste of Finland's dynamic past. Finland is a great, wonderful country, filled with honest, helpful, and good-hearted people. I truly enjoyed myself during my two weeks there. Then again, most Finns told me that if I came in the winter time I might have a different impression.

Like Switzerland, Finland was neutral during the Cold War. However, just like Switzerland leaned more to the West, Finland leaned more to the East. This wasn't because the Finns wanted to get cozy with Russia. On the contrary, the Finns preferred the West. However, they wanted to appease the Russian bear. Such behavior became known as *Finlandization*. We could all use some Finlandization in our lives.

What Finland Can Teach Us

- **Ride a bike.** Lobby your local government for bike lanes and support a private company that creates a Finnish-like rent-a-bike program. Helsinki's weather is rougher than most of America's, yet the Finns bike everywhere. Quit making excuses. When I worked for Microsoft in rainy Seattle, I didn't have a car and biked everywhere. Wear a rain jacket, rain pants, a cap, and laugh in the rain! I carry a backpack full of groceries and bike all over San Francisco, which has some fearsome hills. You'll lose weight and you'll never fight for a parking spot.
- **Be quick to trust people.** Don't worry about giving strangers a ride, inviting them to your house, or loaning them something you value. When you become more trusting, others will open up and trust you more. You create a virtuous cycle: mutual generosity and happiness soars. Being cynical and suspicious leads to mutual caution and misery. Obviously, women should be a bit more cautious than men, but life is boring if you selfishly shut yourself off from the world. Learn from the Finns and assume that most people are good and honest.
- **Learn patience by having a broad perspective.** Finns keep events and their lives in a wide perspective so that few things get to them. Whenever you find yourself losing patience, take steps back and examine the situation from a broader time line. Why get irritated when someone calls you Liz instead of Elizabeth? Why get angry if traffic is worse than you expected? Why fight when someone offends you? Why get offended in the first place? Finns aren't saints, but they're amazingly calm when most people boil and raise their voices.
- **How to run a public school.** The Finns have mastered the art of creating responsible kids and well-trained teachers. Instead of blindly dumping more money into our schools, let's pull out some free lessons from the Finnish school playbook. In particular, empowering teachers to become entrepreneurs.
- **Remember the meaning behind Suomi.** No, it's not that Finland is a swampland. It's that you shouldn't always fight to be "right." You can be true to yourself, and you don't have to change others to be happy with your own life.

Places I saw and recommend in Finland: Helsinki; Lapland; Porvoo; Turko; and any of their southern islands.

Tourist info: <http://VisitFinland.com>

Now, let's truly start the adventure in Eastern Europe. We're going to take a boat across the Gulf of Finland and enter one of the key gateways into Eastern Europe. We'll begin in a port city that used be called Reval. Today it is known as Tallinn. It is the capital of an unusual country called Estonia.

* * *

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.

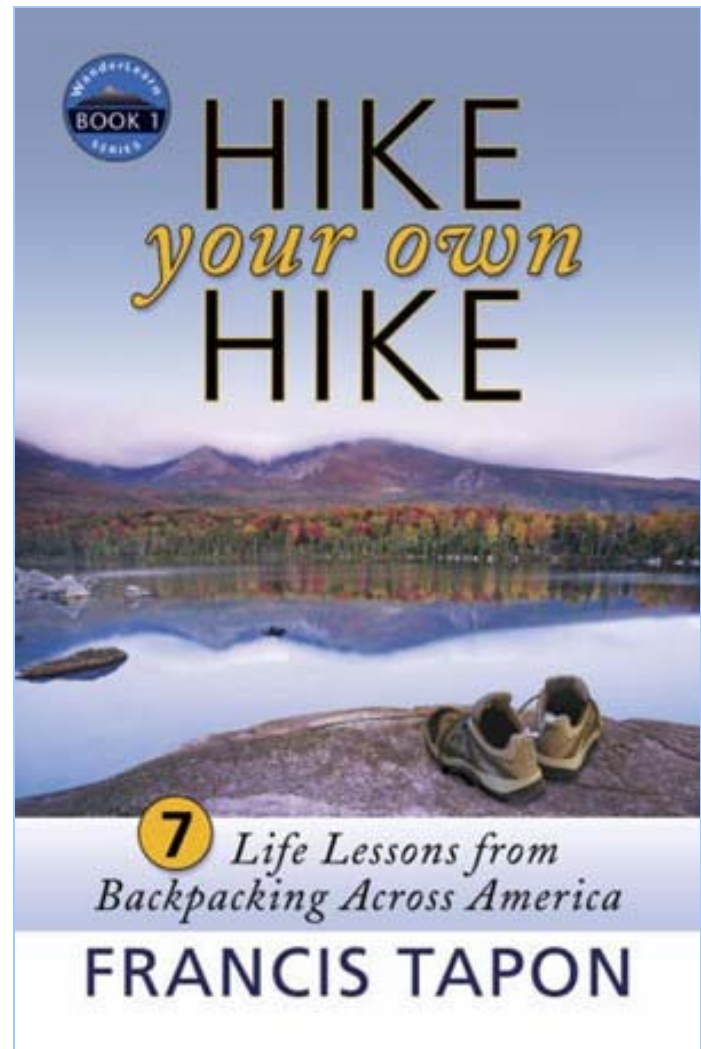
In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip 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 (P)REVIEW

AYDIN, Erhan

Köktürk ve Ötüken Uygur Uygur Kağanlığı Yazıtları

Söz Varlığı İncelemesi

By HATİCE ŞİRİN USER

Konya, Kömen Publications, 2009.

Pp. 548.

ISBN: 978-975-6527-37-5.

Old Turkic inscriptions are important sources not only for the Turkic people but also for the peoples of Central Asia. In these inscriptions, information especially about the peoples of Central Asia such as Sogd, China and Tibet were for various reasons brought together and published. As research about inscriptions in Mongolia intensifies but also for those in South Siberia and the Talas region, the importance of these mysterious inscriptions will definitely increase.

In this book *Köktürk ve Ötüken Uygur Kağanlığı Yazıtları, Söz Varlığı İncelemesi* (*The Vocabulary Analysis of the Inscriptions of Köktürks and Ötüken Uyghur Khanate*), the vocabulary of 10 inscriptions from the region of Mongolia have been analyzed. The book is based on the following inscriptions: Köl Tigin, Bilge Khan, Tonyukuk, Çöyr (Çoyren), Öngi, Ikhe-Khushotu, Tes, Südji, Şine Usu, Taryat (Terkhin).

The volume consists of seven chapters. The vocabulary, which is the main subject of the book, is analyzed in the second chapter. The other chapters include: "Introduction", "Conclusion", "Texts", "Bibliography", and "Index of the Entries". The most interesting part of the "Introduction" is entitled "Commentary and Analysis". Including her views as well, the writer assesses some attempts at reading and giving meaning of the 10 inscriptions analyzed.

In the main chapter of the book entitled "Vocabulary of the Inscriptions of Köktürk and Ötüken Uyghur" the vocabulary of the 10 inscriptions has been analyzed as follows:

1. In the sub-chapter entitled "Proper Names and Grammar Items" there are topics such as "Personal Names", "Place Names", "Tribal and Clan Names", and "Descriptive Names".

2. In the sub-chapter entitled "Names by Subject", one can find topics such as "Time", "The Sky, Weather Patterns", "Plants", "Animals", "Geography", "Elements of Daily Life", "Individual, Community, Peoples, State, War", "Numerical Names". In every topic, examples of the vocabulary are

alphabetically arranged and the sentence in which the word is mentioned has also been given. In this way, different readings and explanations of the author and previous publishers stand out.

3. The sub-chapter “Verbs by Subject” consists of the following topics: “Verbs of Action, Occurrence, Situation”, “Physical Need (Hunger, Eating, Drinking, Satiety, Sleeping, Waking up)”, “Policy, Diplomacy”, “War”, “Hunting”, “Art”, “Cosmogony, Religion, Faith”, “Animals”, “Auxiliary Verbs”. Here all the verbs in the aforementioned 10 inscriptions have been categorized, which provides convenience for those who study this field.

In the chapter entitled “Conclusion”, following the analysis of the vocabulary, statistical data are presented. In this chapter the number of each word’s occurrence is identified, and this provides convenience for those who are going to study a specific topic. For instance: it is determined that the word Ötüken is mentioned 27 times, Altun Yış 7, Karluk 25, köz ‘Eye’ 6, Horse 25 and tärri ‘God’ 47 times; as for the verbs, the verb öl- ‘to die’ is mentioned 16 times, yok bol- ‘to die’ 17, and sanç- ‘to stab’ 39 times. Furthermore, statistical data are presented in tables in this chapter. And these tables give visual information about the vocabulary of the inscriptions. For example: tribal names are mentioned 467 times, place names 233 times, names of rivers 69 times, prepositions and conjunctions 403 times, and ‘wars’ are mentioned 524 times.

The fourth chapter contains the text version of these 10 inscriptions. It is interesting to note that having taken the previous readings of publishers into account, too, the writer has created a new text. This chapter does not include an explanation of the text. The fifth chapter is the bibliography, and the sixth the “Index of Entries”.

A number of studies have been published on Old Turkic inscriptions, which were deciphered in 1893 by V. Thomsen. Since V. Thomsen and W. Radloff some individual texts have been published, and sometimes etymological and lexicological dictionaries have referred to data in these inscriptions. Different suggestions have been made about some controversial words and word groups, and discussions on these have not yet settled.

Written by Hatice Şirin User, the book entitled *Köktürk ve Ötüken Uyğur Kağanlığı Yazıtları, Söz Varlığı İncelemesi* (The Vocabulary Analysis of the Inscriptions of Köktürks and Ötüken Uyghur Khanate) will fill the void in that it brings together the vocabulary of the Old Turkish inscriptions. This book will act as a catalyst for the attempts of preparing the whole vocabulary of all Turkic inscriptions located in Mongolia, South Siberia, Talas, etc.



BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

Ancient Arts of Asia Minor

Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts*

Asia Minor is the region of Eurasia, where the multiple layering of cultures can be followed along the largest depth. We selected drawings from this booklet that covers overlapping cultures for more than 10,000 years. There are examples of architecture, sculpture, painting; designs of craftsmen in ceramics and textile arts of ancient times will also be presented.



Fig. 1. The front cover of the booklet exhibits the murals with vultures from Çatal Höyük, where the large birds performed the cleaning service of the dead bodies. In the past this type of funeral was prevailing in Eurasia.

* 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.

Our earliest heritage in Asia Minor (almost corresponding with the territory of modern Turkey) comes from an excavation performed at the turn of the last millennium. The circular temple of Göbekli Tepe is estimated to be 10,000—11,000 years old, according to the archaeologists. Göbekli Tepe is situated close to Tell Halaf (some tens of kilometers), which is better known from the archaeological excavations of the early 20th century. The circular temples in Göbekli Tepe are surrounded by megaliths (steles). The megaliths are two times of human size tall and the animal figures visible on them are suggested to have been symbols of celestial constellations. This way the temple might have been erected for astronomical and religious purposes. We also know of far related semicircular temples on the island of Malta, however, the most known relative is to be found in Great Britain: Stonehenge. But Stonehenge is very young compared to Göbekli Tepe: Stonehenge's age is 5,000 years.

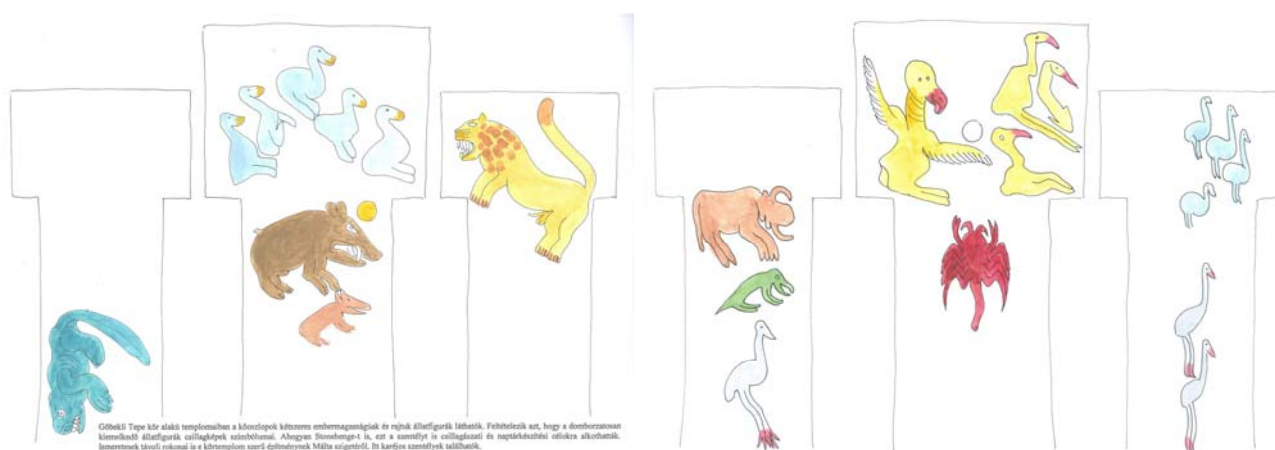


Fig. 2. Megaliths of the largest circular temple at Göbekli Tepe. Once they hold the ceiling of the temple. The two times human body sized megaliths are adorned by animal figures which may correspond to celestial constellations.

The next time-jump carries us to Çatal Höyük. This settlement consist of houses glued together without streets between them, therefore the houses could only be visited by entering them through the roofs (and ceilings). Some rooms were transformed to shrines adorned by animal heads and vulture paintings.

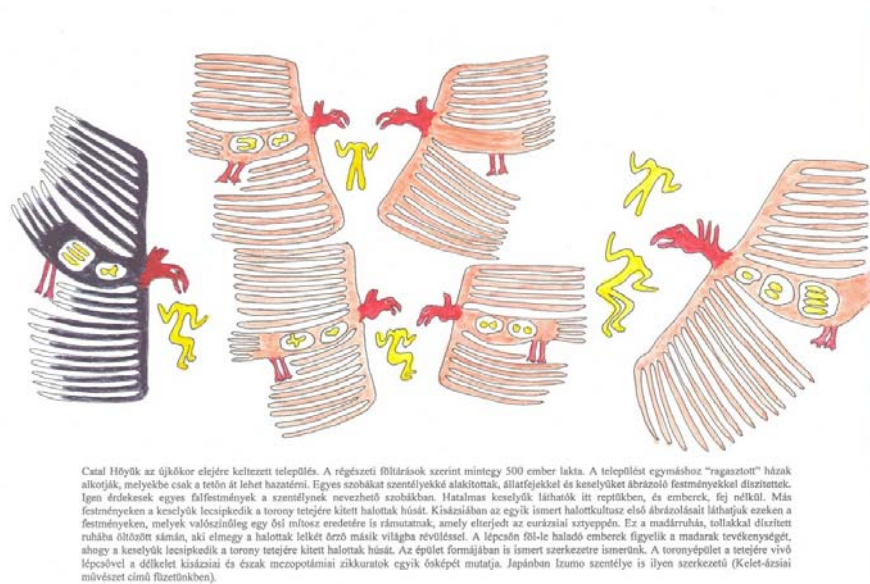


Fig. 3. Murals from the inner wall of shrine house in Çatal Höyük.

The settlement is Neolithic and is about 8,000 years old. The murals refer not only to the ancient myths where vultures eat up the flesh of the dead bodies, but they exhibit an ancient building form with the staircase going up to the top of the tower: these are the ziggurats of South-East Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Çatal Höyük is situated some ten kilometers from Konya, the ancient capital of the Ikonian Sultanate of the Seljuk Turks.



Fig. 4. Colored plane symmetry pattern on a jug from Çatal Höyük, with p2/p2 structure.

On the beautifully painted jug of Çatal Höyük there is an interesting colored symmetry pattern. Wall paintings with conceptually similar (built up from whorl-elements) pattern structure are known in the Carpathian Basin's Neolithic art and textiles with woven structure also exhibit this structure as shown in Nándor Kalicz's book "Agyag istenek" ("Clay Gods").

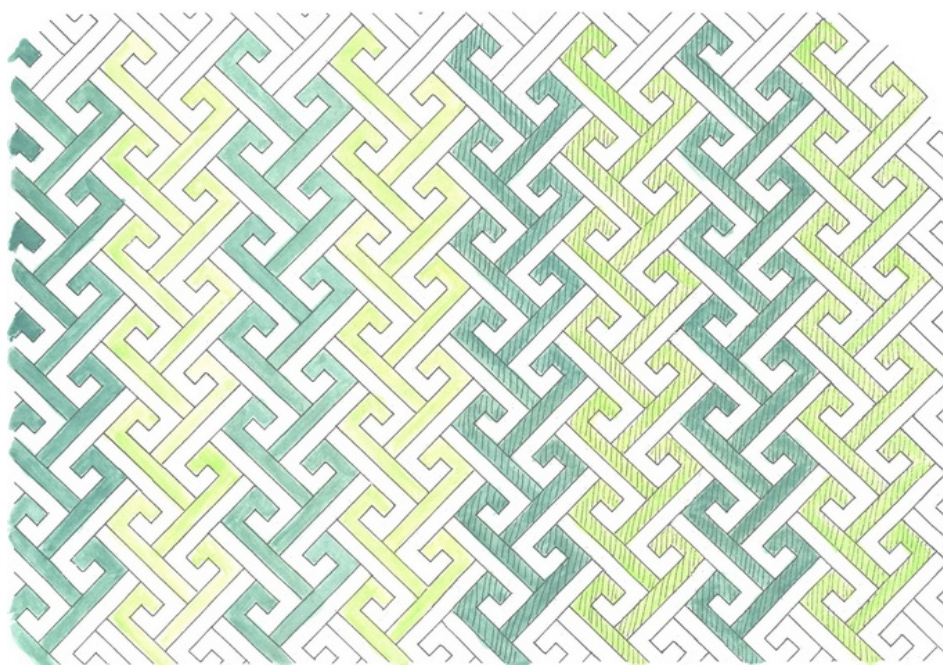


Fig. 5. Textile woven plane symmetry pattern from the Neolithic Hungary, with pgg/pg structure.

3,500 years ago the empire of the Hittites had gradually formed in middle Asia Minor. The Hittites were the first who used iron and iron smelting at industrial scale. The Kingdom of the Hittites fought against ancient Egypt. The two kings met at Kadesh on the battlefield. Pharaoh Ramses II let the historical event commemorated on stone walls in Egypt. We can see the warriors using battle chariots, the important technological invention of that time.

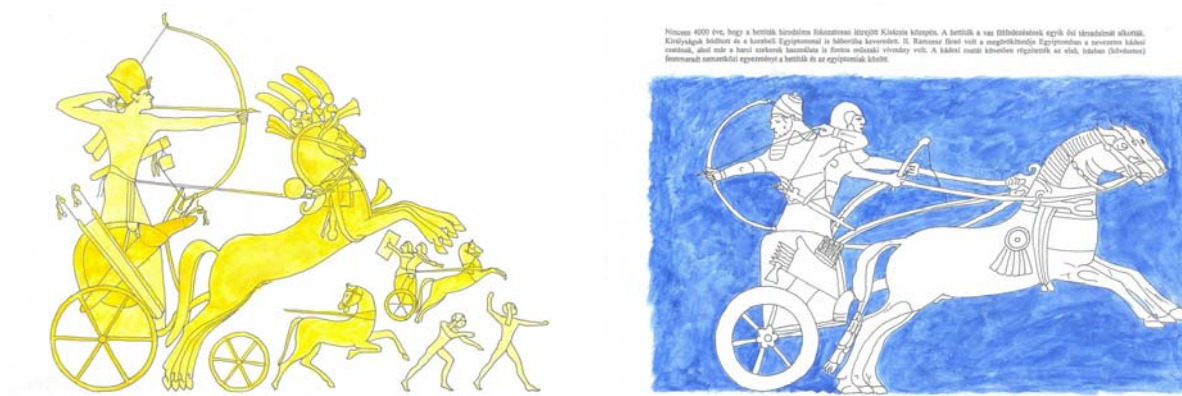


Fig. 6. Artistic stone carving commemorating the battle at Kadesh between Ramses II and the Hittites.

Excavating the ancient Troy Schliemann began to reveal and identify the ancient Homeric world in Asia Minor. The main Greek settlements followed the shoreline. On the shoreline islands ancient mathematics flourished. It is enough to recall Thales of Miletus, Anaximander's, Aristarchus or Pythagoras. We also remember the seven miracles of the ancient world of which two were found in the vicinity: the Artemis-temple in Ephesus and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. The third one on the island of Rhodes is not far from these sites: the Colossus of Rhodes. In our booklet we show the Pergamon Altar which was moved to Berlin, remembering Greek art.

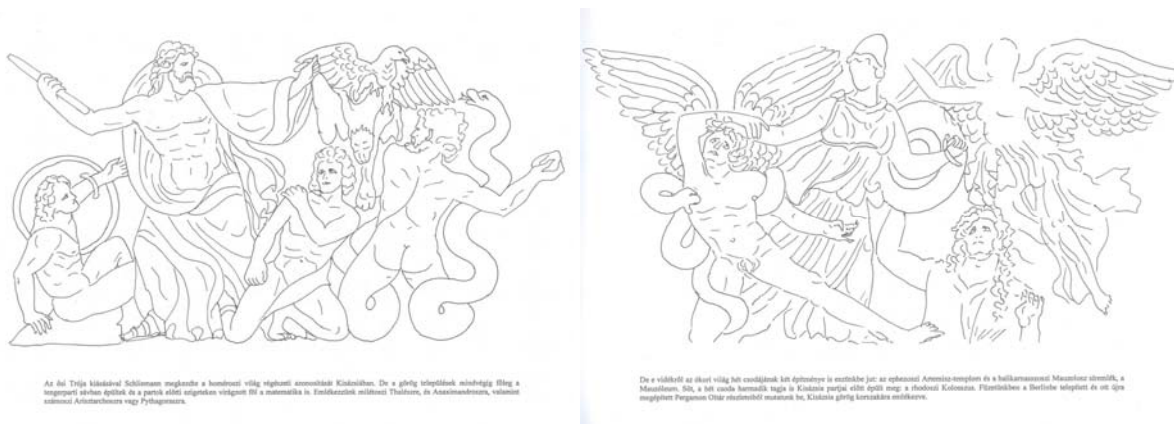


Fig. 7. Details of the fight of Greeks on the Pergamon Altar from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.

Christianity was the state religion first in Armenia, then in Rome. The Armenian architectural sculptures were preserved in Akhtamar, a church on the island of the Van Lake. The art of Byzantium is shown by the mosaics and the building of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. The ornamental symmetry adorations with mathematical context, which are always emphasized in our booklets, are partly related to this age, too.



Fig. 8. Madonna and Child surrounded by mythic animals and animal fights at Akthamar.



A kereszténységet először az örmények tették államvallásukká. Az örmény építészobrászat egyik pompás alkotása az 915 és 922 között épült akthamári templom. Építésze egy Manuel nevű szobrász, festő és építész volt. Az akthamári templom a Van tó egy kis szigetén áll. Külső falának nagyméretű kőfaragásain az Őszövetségéből vett jelenetek keverednek mezopotámiai és szkíta szimbólumokkal, valamint az Újszövetség jeleneteivel.

Fig. 9. Chevalier saints relief carvings on the outer walls of the Akthamar church.

During the Middle Ages first the Seljuk, later the Osman Turks organized states in Asia Minor (Anatolia). We show two tendril-woven shrine gates from the Islamic art. One of the serpent-woven gates is from Konya, the gate of the medrese built by the Emir Celaledin Karatay; the other is from Aleppo-Haleb, Syria. This part of the buildings is strongly related with the church gates in the Christian art. On the entrance of the buildings the solar pathway along the celestial constellations (ecliptic) had been symbolized. This hypothesis is strongly supported by the observation that the endpoints of the arcs are serpent-head formed. Dragons are eating the Sun or Moon during the eclipses. Even today the celestial nodes are called dragonic points.



Fig. 10. Ornamental gates in Islamic art: Karatay, near Konya, Turkey (left) and in Aleppo (Haleb, Syria) (right) on the gate of the fortress (outer arc), and in Cairo, Egypt (right image, inner arc).

In every booklet of our Eurasian Collection we exhibit some interesting mathematical developments among the ornamental arts. At the end of our Asia Minor collection a composite plane symmetry pattern is shown from Klezomenai, where a stone carving can be found at the edge of the stone. The upper pattern on Fig. 11. separately shows the $p4m$ part, while at the bottom, the $p4g$ structural component is shown. The original stone carving exhibits the inner belt, where the two separated parts are superimposed.

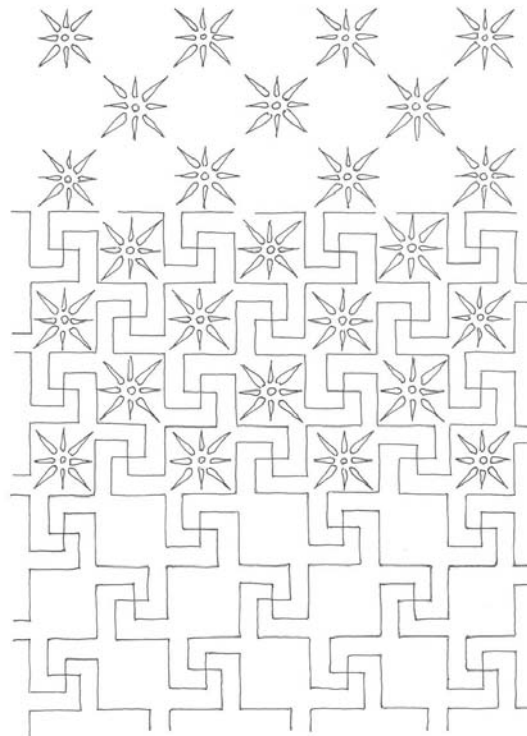


Fig. 11. Composite plane symmetry pattern from Klezomenai with $p4m/p4g$ structure.

The art of Asia Minor exhibits inexhaustible richness; therefore with our booklet we would like to trigger the enthusiasm of those readers who like painting and adventures in artistic routes. In doing this we approach in our hearts the lands, the people living there and we gain a freshness of our souls thanks to the arts.



Fig. 12. Pair of ancient architectural construction for consideration. The tower of vultures at Çatal Höyük, for dead bodies, and the Izumo Taisha shrine from Japan, Izumo, shown in our East-Asian Art booklet.

Both have a staircase going up to the top of the tower.

The arts of Asia Minor affected and fertilized arts even in the farthest corner of the Eurasian continent.

August 27, 2010

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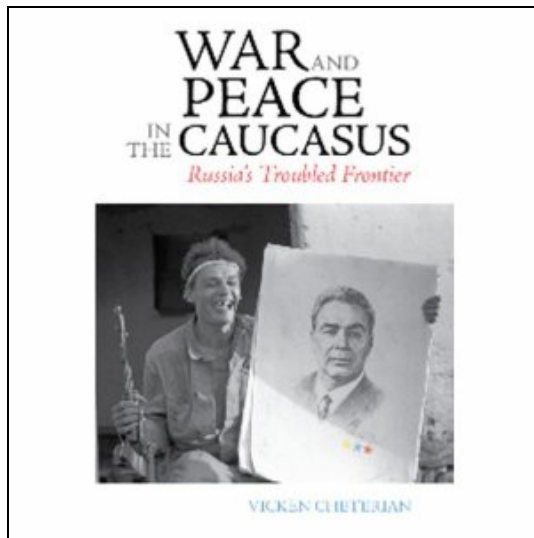
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PRELZ OLTRAMONTI, Giulia

War and Peace in the Caucasus: Russia's Troubled Frontier



Author: Vicken Cheterian

Title: War and Peace in the Caucasus:
Russia's Troubled Frontier

Publisher: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd

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Language: English

Number of pages: 400

ISBN-10: 1850659877

ISBN-13: 978-185065987

There is a myriad of explanatory approaches to the conflicts in the Caucasus, spanning from primordial ethnic hatreds to the primacy of Russian interests. Many are based on a superposition of several factors, including the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ensuing political vacuum, Soviet legacies, the rise of nationalism and foreign intervention. This book focuses on the structural reasons behind the conflicts and inserts them into the framework of the collapse of the Soviet Union, effectively succeeding in creating a helpful hierarchy of explanations.

In looking for the reasons *sine qua non* the conflicts could have been avoided, Cheterian focuses on the collapse of the Soviet Union, the subsequent power voids and the movements that filled these new political spaces. To underpin his argument, he tackles the dynamics of the outbreak of the conflicts in conjunction with the fall of the Soviet Union, drawing the necessary parallelisms and pedantically underlining the concomitance of significant events and situations in Moscow and the Caucasus.

The author relies on extensive primary and secondary literature, and personal observations and interviews. Some interviews date back to 1992, remarkably drawn from the author's meeting with some key actors. In fact, Cheterian has been working the region since 1992, researching on the root causes of the conflicts but also continuously writing analyses of current events, most notoriously for *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Significantly, the date of 6 April 1992 matches an interview with Serge Sarkissian, the Defense Minister of Karabagh; but it also coincides with an offensive phase of the Armenian forces, while slightly preceding the battle for Shushi [131].

The extensive reviewed literature includes the work of Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian and Western scholars and researchers. An attempt to critically tackle the existing literature is palpable, as Cheterian repeatedly summarizes and analyses existing interpretations, underlining the origins of such lines of thought. Extensive space is dedicated to critical reviews of existing literature, including theories of primordial ethnic hatreds, new wars and globalization. Most importantly, the author draws a comprehensive picture of local perspectives, historiographies and the rise of nationalist discourses in conjunction with the withering away of the Soviet Union. The juxtaposition of the contrasting dialectics, which preceded the conflicts, proves extremely useful in our understanding of their outbreaks.

The first two chapters cover common themes to all three conflicts, as the author analyses the existing discourses and the re-drafting of history. Initially, he looks at the failure of Western scholars to predict and then explain the fall of the Soviet Union and the outbreaks of the conflicts in the Caucasus. In the appraisal of the literature on the collapse of the Soviet Union, he addresses a crucial question, namely whether the end of the Soviet Union resulted from the collapse of a system, understood as economic organization, or from the collapse of an empire, with a loss of legitimacy and subsequent creation of vacuum of power. The delineation of this dualism, and the author's penchant for the latter, are necessary in order to understand how nationalistic rhetorics found a void, in which they prospered.

Cheterian reiterates over and over his rejection of the ethnic hatred theory, underlining the relative recency of nationalisms and nations' building in the Caucasus, but also the fact that national identities and separatist movements have not necessarily coincided. A far larger number of conflicts could have been ripe for outbreak, as Karabakh, South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Chechnya took up arms. To the question why in Karabakh, South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Chechnya and not elsewhere – such as Tatarstan – Cheterian answers by looking at the role of the use of force and its constituting a point of no return.

The following three chapters explore in turns the conflicts in Karabakh, Georgia and the North Caucasus. The examination of the rising tensions and subsequent outbreaks of the conflicts is laid out in conjunction with the concurrent events in Moscow and a methodic investigation in the directives from the center. Chapter Six analyses transversally common elements of the three conflicts, which complement the author's explanatory approach. The dramatic retreat of the Soviet state, the growth of nationalisms, the critical element of the first use of force [299] and the role of mass traumas, generated an exceptional framework, characterized by uncertainty and insecurity.

Finally, the last two chapters look at the fundamental elements of diplomacy and geopolitics. In the initial section of the book, Cheterian claims that the importance given to geopolitical considerations reflects the priorities of analysts and the changing balance of power in the region in the mid-1990s [28-9]; these two last chapters cover these evolving conditions and the subsequent transformation of the conflicts. In claiming that these geopolitical changes entail a transition from local clashes, basic armament and a high degree of voluntary recruitment in the early 1990s, to a collision of structured armed forces [372], Cheterian anticipates the nature of the conflict in South Ossetia in 2008 by a few months.

Nevertheless, these last two chapters result somehow incongruous. There is an abrupt shift from the root causes of the conflicts and the analysis of the dynamics leading to their outbreak, to an attempt to cover the events of the last fifteen years and the new factors of tension. This attempt to stretch the field of

study to the present day does not add to central argument and introduces a subject matter, which would benefit from being treated separately and more extensively.

Overall, this book successfully presents and underpins its central argument, namely the pivotal role of the collapse of the Soviet Union as a cause of the conflicts in Karabakh, Georgia and the North Caucasus. It adds clarity to the debate on root causes by establishing the Soviet collapse as an overarching and essential causality; the argument is then refined, as it includes additional variables, which led to outbreaks of violence. The book's regional approach allows the author to tackle common sources of conflict and to integrate the chronology of the Soviet collapse. It also corroborates the significance of elements such as state retreat, creation of political vacuums and Soviet legacies, which are better understood through this comparative study. All in all, Cheterian's work should be praised for adding clarity to the existing debate, and for tracing a substantiated overarching line through the variety of existing explanatory approaches.



УСМАНОВА, Лариса

Айнур Сибгатуллин «Исламский Интернет»



Айнур Сибгатуллин. Исламский Интернет. Москва-Н.Новгород: Медина, 2010. Сегодня уже никого не надо убеждать в том, что интернет является эффективным инструментом в образовании и обучении подрастающего поколения. Но то, что интернет, таким образом, влияет на формирование идентичности, в том числе национальной и религиозной, еще до конца не осознается. Данная книга ярко демонстрирует роль и позитивное и негативное влияние интернета на эту интимную сферу нашей социальной жизни и процесса социализации.

Мы должны говорить о роли православного, буддистского и иудаистского сегментов русскоязычного интернета наравне с исламским, так как все они по-своему преследуют единую цель – формировать и поддерживать религиозную идентичность своих последователей. Автор книги «Исламский интернет» пришел к идее ее написания после того, как увидел роль и значение интернета в построении национальной идентичности. Его первой книгой стала работа «Татарский интернет», в которой он показал роль и значение интернета в национальной консолидации одного из самых многочисленных национальных меньшинств Российской Федерации. А ислам традиционно считался религиозной составляющей идентичности татарской нации.

Вторая книга Айнур Сибгатуллина «Исламский интернет», несмотря на довольно значительное количество публикаций о российском исламе и его отношениях с интернетом, имеет собственное уникальное значение. Это, пожалуй, первый справочник-путеводитель по русскоязычному «исламскому интернету» и первое обстоятельное исследование данного русскоязычного сегмента глобальной информационной сети. Определение, которое дает автор «исламскому интернету», – это определенный сегмент русскоязычной сети, связанный с исламом. Сегодня русскоязычный «исламский интернет» не столь обширен, как кажется: это всего около 400 развитых интернет-ресурсов, посвященных исламу, среди которых информационные порталы и личные блоги, сайты мечетей, интернет-магазины и социальные сети. Среди лидеров рынка мусульманских сайтов, по данным поисковой сети Yandex, называются информационный канал «Ислам.Ру» www.islam.ru, информационное агентство IslamNews www.islamnews.ru и официальный сайт Совета муфтиев РФ www.muslim.ru. Почему Интернет стал на сегодня одним из основных каналов распространения информации об Исламе в России, ведущей коммуникационной площадкой для российских мусульман, а также одним из средств осознания ими своей религиозной идентичности? Причины нужно искать в государственной национальной и религиозной политике страны – в фактическом отсутствии информации об исламе на центральных официальных каналах информации, таких как телевидение и радио, и в малой популярности печатной продукции по исламу. Возможно, это также связано с возрождением интереса к исламу именно в молодежной среде, которая, в целом, отдает свое предпочтение интернету перед другими информационными источниками.

История «исламского интернета» в России исчисляется десятилетием. В 2000 году уже работало несколько мусульманских интернет-ресурсов, с лидирующим и тогда, и сегодня порталом «Ислам.ру». Автор выделяет следующие особенности исламского интернета в России: он не является чисто коммерческим, что влияет, кстати, негативно на качество ресурсов, и он является в большей степени миссионерским (ставящим целью пропаганду ислама) и прикладным (предназначен для практикующих мусульман), то есть делающий упор не на изучение ислама, а на его распространение, что также не может оцениваться однозначно позитивно. Среди технических и содержательных проблем сегодняшнего этапа развития исламского интернета автор отмечает использование морально устаревшего дизайна, непривлекательный язык и стиль подачи информации и приверженность большинства мусульманских сайтов т.н. обновленческому подходу (ислях), что приводит к излишнему упрощению и вульгаризации ислама.

Будучи приверженцем ислама, автор дает практические предложения по развитию и консолидации мусульманских сайтов по аналогии с развитием православного сегмента, а также зарубежного исламского сегмента Интернета, такие как создание всеобъемлющего портала об исламе, организация исламской интернет-премии, создание сообщества мусульманских веб-разработчиков, получение домена первого уровня для мусульман. И немалое место в книге уделяется важности использования Веб 2.0. для мусульманского просвещения и образования.

Отдельное внимание автора привлек особый феномен глобальной сети - формирование в исламском интернете особой виртуальной общности под названием «кибермусульмане». Так называют пользователей интернета, которые в особой форме проявляют свою конфессиональную идентичность. Этот феномен отмечен уже в национальных сегментах сети, в частности, в русскоязычном появился термин «киберрусский» для обозначения тех пользователей, кто ярко выражает свою национальную идентичность посредством возможностей, предоставляемых интернетом. Этот феномен еще ждет своих исследователей, как, впрочем, и обратное влияние интернета на изменение традиционно сложившихся представлений о религиозной идентичности. Так, автор отмечает, что интернет уже повлиял на изменение важных традиционных аспектов социальной культуры ислама: в виртуальных группах коммуникация между мужчинами и женщинами ведется абсолютно равноправно, что не совсем типично для традиционного, «невиртуального» ислама.

USMANOVA, Larisa : Aynur Sibgatullin «Islamic Internet»

In his first book entitled *"Tatar Internet"*¹, Aynur Sibgatullin investigated the role of the Internet in the development of the national identity of the Tatar nation, one of the most numerous national minorities of the Russian Federation. In this new volume, *"Islamic Internet"* he continues his research, extending it to the analysis of the Russian-language Islamic Internet.

¹ A book review of *"Tatar Internet"* by Larisa Usmanova was published in the first issue of 2010 Journal of the Eurasian Studies, pp. 173-175.

Being the first book on this subject it marks immediately its great value and relevance: it provides a significant contribution to the understanding of this segment of the Russian-language Internet.

The main findings and conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. Russian-language Islamic Internet is not as large as many people believe it is.
2. Currently there are ca. 400 Internet resources with an Islamic focus, like portals, blogs, homepages created by mosques, Internet magazines, and social networks. The three most visited are: www.islam.ru, www.islamnews.ru, and www.muslim.ru.
3. The Russian-language Islamic Internet is only about a decade old. In 2000, the number of Muslim resources was fairly low, the leading one being the information portal: Islam.ru. Just in the last few years has the number of sites increased significantly, though not every one of them proved to be viable.
4. One of the characteristics of the Russian-language Islamic Internet is that it is not strictly commercial.
5. The quality of most of the sites is relatively low, with poor design and presentation style.
6. Formation of so-called "Cyber-Muslim" communities, which is in line with general trends on the Internet, where people not only surf for information but get a particular identity.



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www.idmedina.ru

Title: Islamic Internet

www.islamrf.ru

Publisher: Medina, Nizhny Novgorod

www.islamnn.ru

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www.islamsng.ru

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www.abu-hanifa.ru

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CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON EURASIA

OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála**Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna: Eastern-Mongolian Songs**

The Hungarian Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna (1844-1913) was one of the leading specialists of the Mongolian language in Europe. He spent several years in Mongolia among Eastern-Mongolian (Halha) tribes, where he collected folklore text. His collection remains still unpublished.

Below, I present some Eastern-Mongolian songs, which he collected in Outer Mongolia, between 1873-1874. The fifth, most interesting, song is about the "Praise of beauty". It is not a folk song, but a song composed by Danzan Ravjaa (1803-1856), the great Mongolian enlightener of the 19th century. Danzan Ravjaa composed his poetry along the lines of the Mongolian folk songs, and the above mentioned song became so popular among Mongolians, that many scholars — including Bálint de Szentkatolna — thought it was a real folk song. Mongolian scholars in the 1960's realized that it belonged to Ravjaa. Nevertheless, Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna was the first foreign scholar, who collected this song from Mongolia.

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**From
Eastern-Mongolian Chrestomathy
Collected by Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna¹**

**From
A Romanized Grammar of the East and West Mongolian Languages
with Popular Chrestomathies of Both Dialects**

As the Mongolian poetical style is much simpler than that of the prose, I put the folk songs before the prose pieces and provided each of them with word register (after writing) that everybody might control the translation and acquire some lexical store for the prose pieces. The names given under the folk songs belong to those who dictated me the respective piece.

¹ An introduction to this Collection is presented in the October-December 2009 issue of our journal, pp. 165-171; BÁLINT DE SZENTKATOLNA, Gábor — Preface of the 'Romanized Grammar of the East and West Mongolian Languages with Popular Chrestomathies of Both Dialects'; translated from Hungarian and introduction by Borbála Obrusánszky. — Ed. Journal of Eurasian Studies.

Folk poetry

Dyy (Song)

1.

Үүл гарвал
буруу орона хөө
үерэн уулзан суувал
хууч гарна хөө

If clouds rise
rain will fall.
If a match meets with another and sit together
it will rise a slumber.

Чирээд явахдан
чирган елээдэг
чини минь хэлсэн хэл
чихирийн амттай адал'

By being dragged
the sled will be worn out.
The word, thou who art mine, hast spoken
is like the taste of sugar.

Эргийн нуравал
элс болдог
элгийнээрээ суувал
амарлигайн за!

If a riversbank crumbles down
it turns into sand;
If (young people) sit with their kindred
it is pleasure!

(Луусын Дорж)

2.

За мөрөнгийн цэцэг
заянтан гангана,
Завтангуй дурсгалч
эмээгэн боорол ээж мини.
Энгэр газар хол бий
эртээс хийж мордаарай!
энгийн хүн хартай бий
сэргэмжлэж яваарай!

The flower of the river Za
is waving by its fate;
Oh, my old, grayish (haired) mother
(who art) longing incessantly after me!
Enger land is far
Pray, ride early out;
The foreigner is dangerous,
Pray, go cautiously!

Хайсан хар морь
Хазар дараад хөлөстэй
хавар намрын сэрүүнд
мини ээж хөөрхий!

The kettle is like a black horse
It is by pressing she bridle down in sweet,
Oh, my mother (thou art) pitiable
In the cold of the spring and autumn!

(Луусын Дорж)

3.

Алтан Богдын шилд'
Алтан горголтай жиргэн
ачтай боорол авайган
санасан дуулана.

a, On the top of the Altan-Bogdo
b, The goldfinch is singing.
d, (and) I sing in remembering
c, My good gray father..

Өөгийн өндөр давааг'
өглөө эрт давана
өвгөн боорол авайган
санасан дуулана.

a, The very high top
b, I pass early into the morning.
d, (and) I sing in remembering
c, My good gray father.

Гэсэр бадмын цэцэг
гэгэлзэн гангаад найгана
гэнэхэн бага намайг
гэгээн чөж өршөө

The red Badma flower
is with glance fluctuating;
Mayst (thou), holy genius,
bless me, who am young and feeble!

Хахир их говийг
хавьт хээрийн туулан
хаан эзний хайрыг
хамт бүрийнээрэн хүртье!

[The translation of these verses is missing. – O.B.]

Хэрлэн голын усыг
хэн ч болгон уугаад
хэмжээгүй жаргалах юман
гурван богд өршье !

b, Whoever drinks the water
a, of the river K'erlen,
Let the three holy persons
Grant him a measureless joy!

4.

Даган даган хар
данданы битгий унаарай!
Дамын амраг байв чиг
дагуулаад битгий мордоорой!

Thy young black horse
Do not ride continually.
Though (Thou) hast a true mistress
Ride not out followed by her!

Чихрийн амттай болов чиг
жингээр идэж болд угуй
жинхэн амраг байв чиг
дагуулаад мордож болд үгүй

Although the sugar be tasteful
One can not eat it by pounds;
Although (one) has a veritable mistress,
Can not ride out followed by her.

Давс амттай болбв чиг
дангааран идэж болдоггүй
дамын амраг болов чиг
дагуулаад явж болдоггүй

Although the salt be tasteful
One can not eat it alone.
Although one has a mistress at a time
One can not ride out followed by her.

(Луусын Дорж)

5.

Үлэмж чанартай төгөлдөр
өнгө тунамал толь шиг
үзэсгэлэнт царайг чини
үзвээс лагшин төгөс за!

c, If one looks at thy beautiful face,
a, Full of many qualities,
b, (and) resembling to a splendid looking-glass,
d, One (must cry out): that is perfect in quality!

ишгон сэтгэлийг болья чи
хөхөө шувууны эгшиг шиг
хөөрхөн эелдэг аалинган
хүрнэн суухан оромт за!

b, Her voice is like the melody of the cuckoo bird.
a, It captivates the wildest heart.
c, She is fairly agreeable in her manners
d, (and how) fit it is, when she talking sits!

Бадмайн дундаас дэбэлзэсэн
Балын амттай адал'
Баярлаж идвээс
Хаанашгүй за!

She has stepped forth from among the lotuses.
She is sweet like honey,
(which) if one eats rejoicing,
One can not become satiated!

Ашхан (отгон) тэнгрийн дээлийг өмсө!
Хөлгө далайг жаргабя!

Let us put on the cloak of the little god,
(and) rejoice with the joy of the wide sea!

