

# *JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES*

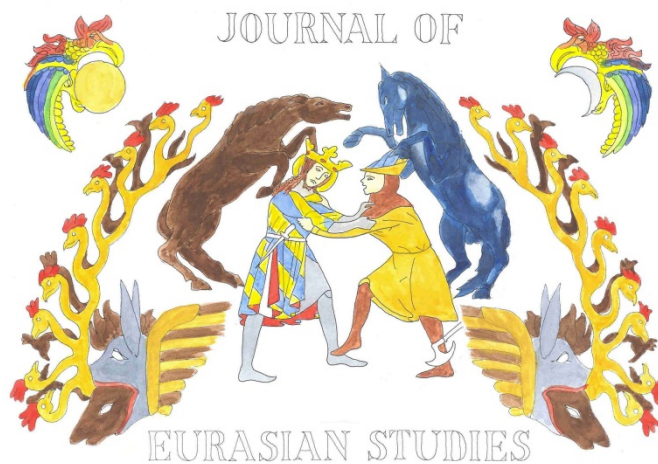
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### CALL FOR PAPERS

We encourage everybody to submit to the Editorial Board ([joes\\_cfp@federatio.org](mailto:joes_cfp@federatio.org)) papers in the fields covered by the Journal. The papers will be assessed solely on their academic merits, and these are the prerequisites author(s) must adhere to:

1. An analytical article should have at least 5,000 words including notes,
2. The author(s) must elaborate the theme of the article logically,
3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
4. Author(s) must take all care to develop their ideas on their own; there should be no cases of plagiarism,
5. The article can be written in any language. In case it is written in a language other than English, an English summary of at least A4 length is required,
6. A brief (max. 10 sentences long) professional CV in English.

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DEAR READER,

SIZE MATTERS

A picture is worth a thousand words — this sentence is repeated countless times each day both in the business sphere and in private. But is it true? Let us look at it through two recent masterpieces, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *Harry Potter*. This year the final movie of the Harry Potter franchise was launched, both in theaters and later on DVD/Blue-ray. It is interesting to look at the length of the movies: for each of the first six volumes one movie was made with a length between 2 and 2½ hours. The film adaptation of the final volume (7<sup>th</sup>) took a different turn: two movies were created totalling about 4½ hours. In case of *The Lord of the Rings* each part of the trilogy has a length of approximately 3 hours (their extended versions on DVD/Blue-ray are close to 4 hours).

Examining simply the sheer size of these movies tells us a lot. Let me state immediately that I personally find both the *Harry Potter* movie series and *The Lord of the Rings* film trilogy very solid, professional productions, which provide a fairly true summary of the respective novels. Thanks to the current technical possibilities in computer animation these movies are able to visually tell the main storyline in a very compelling, way. In depth, however, they can hardly match their respective novel. And this is not the fault of the producers, directors, cast and crew. It is about genre and culture. Both the *Harry Potter* volumes and *The Lord of the Rings* books are so deep and complex works that it is impossible to ‘package’ their inner meaning in a 2-3 hours long movie. That is why the last two movies (two parts for the final volume *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*) for *Harry Potter* and the extended versions of *The Lord of the Rings*, with their approximately 4 hours length are coming a little bit closer to their respective novel. In fact they should last at least 8 hours to allow for a truly deep interpretation, although the feasibility of such productions is quite limited. Size does matter.

I would like to draw your attention to the Facebook page of Journal of Eurasian Studies:

[http://www.facebook.com/pages/Journal-of-Eurasian-Studies-JOES/175441512508109?notif\\_t=page\\_new\\_likes](http://www.facebook.com/pages/Journal-of-Eurasian-Studies-JOES/175441512508109?notif_t=page_new_likes)

Finally it only remains me to wish you all a Happy and Prosperous 2012!

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, December 31, 2011

# *CALL FOR PAPERS*

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## Ancient Times of the Turks: Language, History, Geography

The very political developments in the Eurasian continent during the last 20 plus years have found their reflections in scientific area, too. While curtains and doors of the countries and societies are opening, thoughts have also gained diversity and new ideas have appeared in various branches of social sciences. This region, where is Turkic homeland, to where a great proportion of Turkic history belongs and where a great proportion of the Turks live today, has a global strategic eminence.

The **Hitit University**, denominated after the first Anatolian civilization, is pleased to announce organization of the symposium "**Ancient Times of the Turks: Language, History, Geography**", in company with the Institute for **Turkic World Studies at the Ege University**, which is the most prominent center for Turkic studies in Turkey, and the Çorum branch office of the **Language and Literary Society**. Symposium dates are 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2012. The organization is supported by the Çorum governorship, the Çorum municipality and the Turkish Linguistic Society.

Content of this meeting, which is quite unique in recent years, will be determined in utmost scientific standards. The expected titles to discuss are debates on Turkic homelands, origins and ethnogenesis, early contacts with other surrounding peoples (Uralic, Altaic, Indo-Iranian, Slavic, Caucasian, Finno-Ugric, etc.), old sight of Turkic language, debates on linguistic families (Altaic, Uralo-Altaic, Finno-Ugric etc.), ancient archaeological cultures of Eurasia, early state formations and political traditions, structures of early societies of Eurasia, confessional systems, mythological domain of the region in comparative terms, contacts with Islam and other religions before c.1000, etc.

Topics of the papers are expected to contain original and new ideas. They may contain new discoveries or approaches in the concerning disciplines (linguistics, history, anthropology, folklore, mythology, geography, etc.), or refutations to some new approaches, and defense of some established thoughts with new ideas and discoveries. Our aim is clearly to have them gathered in a scientific framework, and to discuss in a scholarly way. However, non-scientific postures and amateur ventures will not be able to find space either in presentation of new ideas, or in refutations.

The symposium will be held in the beautiful northern city Çorum, in the five-star Anitta Hotel. All travel and accommodation expenditures will be covered by the organizers. Those coming from abroad are advised to use the İstanbul-Merzifon indirect flight. Our guests will be taken at the airport, which is half an hour distant from Çorum. Languages of the symposium are Turkish and English. Russian will be accepted in obligatory terms. Regardless of the original language, all proceedings will be published in two editions as Turkish and English. In order to prevent postponement of the publication, the organizing committee will seek for the final papers in the symposium days, or before. Travel expenditures of those participants not submitting their papers will not be covered. The symposium book will be published by the Hitit University, sent to all important scientific centers on the Earth, and be available for open access on the Internet.

We will be honored to see you, with admirable scientific studies produced in the past, and with tireless efforts already going on, to have joined in our activity, which will hopefully be one of the most distinguished meetings of the recent years in its kind. You may forward your proposals to below addresses by March 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012. We are looking forward to seeing you in a nice spring day in Çorum.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Karatay

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Çanlı

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# *HISTORY*

**BÉRCZI, Szaniszló**

## Ancient Iranian Arts

*Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts<sup>1</sup>*

There were several empires on the Iranian Highlands in archaic times with world-wide importance. The region had been first united by the Medean tribes in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. From the history studies in the primary and secondary school we know more about the fights between the Greeks and the Persian Empire during the reigns of Xerxes and Darius. That was the Achaemenid Empire (named after the ruling family) which later had been overthrown by Alexander the Great. After the death of Alexander his descendants (army generals) ruled on the Greek-Macedonian part of Iran. Seleukos and his successors were followed by the Parthians, who were not of Iranian stock, but came from the neighbouring steppe belt.



*Fig. 1. The ancient Iranian art can be characterized by the relationship between the settled and steppe peoples' cultural heritage. The front cover of the Iranian Coloring booklet.*

Parthians ruled for almost a half millennium in Iran. Their empire stretched between the Roman Empire in the West and the Chinese Empire in the East. In the North the neighbours were the steppe cavalry peoples ruling the area between the Carpathians and the Altai Mountains. Hungarians lived among these northern neighbour steppe peoples, too. Therefore Hungarian traditions preserved several

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

common threads with the Iran ruling Parthians and their arts. This common cultural heritage makes the study of the Iranian Art interesting enough for Hungarians.



Ezt a munkámat Muzslay Istvánnak, a Leuveni Katolikus Egyetem professor emeritusz tanárának ajánlom, aki az Eurázsiai Művészetek kiállításorozat megrendezéséhez többször otthont adott a leuveni Collegium Hungaricumban 1986 és 1995 között

Hálával és szeretettel gondolok mindazokra, akik valamilyen formában segítettek munkámat, az Eurázsiai Művészeteket bemutató kéftetőkönyv-sorozat napvilágra hozását és továbbfejlesztését: Bánsági Tamás, Bérczi Alajos, Bérczi István, Bíró Mária, Cseh Vilmos, Czene Valéria, Csuri Károlyné, Dankó László, Deákné Demjén Ilona, Deák Gyula, Dobos László, Fabriczy Anikó, Földi Tivadar, Garam Éva, Gulyás Balázs, Gulyás Pálné, Jeppesen Henrik, Józsa Sándor, Kabai Sándor, Kiss Adám, Kiss Ulrich, Kiszél Vilmos, Kolczonay Katalin, Kovács Sándor, Kubovics Imre, László Gyula, Lukács Béla, Magyar Györgyi, Magyar Jolán, Matyasovich Henrik, Miura Yasunori, Miyazaki Koji, Nagy Dénes, Ogawa Tohru, Pap Gábor, Papp Éva, Péter Borbála, Péter Júlia, Sano Osamu, Sára Endréné, Szabó László, Szederkényi Tibor, Szili István, Takahito Mikasa Nomiya hg., Takaki Ryuji, Tóth Albert, Tusa Erzsébet, Újvári Béla, Utasi Jenő, Vészelszky Endréné, Zöldy Pálné.

Fig. 2. Traditions from the common steppe cultural heritage survived both in the Parthian and in the old Hungarian art as illustrated on the back cover of the Iranian Coloring booklet. Silver plates from the Ural region and gold table pots and vessels from Nagyszentmiklós are witnesses of this relation.



Jól ismert nagyműveltségű országnak az iráni plattó szelvé. Ezeknek a kultúráját mind a magáéba szívta a formálódó perzsa élet és beépítette a későbbi iráni művészet olyan magyszerű alkotásába, mint Dariozsz perzsa-plattója, amivel találkozunk is fogunk későbbiekben. Néhány fontos alkotást, ismerkedésül, mi is bemutatunk az Iráni Birodalom előzőnek művészetéből. A kétfajhi császárszobraját kétféle látjuk: Sumér-akkád korb, bikák hátán álló istennő, a kigolyokat fogó, orozslának hátán álló Inanna-Ishtar istennő, és a sas és orozslán állat támasztó hila állatközlőre látható eme a frissen. Alul a lurisztáni bronzok díszítik vigát díszítő két jelölést mutatnak be a szelvényű a halásig, közönség pedig az életet ünneplő életfajlamet egy gudai táról. Lurisztán az iráni magasföldök a Tigris közönség folyásaitól keletere elterülő peremvidéke.

Vadászépek életben az állatok étte párhuzamosan folyik az emberekével. Emberek és állatok egymás megszemélyesítői. Gazdálk és szarvasok, kecskék és orozslának a fészereplő azoknak a művészeti alkotásoknak, amiket híres kincsleletéből is ismerünk az iránt körülvevő korábbi kultúrákból. Az arany sorog az Elburz vidékéről való, a kecskével és szárnyas-állatokkal övezett életfajlamet ziviyéből, északnyugat Iránból. A harci szekerén nyúlzó harcos egy lurisztáni (nyugat-iráni) bronz zabladisziményről, a lovon nyúlzó orozslánról küzdő (de a lovat még kengyel nélkül megülő) harcos egy Közép-ázsiai kincslelet aranyfeszéről (Oxus-kincs, az Oxus folyó neve ma Amu Darya, nyugati Turkesztánban, Turkmenisztán és Üzbegisztán vidékén, az ókori Baktriában található).

Fig. 3. Ancient Luristanian and Mesopotamian cultural heritage survived on dishes, bronze and gold plates, diadems, and horse mounts. Animal fight is one of the oldest of this tradition, later surviving even in the Altai-Scythian arts, too.

The new archaeological excavations and investigations reveal how the cultures were streaming in Eurasia. In our series we collect the most famous and characteristic figural and ornamental artworks in Eurasian arts. Next to the local traditions the Mesopotamian art, later the Caucasian art and the Central-Asian art influenced Iranian art. Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian and Babylonian layers can be found in the Iranian art as much as the Urartuan, the Medean, the Parthian, the Scythian and other Central-Asian cultures. From the ancient cultures we can identify heritages such as the life-tree, animal fighting, art of the car, of the hunt and fight. These can be all seen in the art of the Persian Empire organized by Cyrus the Great. We can see them on the bronzes from Luristan, on the elements of the Ziwiye Treasures, and on other archaeological finds. Hence, the Iranian art is a rich storehouse of the cultural layers deposited during the last four thousand years.



Fig. 4. Rich sculptural representation of horses on the Iranian Highlands shows the importance of this tradition from the common steppe cultural heritage. The figures are from Sialk, Amlash, Susa, and Maku. The bit is from Luristan, the haniva horse from Tokyo, the bronze rhyton from Korea.

Alexander the Great’s conquest of the Persian Empire brought strong Greek cultural effects into the lifeblood of it. After Alexander the Parthians with Scythian-like culture organized a new empire. This Parthian state is a feudal-like one and enriched the Iranian Empire with Central-Asian elements, of which one of the best known is the Parthian shoot. This strategy is well-known from the fighting tactics of the Xiongnu (Huns) and Hungarians, too. During the battle feint Parthian shoot is used together with the withdrawal and turning back and encircling of the enemy.



A csaknem fél évezredet át uralkodó pártus arszakidák legyőzték a szaszanidák őrjéit az Iráni Birodalom irányítását. A győtes csata jelensége a firuzabadi sziklafaragásokon örökítették meg. Ezen I. Artasir, az első szaszanida uralkodó, és fia, Sásur lovagi küzdelemben győzték le az utolsó pártus fejedelmet, Artabanost. A szaszanidák nemességét őrjéit csaknem egy fél évezredet át uralkodást és semmi naggyá tette az Iráni Birodalom.

A sziklafaragó a lovagi küzdelemből az állományt a nyugatról kiváló szaszanidák bennünket, magyarokat, egy gyakran látható jelenetként is emlékeztetnek. A Szent László legenda falképeként mindig szerepel Szent László király fegyveres harca a kutyarabló kármal. A firuzabadi jelenetek alá két magyarországi Szent László fennmaradt küzdelem jelensége állították, balról a szekelyderzést, a jobbról a kakastomást.

Fig. 5. Following the Parthians on the Persian throne the Sassanians defeated Artabanos. The famous sculptural representation of this battle can be seen at Firuzabad. The importance of the steppe horse attack is a common heritage on several artistic relatives of this art. Especially in Hungary, where chevalier fights were painted in the Hungarian churches like in the scenes of the Legend of Saint Ladislaus.

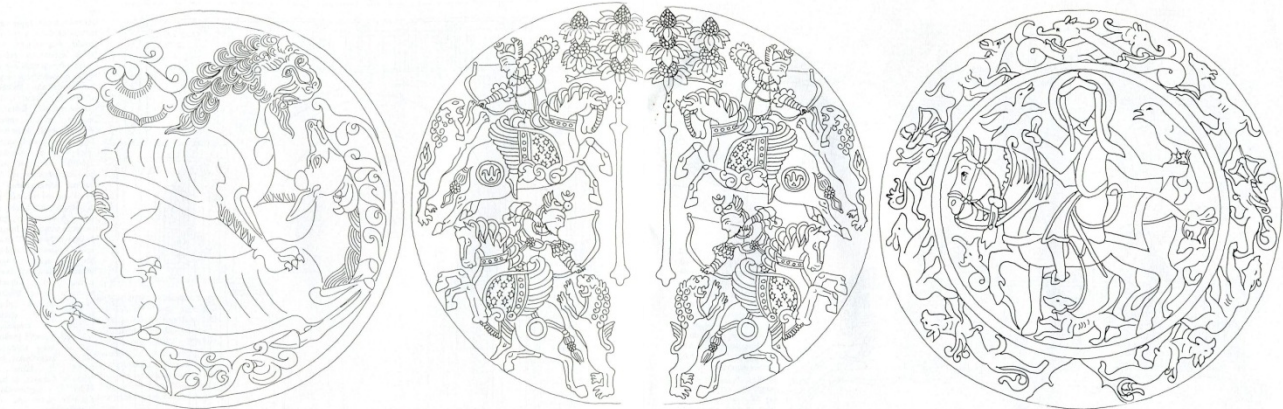
There is an important ancient steppe story heritage painted in Hungarian churches: the Legend of Saint Ladislaus. We can find the traces of this story in the Iranian art, too. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. lived Zoroaster in Iran. His teachings interpreted the processes of the nature by the fight between good and bad, or the fight between light and darkness. Instead of the multiple gods and goddesses, his teaching was centred on the Unique God (Ahura Mazda). The most characteristic Iranian art monuments are the huge stone carvings representing battle fights and crowning scenes, where Ahura Mazda presents the crown to the ruler. The stone carvings were ordered to be made by both the Achaemenid and the Sassanian rulers.



Bisapurban faragták a sziklafalba azt a jelenetet, melyben Ahura Mazda, az ég ura, átnyújtja a fejedelmi diadémot az új iráni királynak, a szaszanida dinasztát a hatalomba juttató I. Artasirnak.

Fig. 6. The beginning of the ruling act: Ahura Mazda presents the crown to the ruler. Such stone carvings were ordered to be made by both the Achaemenid and the Sassanian rulers.

Another characteristic art crafts are the goldsmith works of jars, vessels and plates decorated with scenes from the life of the rulers. In most cases fights or hunts were shown.



Szaszanida erőtűlök állatküzdővel és vadászjelenettel, középen egy szövetségi műtárgy szántón vadászjelenettel Naraból, a japán császári gyűjteményből.

Fig. 7. Silver plates are the most frequently occurring artistic artefacts of the Iranian goldsmith works. Animal fights and hunting scenes were the most popular topics. Some animal and hunting scenes were applied also on textiles and carpets, especially in the rug art.

Parts of this art had an influence on the old Hungarian art of the Árpád age, where the silver plates are figured as a relief on a golden background. Several episodes of the everyday life are also shown on these goldsmith works, similar to the vases in the period of ancient Greeks.



Az iráni művészet ezáltal megmutatja a népmeséinkből is ismert égbetrepülő jellemet is. Az első ábra egy permiai bronz. Másodiknak a boufoglaló magyarnak ezerebből készült hajlékonyságának palmettis sajt mutatója ke Rakamazról. Harmadik ábrán a Szerepstervezt az Freniszobos szobán túli Iráni jellemt, melyen két kis gyermek is szerepel. Összehasonlítással a nagyszentmiklósi kincs egyik korszakján látható jellemt áll: az emberi lény serleghől rajta, pálmaleveleket csi a szét.

Ahogy az elsőként bemutatott kerámia ritonok lábrázolási, az iráni ívősmunkák, az ezüsttűlök művészeti ábrázolási is messzi földre eljutottak. Az Iráni kifestő végülapozása után sokan olvassának meg e korszak művészetéről. László Gyula: A Népvándorlás korának művészetét Magyarországon, A. Hermann: Perza reneszánsz, R. Ghirshman: Perzia I. II., Bakay Kornél: Óstörténetünk régészeti forrásai I. II. című könyvét említem, mint érdekes olvasmányokat e kor művészetéhez.

Fig. 8. One of the most ancient scenarios of the Iranian table service kit is the eagle which lifts off the hero into the heavens. This story survived both in folk tales, hero myths (think to Garuda bird) and shaman traditions. The oldest figural representations go back to the Permian bronzes. The Rakamaz silver plate and the Nagyszentmiklós vessel scene is shown here left and right to the famous Cherdini bowl representation of the heavenly flight of the hero. We note that the role of the great bird probably goes back to the paintings at Chatal Höyük, Asia Minor, Turkey, 6<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.

The Iranian artistic traditions and figural culture has several common elements with that of the people in the Carpathian Basin during the age of Árpád; therefore the discovery of these elements is an exciting adventure for those who study these figures by painting. We hope that this booklet in our Eurasian Arts series will provide pleasure for the readers and painters, for youngsters and elders in a same way as the earlier ones did.

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**Education in Turkistan Prior to Russian Occupation**

**Abstract**

Turkistan i.e., the land of Turks, or modern Central Asia lies at the heart of the Eurasian continent. Different civilizations emerged and flourished here during the course of history. All these civilizations assimilated their cultures and as part of culture, education too was introduced in the region. Education in Turkistan was started in the early years of the Christian era when priests and clergy spread the religious and moral education in many areas of the region. Soon after the Arab conquest, education in the region reached its heights, resulting in a number of prominent scholars in the region. Men of learning were spreading not only the words of God and His messenger (PBUH) but were everywhere to teach mathematics and astronomy, physics and chemistry, logic and natural science, history and philosophy. For all this, large and small educational institutions were set up by the people themselves or else by the rulers to make people aware about the developments around. People from various areas travelled to learn in Bukhara and Samarqand, the twin centres of the region. These centres became the pivots of Islamic culture and learning. Thereafter contribution of Central Asians to the varied sciences began to dissipate as the region entered a period of decline in respect of educational developments.

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief historical account of the education system in the region during the period, the different institutions through which this education was imparted, to know the curriculum, teaching methods, objectives, income and the role of teachers and students in these institutions.

**Key words**

**Transoxania:** Land across Oxus i.e. region carved out by river Oxus (Amu Darya) and Jaxartus (Syr Darya); **Oasis:** Fertile area surrounded by the desert; **Dabristans:** Higher secular schools; **Maktabas:** Primary learning institutions; **Madrasahs:** Secondary and Higher learning institutions; **Maktabdar, Dahmulla, or Mulla:** Teacher; **Zanchhi:** One who calls for prayers in the mosque; **Mullbacha, shaggrid, talib al ilm:** Student; **Wakf:** land endowed for religious and educational activities.

**Introduction**

Historical records of Turkistan begin with the invasion of Achemenians (500 BC) who moved out of Persia to capture a large area of Turkistan. After they were defeated by Alexander (331 BC), Greeks held the sway of many areas in the region. In an era when the present-day boundaries of countries did not exist, many areas of the region came under the control of Sakas and Yauchis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, in particular the southern and south-west areas. Persians came back under the Sassanids (219 AD) to control

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Sogdiana (the area where Bukhara and Samarqand lie). They governed the region from 219 AD for more than four centuries, sometimes intercepted by the Hephthalites (White Huns) and the Turks. In 560 AD the Hephthalites were routed by the alliance made by Sassanids and Turks. From that time Turks became masters of Transoxania and Sasanidesa, that of Balkh and Tokharistan.

Arabs started conquering the region around the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and during the next hundred years (751 AD battle of Talas), they captured the whole region. Along with this the new faith of Islam was introduced in the region. Thereafter, many independent Muslim kingdoms sprang up in the region. The most important of these was the empire of the Persian Samanids (874-999), who made their capital at Bukhara. With a well-organized bureaucracy and army the Samanids regulated and expanded the trade that was going on for centuries on the Silk Route between the Chinese and Romans. Persians, thereafter, began to control trade activities and made Bukhara a trade, transport and cultural centre of the Islamic world. Along with it they also introduced their own language, Persian, in the area, which is still prevalent in almost similar form in many areas of Turkistan. Samanids were replaced by Karakhanids (993 AD) who held sway of Turkistan for a shorter period and were overthrown by the Seljuks in 1037 AD and ruled the area till the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

By the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Islamic centres of Bukhara, Samarqand, Khwarizm (modern Khiva), Khokand, Fargana, Semircheya, etc., had become world famous on account of the Arab *Khalifas* of Baghdad or their governors or else by the succeeding dynasties. Excellent arts and craft centres were established in the oasis centres. Splendid architectural façades dotted the habitations. Different types of educational institutions were set up to impart education. People from various areas travelled to learn in Bukhara and Samarqand. Learned men from these centres, as theologians, philosophers, artisans, missionaries, spread to far off places to teach various other people about all that they had achieved.

All this was destroyed when in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Mongols coming under Chengis Khan (1163-1227) devastated everything from agriculture and trade to religious centres. They killed thousands of people; in Samarqand only 25% of the population survived the catastrophe.

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century a native, Timur, overpowered the Mongols to build an Empire with his capital at Samarqand in 1369. He ruled for 35 years. Thereafter his grandson Ulugh Beg ruled for forty years from 1409 to 1449. He was murdered by his son, Abd-al-Latif; from that on the gradual decline of the Timurids can be witnessed. They were fond of art and architecture and patronised the literary activities. Timur built many secular buildings with splendid architecture. Many philosophers and scholars like Hafiz, Ibn Khaldun were his close attendants. Ulugh Beg built the Ulugh Beg observatory that was famous for astronomical observations during the period. Shaybani Khan (1451-1510), who traced his genealogy back to Uzbek Khan (1312-1340), a great grandson of Chengis Khan created the last of the great empires in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Shaybani Khan (1451-1510) and Ubaidullah Khan, who ruled from 1533 to 1539 were the main rulers of the dynasty. Their dynasty disintegrated and ceased to exist after the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thereafter the region was ruled by small independent Khanates as Astrakhans and Mangits till the Russians started conquering the region from 1864.

Since ancient times formal schooling for certain social groups among the settled populations in the river valleys and irrigated plateaus of the Middle and Far East has been conducted by priests and clergy. The Sassanids of Iran and Transoxania who were always at war with the Romans in the region

incorporated many aspects of the early medieval academies and colleges of the Near and Middle East<sup>1</sup>. Besides religious education these schools provided secular education, too.

In Transoxania they were known by the name of *dabristans* (higher secular schools) where students learned the “Zend-Avesta (sacred book of the Zoroastrians) by heart. Thereupon they began to study the temporal subjects of history, literature and philosophy and subsequently went on to acquire skills of riding, archery, javelin throwing and chawgan (polo). This was followed by music for which they learned to play the lute, stringed instrument called the *qanun*. Furthermore they learnt to compete in *Jang-I laghatak* (upright wrestling), backgammon and chess”<sup>2</sup>. Dabiristans were usually concentrated in cities and were meant for the education of the country servants in administration as *dabirs* (scribes). This historical tradition took a new meaning, form and intensity by the time Arabs conquered the region. In the oasis region of Turkistan, Muslim learning took the form and transmitted part of the cultural heritage of the classical European world as well as that of the Near East to the peoples of the region.

By the middle of 8<sup>th</sup> century, Arabs had conquered Khokand, Bukhara, Samarqand, Khawarizm, Fargana and its adjoining areas falling in Turkistan. With it came into existence the rule of Mawiyads (660-751 AD) and subsequently the Abbasids (751-1258 AD), who ruled in the area through their governors. As they were the followers of Islam, therefore with them the faith of Islam, its fundamentals and principles, and rituals, etc., came to be known to the people of these areas as well as the system of education that was introduced by the Arabs elsewhere.

As the core of their education was the *Qur’an*, the last revealed book of God, so one became conversant to believe in Islamic fundamentals<sup>3</sup> of confession or *iman* (God, Angles, Scriptures, Prophets, the day of Judgment and Resurrection), and to follow the five pillars of Islam, *kalima* (the confession of faith), *salat* (*Nimaz* or prayers), *zakat* (alms giving), *saum* or *ruzah* (fasting), and *hajj* (pilgrimage to Macca) besides understanding the principles of brotherhood, social cohesion, universal realities of life, scientific reasoning, etc.

As a rule these fundamentals of faith were transmitted in a mosque as such the Arabs along with the conquering of the areas were also constructing mosques. It happened even when the Arab control was not yet firm as the first such mosque was built by the Arab governor Qutaba bin Muslim (705-15 AD) in Bukhara in the citadel where there was earlier a fire temple<sup>4</sup>, in 712 AD<sup>5</sup>. It was a big mosque where large noon congregational prayers were held on every Friday. Qutaba also built many other mosques in Bukhara, Samarqand and at other places in the region<sup>6</sup>. Bukhara and Samarqand subsequently became

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<sup>1</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, “The Islamic Lands and their Culture”, *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, Eds. C. E. Bosworth and A. S. Aslmov, London, 1997, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, “The Islamic Lands and their Culture”, *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, P. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Leiden. E. L. Brill, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. V, London, 1986, p. 1123.

<sup>4</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, “The Islamic Lands and their Culture”, *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Henry Skrine and Edward Denison Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, London, 1899, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> W. Barthold, *Turkistan Down To Mongol Invasion*, London, 1958, p. 185; The Arabs built three thousand mosques in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Baghdad alone and in Alexandria there were twelve thousands during the 14<sup>th</sup> century; M. Mobin Shorish,

the great centres for the transmission of Islamic faith, arts and crafts as well as for education. One such mosque, the Jawziya mosque in Samarqand was an excellent centre of Islamic learning in whole Transoxania<sup>7</sup>. The number of mosques seems to have increased with the passage of time, as by the 10<sup>th</sup> century only in Fargana there were more than 40 such great mosques<sup>8</sup>.

For the dissemination of knowledge the Arabs also introduced Arabic as a language in the area not only because they knew and understood Arabic but also because the Qur'an has been revealed in Arabic. In 741 AD during the reign of Nasr Ibn Sayar (738-48 AD) a decree was issued making Arabic the official language for all administrative purposes in Transoxiana<sup>9</sup>. In the beginning Arab officials replaced the local scribes (dabirs) for maintaining administration, but subsequently dabirs learned their language. For this purpose also education became the tool to learn Arabic. Education in Turkistan, as in other parts of the Islamic world, happened through *Maktabas* and *Madrassas* but these were meant mostly for the male population. Separate female schools were also established, even though some females attended male schools.

### Maktabas

Maktaba (literary meaning a place of writing) was the basic Islamic learning centre serving as primary institute. Generally speaking, these primary schools were established in the mosques although private homes were also used for Maktabas<sup>10</sup>. Like in other places in the Islamic states, besides mosques, separate *Maktabkhans* (school buildings) were also constructed in Turkistan from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>11</sup>. All looked alike in the method of teaching as well as in other matters and in fact the words Maktaba and mosque were used interchangeably when reference to these elementary schools was made<sup>12</sup>.

As there is no statistical data available for this period, one would expect that there would have been a large number of primary schools of this type in the area at any given time, soon after the first one was

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"Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leaven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 317.

7 Quoting *Kitab al Qand Fi Tarikhi Samarqand*, a local history of the city by Abu Hafis Samarqandi, A. K. Mirbabaeva, (History of Civilisation of Central Asia, Vol. IV, part 2nd, London, 1997, p. 32) writes that it was earlier the heathen temple of idols and place of worship.

8 A. K. Mirbabaeva, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", History of Civilisation of Central Asia, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 32.

9 A. K. Mirbabaeva, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", History of Civilisation of Central Asia, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 34.

10 M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, Gills Veinstien, and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 322.

11 A. K. Mirbabaeva, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", History of Civilisation of Central Asia, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 34.

12 M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, Gills Veinstien, and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 322.

established around 741 AD<sup>13</sup>. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was usually at least one Maktaba in each town-ward and in remote villages instruction was given by itinerant *Mullas*<sup>14</sup> in the mosques<sup>15</sup>. In 1874 in the Samarqand district there were 572 Maktabas with total enrolment of 5,207 pupils<sup>16</sup>. In 1908 there were 10,722 Maktabas in Turkistan, of which there were 1,809 in Syr Darya oblast, 1,680 in Samarqand oblast, 1,143 in Fargana oblast, 5,000 in Bukhara Emirate, and 1,140 in Khiva Khanate<sup>17</sup>. In Bukhara Emirate in 1911 there were some 1,200,000 pupils<sup>18</sup> in the large number of Maktabas.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were about 100 to 125 students studying in a primary school. As the primary education was neither state sponsored nor *waqf* governed<sup>19</sup>, it was basically the community's responsibility to meet their requirements and accordingly catering their needs. Community requirements allowed having large number of these schools; as there was no licensing authority<sup>20</sup>, permission was not needed for the opening of these schools. Primary education seems to have been therefore a universal phenomenon in Turkistan. Archival records suggest that parents preferred that their wards should necessarily join such schools for at least three to four years<sup>21</sup>.

### Madrassas

Madrassa (literary meaning the lesson giving place) were meant for secondary and higher education. They became the formal educational institutes in early Islamic history, but developed into a full-fledged college by the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>22</sup>. In that period there was much overlapping between the mosque and the Madrassa<sup>23</sup>, as some of the mosques had incorporated a few of the higher subjects for learning.

The first Madrassa is credited to have been established by the Seljuk Vazier Nizamul Mulk (1064-92) in Baghdad<sup>24</sup>. There are views that its establishment happened before him in the East, as in Nishapur in 999

<sup>13</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asian's under Russian Rule*, London, 1960, P. 82.

<sup>15</sup> In 1900 it was estimated that there were 1503 congregational and 11230 small mosques in Turkistan without counting in the Khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, with a total of 12,499 *Imams* to minister to 6,000,000 persons, that is, one Mosque for every 471 believers; Geoffrey Wheeler, *The Modern Soviet Central Asia*, London, 1964, p. 186.

<sup>16</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", *Chantal Lemerrier Quelquejay*, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 336.

<sup>17</sup> N. A. Abdurakhimov, "Tsarist Asia and Central Asia", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. VI, London, p. 148.

<sup>18</sup> A. K. Patnaik, "Education the Press and the Public Health", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. VI, London, 2005, p. 565.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asian's under Russian Rule*, London, 1960, p. 82.

<sup>20</sup> Jamal Alami, "Education in Hijaz under Turkish and Sharfian Rule", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol.3, Ed. Mohamed Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Adeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*, London, 1987, p. 125.

<sup>23</sup> Leiden. E. L. Brill, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. V, London, 1986, pp. 1125-1126.

<sup>24</sup> J. Pederson, "Some Aspects of the History of Madrassas", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol.3, Ed. Mohamed Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 1.

by its governor Nasr bin Subuktigin<sup>25</sup> and in Afghanistan in 1018 by Sultan Mahmud<sup>26</sup>. It is also held that there were 33 Madrassas in the East before Nizamiya was copied from Bukharian and Khrusanian models and established in Baghdad<sup>27</sup>.

Between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries there were numerous Madrassas containing libraries in Bukhara and Samarqand. The Mongol invasion in early 13<sup>th</sup> century dealt a temporary blow to many things including the traditional system of education, but later on they established Madrassas in the area; Hulagu's mother built two Madrassas in Bukhara where 1000 students studied in each<sup>28</sup>. Mongke Khan's minister Masud Beg also built twin Madrassas of similar strength in Bukhara<sup>29</sup>. However, the greatest period of prosperity of the Madrassas in this area was under the Timurids, notably in Samarqand where Timur built a *Djami* and his wife a Madrassa known as *Khanum* Madrassa<sup>30</sup>. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century Timur's descendents Ulugh Beg, Sultan Husayn, Bayqara and others also built many Madrassas. Ulugh Beg built three Madrassas. The most important of them was the Ulugh Beg Madrassa in Rigstan near Bukhara in 1420<sup>31</sup>. Mohammed Sultan, Timur's grandson built a Madrassa in Samarqand at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>32</sup>.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Shaybanids built many Madrassas. The Shaybani Khan Madrassa was built by Shaybani Khan in Samarqand<sup>33</sup>. During Ubaydullah's reign the Burak Khan Madrassa at Tashkent, the Kukeldash Madrassa in Samarqand<sup>34</sup>, the Madrassa-i-Miri Arab and Nadir Diwan Beghi Madrassa were built in Bukhara<sup>35</sup>. During Ubdullah's period the Abdul Khan Madrassa, Qukeldash Madrassa, Char-Minar Mosque and Madrassa, and the Madar Khan Madrassa were constructed in Bukhara<sup>36</sup>. In the

<sup>25</sup> There were four such Madrassas in Nishapur; which as evidence were quoted by the historians Al-Makrizi and Al-Suyuti for the eastern origin of these; Leiden. E. L. Brill, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. V, London, 1986, p. 1126.

<sup>26</sup> Aijaz A. Bandey and Imtiyaz Gul Khan, "Traditional Education in Afghanistan", *The Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. XIV, Srinagar, 2006, p. 112.

<sup>27</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> Leiden. E. L. Brill, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. V, London, 1986, p. 1127.

<sup>29</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 38.

<sup>30</sup> Leiden. E. L. Brill, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. V, London, 1986, p. 1127.

<sup>31</sup> Mansura Haider, *Indo-Central Asian Relations from Early Times to Medieval Period*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 234.

<sup>32</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> Mansura Haider, *Central Asia in Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi, 2002, p. 324.

<sup>34</sup> R. G. Mukhminova, "The Shaybanids", *The Khanate of Bukhara, History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. V, Eds, Chahryar Adle and Irfan Habib, London, 2003, p. 40.

<sup>35</sup> Mansura Haider, *Indo-Central Asian Relations from Early Times to Medieval Period*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 236.

<sup>36</sup> R. G. Mukhminova, "The Shaybanids", *The Khanate of Bukhara, History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. V, London, 2003, p. 40

Astarkhanid era (Janid rule) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Madrass-i-Sheer Dour and Madrassa-i-Tilakari Khan were constructed in Samarqand<sup>37</sup>.

However, during the Manghit rule (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries) no new Madrassas were constructed. It was a period when a decline started in the spread of traditional system of education in the area. As a result, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a good number of Maktabas and Madrassas were abandoned and fell in disuse<sup>38</sup>. For example, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Emirate of Bukhara out of 200 Madrassas only 25 to 30 provided instructions<sup>39</sup> and in the town of Bukhara at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century out of 185 Madrassas only 22 served as educational institutes, the rest were providing accommodations to the students as hostels<sup>40</sup>.

There have never been accurate figures on the number of Madrassas in Turkistan during the period; however, in 1890 there were about 118 Madrassas in the Fargana province, 50 in the Samarqand province and 21 in the Syr Darya province<sup>41</sup>.



Sheer Dour Madrassa, Samarqand

Source: Wikimedia Commons

<sup>37</sup> Mansura Haider, *Indo-Central Asian Relations from Early Times to Medieval Period*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 235.

<sup>38</sup> A. Mukhtarov, "The Manghits", *The Khanate Emirate of Bukhara, History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. V, London, 2003, p. 56.

<sup>39</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986. pp. 328-332.

<sup>40</sup> J. Berca, *Islamic Schools in Central Asia*, *New Orient*, Part. 2, 6, 1967, p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> H. Carrere d'Encausse, "Tsarist Educational Policy In Turkistan, 1867-1917", *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. II, London, 1963, p. 375.



Ulugh Beg Madrasa, Samarqand

*Source:* Wikimedia Commons



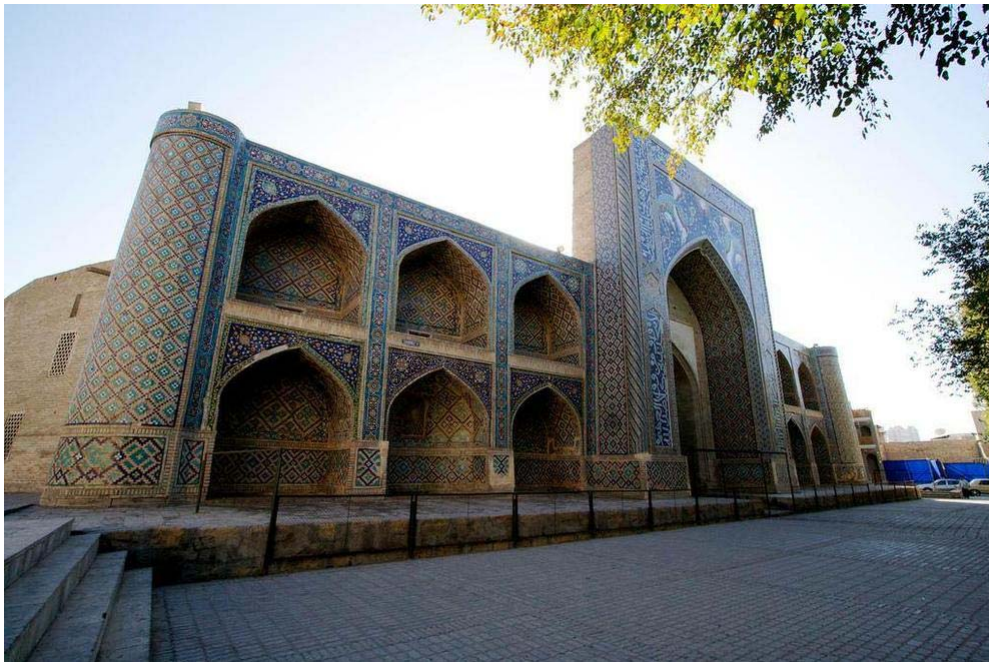
Char-Minar Mosque & Madrasa, Bukhara

*Source:* Wikimedia Commons



Tilakari Madrassa, Samarqand

Source: Wikimedia Commons



Nadir-Divan-Beghi Madrassa, Bukhara

Source: <http://www.geolocation.ws/v/L/5575925119/madrassa-de-nodir-devon-begi-18/en>

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### Female Education

Generally speaking female education has somehow not received as much attention as that of boys. Even the great philosophers of the period like Al-Ghazali, Nasir al-din Al-tusi, and Diwani etc., were not in favour of their education<sup>42</sup>. Because Islam restricts boys and girls, after attaining puberty, to mix together, co-education was almost non-existent; accordingly some mistakenly call that education was forbidden for females. However, there were some separate arrangements made for girls' education in the houses of the female teachers called *Otins*<sup>43</sup>. Mostly the neighbourhood girls would come to the Otin's residence for Maktaba learning. They in turn trained their daughters or if they had none then some promising girl was to succeed them.

By late 19<sup>th</sup> century some girl Maktabas or Otin Bibi schools made their appearance. But they were confined only up to bigger towns like Tashkent and Bukhara<sup>44</sup> and they were rarely found in rural areas. The course of study was the same as those of boys' schools with similar means of control<sup>45</sup>. The number of educated girls was small, but many of those who had attended schools kept up their studies after their marriage. One such woman was the wife of the leading *Qazi* of Samarqand, who was said to have read over two thousand books<sup>46</sup>.

Quoting the official Russian sources, it is reported that the number of girls attending the Maktaba was about 8,600 for all Turkistan and about 6,300 for the three oblasts of Samarqand, Fargana and Syr Darya in 1900<sup>47</sup>. By 1908 nearly 10,000 students attended the Otin Bibi schools<sup>48</sup>. We do not have any other record of these girl schools.

Besides, responsible for the education of the women from birth to adulthood, Otins also wielded some sort of authority over the female population. Whenever there were celebrations of national, religious or family importance, such as birth rituals, marriage, or funerals, they were responsible for the recitation of prayers. In this way they fulfilled the same function as that of the mullas and were at times referred as women mullas<sup>49</sup>. As such, women and girls formed their own chains of knowledge transmission and had separate religious authority<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> A. K. Mirbabaeve, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", History of Civilisation of Central Asia, Vol. IV, part. 2nd, London, 1997, p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> They were usually housewives and quite often the wives and daughters of local Mullas; Adeeb Khalid, The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia, London, 1998, p. 27.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, Central Asian's under Russian Rule, London, 1960, p. 85.

<sup>45</sup> W. K. Medlin, W. M. Cave, F. Carpenter, Education and Development in Central Asia: A Case Study of Social Change in Uzbekistan, Lieden, 1971, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, Central Asian's under Russian Rule, London, 1960, p. 85.

<sup>47</sup> W. K. Medlin, W. M. Cave, F. Carpenter, Education and Development in Central Asia: A Case Study of Social Change in Uzbekistan, Lieden, 1971, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, Central Asian's under Russian Rule, London, 1960, p. 115.

<sup>49</sup> Habibi Fathi, "Otins: The unknown Women Clerics of Turkistan Islam", Central Asian Survey, Vol. 16, No.1, p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> Adeeb Khalid, The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia, London, 1998, pp. 27-28.

## Curriculum

As the core of Islamic education was to read the Qur'an and learn the fundamentals of the faith, all Maktabas offered the entrants education in the revealed Book. Usually at the age of 6 an entrant in a Maktaba was required to learn first the Arabic alphabets (*Alif, be, te, se,*), which were followed by the vowels as "a", "u", and "I". After memorisation of the alphabets and vowels, the students were learning *abjad*<sup>51</sup>.

The first year was followed by a serial learning of more things. The first was to read the Qur'an and memorise the selected verses from it. They started with the shortest *suras* that are given at the end of the Book. Usually one seventh of the Qur'an, called *haftyak*, was memorised like this. Those who memorised the *haftyak* were known as *Kitabkhan*<sup>52</sup>. In addition they were also memorising the last or the 30<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Qur'an. Most students dropped out after finishing any one of these to end their primary education.

Some of the students also completed the reading of the Qur'an after the *haftyak*. Very few of them, who usually came from the rich families, proceeded to read and memorise *chilhadith* (forty popular saying of the last Prophet), and read the *charkitab* - a book in the Tajik and Persian language<sup>53</sup>. It was a combination of four works: *Nam-I Haqq*, a tract in verse by one Sharifuddin Bukhari, dealing with the rules for the fulfilment of ritual obligations of ritual purity, or fasting and prayer (Nimaz): *Char fasl*, by an anonymous author, providing a statement, in prose of the basis of belief, the five pillars of Islam and ritual purity: *Muhimmad ul-muslimin*, another anonymous work providing information on four things that are important to all Muslims (the unity of God "Tawhid", fasting, prayers and ritual purity), and sections from *Pandnama* of Fariduddin Attar, a major work in the *adab* (literature) traditions. It was followed by Persian and Turkic poetry of Hafiz, Sufi Allah Yar, Fuzili, Bedil, Nawai and Attar<sup>54</sup>.

At the heydays (9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries) some of the Maktabas also offered elementary education in arithmetic, history and geography<sup>55</sup>. Besides that, in urban centres some Maktabas also offered courses in grammar, poetry, physical education, *adab* and famous proverbs<sup>56</sup>. Ibn Sina, popularly known as Avicenna (980-1037), the greatest scholar of medieval times in the region, had also mentioned that besides Qur'an, also metaphysics, language, *adab*, ethics, and manual skills were taught in some of the Maktabas

<sup>51</sup> It was both a mnemonic device for learning the Arabic alphabet and a system of counting in which letter of the alphabet was assigned a numerical value (allowing the use of the alphabet in cabals etc).

<sup>52</sup> Rakhimov, "Traditionnoe nachol'noe Shkkol'noe Obuchenie", p. 122; C.f. Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 326.

<sup>54</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, pp. 23-24.

<sup>55</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, Gills Veinstien, and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passe Turko-Tartar, Pre'sent Sovietique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 317; Abdul Latief bin Duhaish, "Elementary Schools in Hijaz", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3, Ed. Mohamed Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, Boisder, 1963, p. 38.

there. These were the days when these centres had magnificent institutions to offer education not only in the subjects but also developed as great centres of learning in arts, crafts, architecture, etc.

The rigorous schooling in Qur'an, faith, and literature was followed in the second stage according to Ibn Sina by manual skills. As he mentions: 'children differed naturally from one another. Some has flair for reading, some for manual skills, some for literature and some for preaching and are, therefore, drawn according to their interests'<sup>57</sup>.

Accordingly, not only for the teachers and preachers, a Maktaba was able to draw students for the learning of craftsmanship that were later on able to produce wonderful crafts Turkistan was famous during medieval times<sup>58</sup>. These centres were disseminating knowledge not only in Turkistan, but also outside the area as well.

Still for higher education Madrassas provided instructions in the religious sciences and rational or intellectual sciences (*aqli*). Religious sciences included *Al-Shari'ah* (Divine Law), Arabic grammar, *Tafsir* (exegesis), *Usul fiqh* (principles for Jurisprudence) *Usul hadith* (principles for interpretation of hadith) and biography of the last Prophet<sup>59</sup>. Rational sciences included logic, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, poetry, history, geography, etc.<sup>60</sup>

Generally, education in a Madrasa was divided into three phases. In the first period students learned *Bidan*, which explained the Arabic grammar in Persian and Tajik languages and *Nishal Subiyn* (the portion of young), which was an arrangement of Arabic words and their equivalent in Tajik in poetry form. The basic requirements (*Zruriyat*) of Islam were taught in *Awwal-I Ilm* and Arabic etymology (science of origin of words) was taught in *Muizz*. After mastering these books, a student was taught Arabic syntax (rules of the study of phrases) from *Avamil* (lit. works) and a detailed commentary on it as *Sharh-I Mullah* by Abdur Rahman. The learning of logic was taught from *Shamsiya* by Najmuddin Qazvini in 1276<sup>61</sup>.

The second period started with *Tanzeb*, a text on scholastic philosophy. This was followed by the study of natural sciences and metaphysics contained in a text called *Hukmat-al-ayan* and a study of religious treaties in a book called *Mulljall*<sup>62</sup>.

In the third period the courses of study were divided into two branches i.e., *masaiel* (problem) and *mushkilat* (difficulties). The first branch dealt with Islamic Law and legal aspects, while the second with general theological aspects. However, most of the students took only one branch of the programme<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> A. K. Mirbabaev, "The Islamic Lands and their Culture", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2<sup>nd</sup>, London, 1997, pp. 34-35.

<sup>58</sup> A. H. Dani, "Arts and Crafts", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, part. 2<sup>nd</sup>, London, 1997, pp. 441-442.

<sup>59</sup> John L. Eposite, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, New York, Vol. I, 1996, p. 408.

<sup>60</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*, London, 1987, p. 126; J. Pederson, "Some Aspects of the history of Madrasa", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture* Vol. 3, Ed, Mohamad Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 30.

<sup>62</sup> J. Berka, *Islamic schools in Central Asia*, New Orient, 1966, pp. 186-187.

<sup>63</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passe Turko-Tartar*, Pre'sent Sovietque, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 336.

With this ended the core texts of Madrassa, which could be mastered when students reached the age of nineteen. However, there was no formal termination of studies in a Madrassa and many students lingered on for decades<sup>64</sup>.

Arts and crafts also formed part of Islamic education. Instructions of arts and crafts were given within guilds (*Asnaf, Futhrwat*), as well as through individual instruction in homes or ateliers of master craftsmen<sup>65</sup>. The master (*Ustad*) would take the apprentice, usually at the age of twelve, and teach him the required skill of the craft over several years. The master also taught the child the proper rules of behaviour (*adab*) and knowledge about Muslim law and mysticism if he was literate<sup>66</sup>. Initiation into a guild revolved around the memorisation of *risala*, which was in verse and laid out the rules for initiation and proper conduct to be followed by members. In order to complete their education, apprentices were required to know the *risala* for the guild by heart<sup>67</sup>.

### Teaching Methods

The methods of teaching were universal in the Islamic world and in this region the situation was not different. The students would sit in a circle round a teacher to form a *halqa* (circle) to be taught either in a group or one by one depending on the capacity and calibre of the students<sup>68</sup>. However, much attention was paid towards the correctness of reading of the Qur'an. For that purpose the method of teaching was reading from the text, which the student was to learn. Elder students too served the purpose of teaching, and were called *khalifa*<sup>69</sup>.

The teachers or elder students in the school read text lines aloud followed by the learners at a high pitch. The students used to take up turns being taught by the teacher and thus one by one each of them were imparted education in the text they were reading. Each text line was repeated many times, so that a student followed the line in the manner the teacher pronounced it. The method not only allowed the students to know how to read or recite but also helped in remembering the verses of the Book by heart<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*, London, 1987, p. 124.

<sup>66</sup> Peter L. Roudik, *The History of Central Asian Republics*, London, 2007, p. 63.

<sup>67</sup> Proper conduct means that the apprentice would not be rude to his master, did not walk in front of him, did not sit down without his permission and never addressed him with his name; Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 28.

<sup>68</sup> Jamal Alami, "Education in Hijaz under Turkish and Sharifian Rule" *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3, Ed. Mohamed Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> Ayni says when his father took him to the *Maktab*, the teacher 'sat me down close to him and ordered one of the older students to work with me, who ordered to look at his writing board as he said aloud, *alif, be, te, se*'. I imitated him and repeated the names of these letters. Having taught me how to pronounce them, the student went over to other kids and started teaching them'; Sadriiddin Ayniy, "Eski Maktab" 1935, in *Eski Maktab Tashkent*, 1988, P. 109; C.f. Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 22.

<sup>70</sup> Leiden. E. L. Brill, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. V, London, 1986, p. 1130.

There was no regular school timing. Instruction began after the *fajr* (morning) prayers or after sunrise. Students reached to the Maktabas one by one<sup>71</sup>. Teaching was normally up to the late afternoon prayer. There were weekend holidays on Thursday afternoon and Friday and a week's vacation for each of the two great Muslim festivals i.e. *Kichik Bayram (Eidul Fitir)* and *Qurban Bayram (Eidul Azha)*<sup>72</sup>. The highest level of attendance in a Maktaba was during the late fall and winter months when agricultural activities in the fields were at a minimum<sup>73</sup>.

Formal lessons in a Madrassa took place for four days a week, starting on Saturdays and ending on Tuesdays. The length of the school year was from middle of September to middle of March<sup>74</sup>. The entire study group assembled in the Madrassa. When a *Mudarris* (teacher) entered the classroom, the students would stand up to greet him. After accepting the greeting of the students the teacher would sit in a specific place and motioned the students to sit down. They would kneel in front of him with their texts before them and then a designated reader (*qari* - elected by the students) read out the passage to be discussed. The *Mudarris* translated the passage and proceeded to explain and comment on it, followed by the discussion involving the students, which concluded the lesson. The utterance of the phrase "*Allahu Akber*" (God is great) ended the session. However, it was not necessary to take courses at the Madrassas as a student was free to learn from any professor in the city at his residence as was especially the case in Bukhara<sup>75</sup>.

### Objectives

The aims of traditional Islamic education were twofold. On the one hand education was to inculcate in the students the basic religious knowledge and theology of Islam and on the other hand to prepare the individual for his secular calling and vocation. The religious knowledge and theology revolved around the Qur'an and *Had'ith*<sup>76</sup>. In this type of knowledge stress was mainly on memorisation without explicit explanation, although some sort of explanation was given in Turkic and Persian during the Madrassa period. According to Dale Eickelman, 'understanding (*fahm*) in the context of such concepts of learning was not measured by any ability to explain the particular verses of Qur'an, instead the measure of understanding was implicit and consisted of the ability to use the particular Qur'anic verses in appropriate contexts'<sup>77</sup>. Another aim to be achieved by this type of knowledge was to develop the proper modes of behaviour and conduct (*tarbiya*). It was a mimetic practice and occupied a central place in

<sup>71</sup> Abdul Latief bin Duhaish, "Elementary Schools in Hijaz", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3, Ed. Mohamed Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 55.

<sup>72</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asian's under Russian Rule*, London, 1960, p. 82.

<sup>73</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", *Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey*, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986. p. 317.

<sup>74</sup> The rest of the week was spent on memorising some lessons and reading the other lessons with friends or just relaxing; Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, Boisder, 1963, p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Addeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, pp. 22-30.

<sup>76</sup> Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, Boisder, 1963, p. 38.

<sup>77</sup> Dale F. Eickelman, "The Art of Memory, Islamic knowledge and its Social Reproduction", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1978, p. 490; C.f. Addeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 20.

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Muslim societies from the very beginning. In later centuries, when Islamic civilizations flourished properly 'adab' came to be understood in a more restricted fashion to denote knowledge necessary for a certain profession in life<sup>78</sup>.

The secular aims of education were mainly acquired after the Madrassa education. After the successful completion of Madrassa education there were various possibilities of employment in administrative affairs, as to work as *Mufti* (jurist-consult), *Qazi* (judge) or *Mudarris* (teacher). The last but not least aim of education was to acquire a skill so as to learn a craft for one's own trade and business<sup>79</sup>.

What the Islamic education aimed was not only to acquaint people about Qur'an, Hadi'th, Shari'at, or how to be a practicing Muslim, it was also to make them morally pure and spiritually upright. It was to inculcate among them the source of brotherhood and piety, so that one would understand how important was to live a peaceful life. Most often the teachers were providing advice how a person can save oneself from bad things and morally corrupt practices.

### Teacher

The Maktabas in Turkistan were usually conducted by one teacher, who was called *Maktabdar*, *Dahmulla*, or simply *Mulla*. He was also the man in charge of religious rituals and ceremonies of the community, like prayers, and to preside over marriage and death ceremonies.

There is very little information that would suggest what qualified a person to be a teacher but some of them like Ibn Sina, Al-Razi and Al-Ghazali were men of learning as a well-reputed Madrassa teacher. There were some who were of meagre learning, as they had only studied in the Maktabas and were thus semi-literate, not knowing how to write and even to read and thus conducted their classes through memory<sup>80</sup> in the Maktabas. Nevertheless, in the society a teacher was respected and generally one's prestige and status depended upon his reputation as a scholar<sup>81</sup>. The better the reputation the larger was the community he served.

A Mulla in the community was the surrogate father for the children inside and outside the Maktaba. He was a model of a good Muslim for the children in the community. In the absence of a Mulla, in some Maktabas *Zanchhi* (*muezzin*) too taught the children, however, not every village could afford such a construction. Hence, education was confined only up to the Mulla.

The teacher in the Madrassa was called *Moulvi* or *Mudarris*. Their number varied according to the strength of a Madrassa. Initially after the establishment of the Madrassa there was a single *Mudarris* to teach the students, as was the case in Nizamia in Baghdad<sup>82</sup>. But with the passage of time there were

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<sup>78</sup> F. Gabrieli, "Adab", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. I, Lieden, 1960, p. 175; Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Adab", *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol.1, New York, 1982, pp. 431-439.

<sup>79</sup> Adeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 31-32.

<sup>80</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, "Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917", *Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay*, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, p. 322.

<sup>81</sup> Abbas Ali, *Basic Features of Islamic Culture*, New Delhi, 2006, p. 135.

<sup>82</sup> E. J. Brills, *First Encyclopedia of Islam, 1913-36*, Vol. 5, New York, 1987, p. 363.

many teachers for a single Madrassa, as the case may be taken of the famous Ulugh Beg Madrassa where there were ten such teachers<sup>83</sup>. Accordingly, various teachers taught different subjects like Qur'an, Hadith, logic, although some of the teachers were knowledgeable in multiple subjects.

Teachers were generally giving certificates (*ijaza's*), a type of degree after completion of the courses, indicating that the student has completed the particular course and can teach now the same. After the full-fledged establishment of Madrassas the prestige of the individual teacher was still greater than the Madrassa itself as most illustrious men and scholars usually gave the in their biographies the names of their teachers rather than the Madrassas at which they studied<sup>84</sup>.

### Students

Every male student was absolutely free to join a *halqa* (circle) in the Maktaba to listen to a teacher<sup>85</sup>. But the Maktabkhani (when a student is formally sent to a Maktaba) occurred at the age of six. The pupils were then immediately thrust into a set of hierarchical social relations. The students in the Maktabas had neither any class division nor any examination. Students sat together in a class and their relation to the teacher was individual and direct<sup>86</sup>. Poor boys dropped out at the age of ten or eleven to work for their fathers, however, those of more prosperous families continued up to the age of thirteen.

Students in a Madrassa were popularly known as *Mullbacha* (young Mullah), *shaggrid* (apprentice), *talib al ilm* (seeker of knowledge) or simply seeker. They entered the Madrassa at the age of thirteen after finishing the Maktaba education<sup>87</sup>, however, the bright ones from the mosque or home schools too got the admission in the Madrassas. Like in the Maktaba, progress in the Madrassa was also marked by successful completion of books at the student's own pace. Students learned through the lectures of the teachers as well as through the informal peer learning in study circles organized by the students themselves<sup>88</sup>. Students were free to attend classes at other Madrassas and very ambitious ones went on to study in Istanbul and Mecca.<sup>89</sup>

Prior to Russian occupation the students received income from wakf besides from their families. They got up to fifty percent of their income from the wakf properties. Besides that, additional funds usually from the government were available for the students having income below a certain level<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> Mansura Haider, *Indo-Central Asian Relations from Early Times to Medieval Period*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 240.

<sup>84</sup> Mohammed Tahir, "Education", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3, New Delhi, 1997, p. 156.

<sup>85</sup> E. J. Brill's, *First Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1913-36, Vol. 5, New York, 1987, p. 366.

<sup>86</sup> Adeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 22.

<sup>87</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule*, London, 1960, pp. 82-83.

<sup>88</sup> Adeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, p. 29.

<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule*, London, 1960, p. 84.

<sup>90</sup> J. Berka, *Islamic schools in Central Asia*, New Orient, 1966, pp. 186-187.

## Writing

Generally, education up to the Maktaba level was usually oral and thus through memorisation. Hence, the students were not required to write anything even though they had memorised haftyak, para, charkitab, and learning of the Qur'an. In some of the Maktabas most of the students could not read in their own language and did not understand what they had read in Arabic after spending four to five years. This is why despite the large number of schools, when the Russians penetrated in the area the level of literacy was very low<sup>91</sup>. Writing was a separate skill not taught by all the Maktabdars, in particular during the latter years of the Islamic education in Turkistan. However, calligraphy was taught by some prominent Maktabas of the cities. It too was taught by imitation. The case was different in the Maktabas where far-advanced subjects like geography or arithmetic were also taught earlier.

## Income

Maktaba was not a school like the modern primary learning institute. It seldom had a building of its own. It was housed in a mosque, or the house of the teacher or in the wealthy residence of the neighbourhood<sup>92</sup>. Teachers did not receive a regular salary, usually they were hired by the community and as such they took care of their expenditures. Generally, a different household brought food to him every day. Mullas possessed little income. Most of their provision (including clothing) was handed to them by members of the community on every Thursday<sup>93</sup>, on occasions of the religious festivities, the harvest time or at the end of the students' assignment. Most of the gifts were given to him at the time when the student started reading Qur'an<sup>94</sup>. Quite often the Mulla was a part-time farmer or engaged in some local handicraft to supplement his income.

Initially the Madrassas were state sponsored and therefore governors, rulers and government officials patronised and encouraged the system of education<sup>95</sup>. Besides that, the wealthy people and the scholars themselves founded institutions of similar kind<sup>96</sup>. In later periods the source of income for the Madrassas was mainly wakf property<sup>97</sup> governed by a *wakfnama* (charter of a wakf), which provided the details of expenditure of their income. Most of the expenditures were the salaries of the *mutavalli*; (trusty), teachers,

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<sup>91</sup> Virsky an ethnographer in 1895 has described the situation of a district near the Samarqand in these words that there were 32 schools, only the district chief can read but not write, the other local government officials were completely illiterate. It proved impossible to find eleven people able to read and write among the population of the district, J. Berka, *Islamic schools in Central Asia*, New Orient, 1966, pp. 186-187.

<sup>92</sup> Adeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform, Jadidism in Central Asia*, London, 1998, pp.25-26.

<sup>93</sup> Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule*, London, 1960, p. 82.

<sup>94</sup> J. Berka, *Islamic schools in Central Asia*, New Orient, 1966, pp. 186-187.

<sup>95</sup> Mohammed Tahir, "Education", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3, New Delhi, 1997, p. 157.

<sup>96</sup> J. Pederson, "Some Aspects of the History of Madrassas", *Encyclopedic Survey of Islamic Culture*, Vol.3, Ed. Mohamed Tahir, New Delhi, 1997, p. 5.

<sup>97</sup> M. Annanepesov and H. N. Bababekov, "The Khanates of Khiva and Kokand and the Relations between the Khanates and with other Powers", *History of Civilisation of Central Asia*, Vol. V, London, 2003, p. 81.

their assistants and the students. Besides that, additional funds were also provided for the maintenance of the Madrassas by the rulers<sup>98</sup>.

The teachers thus were not able to live on the income so generated by teaching in such schools. On the whole they supplemented their income by other means; as some were landlords to collect their income from their lands or from the rent of their shops or houses in the cities. Some worked as part-time officials in the offices of the chief judge and others received income by writing poetry in the court, copying books and private tutoring<sup>99</sup>.

### Conclusion

From the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Turkistan has made substantial contribution to Islamic education, among others in the fields of mathematics, engineering and natural sciences, both within the region and outside, where they worked. There was a wide-spread system of Maktabas and Madrassas in the region catering the educational needs of local population. Different types of curricula and objectives were set for these institutions. This resulted in a number of eminent scholars in the region. It is held that more than half of the scholars at the Baghdad Academy in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries were from Turkistan. Examples of famous scientists produced include Muhammad bin Musa al-Khawarazmi in mathematics (algebra and trigonometry) in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi in chemistry (distillation) in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and Ibn Sina in medicine and physics in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly Abu 'Abd Allah al-Khawarazmi wrote an important encyclopaedia of the science in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and al-Biruni is often recognized as the greatest Islamic scientist of physics in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Thereafter, from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards the contribution of Turkistan to the varied sciences began to dissipate as the region entered a period of decline in respect of educational developments, with certain exceptions like the setting up of the Ulugh Beg Observatory (15<sup>th</sup> century) by Ulugh Beg at Samarqand. By the time Russians conquered the region (second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in case of modern Uzbekistan), it was a technologically backward area of the Islamic world with education confined only up to meagre primary Islamic learning, and even that just having a very ordinary nature.



<sup>98</sup> J. Berka, *Islamic schools in Central Asia*, New Orient, 1966, pp. 186-187.

<sup>99</sup> M. Mobin Shorish, *Traditional Islamic Education in Central Asia Prior To 1917*, Chantal Lemerrier-Quellejey, Gills Veinstien and S. Enders Wimbush Edition of *Passé Turko-Tartar, Présent Soviétique*, Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986, P. 330.

# *LINGUISTICS*

## БАТСҮРЭН, Барангас

### Хунну, тоба нэрийн тухай санал

**Хунну** 匈奴.

Төв Азийн нүүдэлчдийн анхны эзэнт гүрэнг үндэслэн байгуулсан *хуннучүүдийн* угсаа гарвалыг Монголын бичгийн мэргэд, эрдэмтэн судлаачид шинжлэн судалсаар хэдэн жарныг үджээ. *Хуннугийн* угсаа гарвалыг шийдвэрлэх хуучны нэг чухал чиглэл бол тэдний хэлийг төсөөлөн сэргээж, одоо байгаа хэлний ямар ай-д хамаарч болохыг тогтоох явдал мөн бөгөөд уул судалгаанд угсаатны нэрийн тухай шинжилгээ тодорхой байр суурь эзэлнэ.

Европын эрдэмтдээс *хуннугийн* угсаа гарвалын талаар байр сууриа илэрхийлж эхэлсэн нь XVIII зууны дал, наяд он. Парис хотноо 1756-1758 онд дөрвөн боть, таван дэвтрээр «Хун, Турк, Могол болон өрнийн бусад Тартарын түүх» хэмээх де Гиний (de Guignes) бичсэн, нүүдэлчдийн түүхийг өгүүлсэн өрнөдийн анхны бүтээл хэвлэгдэж гарснаас хойш хориод жилийн дараа 1776 онд байгаль судлаач, оросын *герман* П.С.Паллас (1741-1811) *хуннуг* чухам хэрэг дээрээ Европын *гунныг* анх *монгол* хэлтэн байсан гэжээ. Харин хуучин Өвөр Халхын таван отгийн нэг Баарин<sup>1</sup> аймгийн бичгийн хүмүүн Рашпунцаг 1775 онд бичиж дуусгасан «Болор эрих» хэмээх түүхийн зохиолдоо *хуннуг* анх *монгол* хэмээн бичжээ.<sup>2</sup> Чингэхлээр дэлхийн шинэ үеийн түүх судлалд *хуннуг* анх *монгол* хэмээн дуугарсан бичгийн хүмүүн бол монгол хүн болж таарч байна.

Азийн *хуннуг* угсаатны утгаар *монголчууд* хэмээн өгүүлсэн анхны европ эрдэмтэн бол Шмитд (1824 он) юм, тэрээр *хунну* нэрийг *монгол* хэлний **чоно** хэмээх үг гэж тайлбарлажээ.<sup>3</sup>

*Хуннугийн* гол цөм, ноёрхогч ард түмэн нь *түрэгүүд* байсан<sup>4</sup> гэж Абель Ремюза 1820 онд хэлснээс хойш тэднийг *түрэг* хэлтэн овог, аймаг байсан гэх үзэл баримтлал бүрэлдсэн. Үүнээс хойш л *хуннуг* – *монгол* эсвэл *түрэг* гэх маргаан хүчтэй өрнөж эхэлсэн бөгөөд явцын дунд тэднийг *финн* (Saint-Martin, 1824 он), *балар ази* эсвэл енисейн *кетт* (Отто Маенчэн-Хэлфэн, 1945; Л.Лигети, 1950; Э.Пүллиблэнк, 1962; А.П.Дульзон, 1968), *иран* угсаатан (Х.Бэйли, 1954; Е.Моог, 1963) хэмээсэн үзэл хандлага нэмэгдсэн юм. Эдгээрээс *хунну* бол *финн* байсан гэх үзэл баримтлал шинжлэх ухааны үндэслэлгүй болох нь баттай тогтоогдсон ба харин үлдсэн дөрвөн хандлагыг судлаачид баримталсаар, эдгээр чиглэлээр өөрсдийн үзэл санааг нэмж бичсээр байна. Гэхдээ *енисей* буюу *балар азийн* гаралтай гэх, эсвэл *иранчууд* байсан хэмээх үзэл *хунну*

<sup>1</sup> Владимирцов Б.Я. Где «пять халхаских поколений» – *Тавин отог Халха* // Владимирцов Б.Я. Работы по истории и этнографии монгольских народов. Составитель Г.И.Слесарчук. Москва, ВЛРАН, 2002. сс. 285-288; Гонгор Д. Өвөр Халхын таван отгийн гурав нь хаачсан бэ? // *Studia Historica*. Tom. VIII, fasc. 7. УБ., 1969. т. 153-164

<sup>2</sup> Рашпунцаг. Болор эрих. Тэргүүн дэвтэр. Харгуулан хөрвүүлсэн М.Баярсайхан, Ч.Нэргүй, Д.Бүдсүрэн // Монголын түүхэн сурвалж бичгийн цуврал. 13. Соёмбо, Улаанбаатар, 2006. т. 15; Очир А. Хуннучүүд, тэдний овог дээдсийн гарвалын тухай Монголын түүхийн мэдээ // *Studia Archaeologica*. Tom. XI, fasc. 10. УБ., 1986. т. 103-109

<sup>3</sup> Иностранцев К. Хунну и Гунны // Труды Туркологического семинария. I. Второе дополненное издание. Ленинград, 1926. сс. 27-29

<sup>4</sup> Abel-Rémusat. Recherches sur les Langues Tartares. Tome I. Paris, 1820. p. 327

судлалд тийм ч багтай байр суурийг эзэлж чадахгүй байгаа, харин хамгийн их судалгааны хэрэглэгдэхүүнтэй болж амжсан нь *хүннү* бол *түрэгүүд* хэмээх урсгал, чиглэл билээ. Үндсэндээ хүннүг *түрэг* үү эсвэл *монгол* хэлтэн байсныг шийдвэрлэх л үлдээд байлаа. Гэтэл монгол болон гадаадын археологичдын хамтарсан малтлагын явцад илэрсэн хэрэглэхүүнд хийсэн палеогенетикийн шинжилгээ нь асуудлыг *монгол* хэлтэн рүү бүрэн хэлбийлгэсэн үр дүнг харуулах болсон нь *хүннүг – монгол уу, түрэг үү* хэмээх маргааныг шийдвэрлэж улмаар бүрэн хаах биш харин ч *хүннүгийн* хэлний талаарх урьд өмнө судалгааг шинээр, өөр өнцгөөс харж урагшлуулах зорилт шаардлагыг Монголын судлаачдын өмнө тавилаа. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, *хүннүгийн* гэж зарим судлаач үздэг 278 орчим үгийг<sup>1</sup> *монгол* хэлний онцлогыг баримжаалан дахин тайлбарлах хэрэгтэй болжээ.

Гэхдээ нэг зүйлийг онцгойлон анхаарах хэрэгтэй байх. Хүннү гүрний харьяанд байсан эсвэл *хүннү* нэр зүүсэн аймгийн тоо гэхэд л урьдчилсан судалгаагаар жар орчим болж байна. Эдгээр аймгуудын нэлээд нь *индо-иран, тунгус, тэр бүү хэл түвэд-цян* хэлээр ярилцаж байсан тул дээрх 270 гаруй *хүннү* үгэнд хэлний бусад янз бүрийн ай-д хамаарах үгс цөөнгүй байх нь мэдээж.

Түүнчлэн зарим судлаач Хүннүгийн үеийн Төв Азийн нүүдэлчдийг *монгол, түрэг, тунгус, индо-иран* гэж хэлний талаас ялгах ямар үндэслэл, шаардлага байна гэж асуух байх. *Монгол* хэлний талаарх урьд өмнө манай болон гадаадын эрдэмтдээс хийсэн судалгааны үр дүн эрс шулуун биш боловч бас *монгол, түрэг* хэмээн ялгах боломжтой үр дүнг харуулдаг. Тухайлбал, *монгол* хэлний нэг үндсэн аялгуу гэж үздэг *сяньби, тоба* хэлийг Унгарын эрдэмтэн Л.Лигети, бүр эхнээсээ *түрэг* хэл лүгээ үл нийцэх *монгол* хэлний шинж байдлыг агуулсан чансаатай учрыг цохолж хэлсүгэй. *Туцэюэ* буюу *түрэг* гарахаас өмнөхөн *табгач* хэл бол *түрэг, монгол* махбодийн кольц хэл байсан хэмээн үзэх нь утгагүй зүйл болой гэж бичжээ.<sup>2</sup> *Хүннү* бол *сяньби* биш гэж хэлэх байх, гэхдээ манай нэрт эрдэмтэн Г.Сүхбаатар, *сяньби* ба *хүннү* нь балар эртнээс улбаатай давхар байгууламжтай байсныг хангалттай нотолсон. Мөн *сяньбийн* гол аймгийн нэг *тоба*, түүнчлэн *жоужань* аймаг ч бас *хүннүтэй, сяньбитай* аль алинтай нь холбоотойг түүхэнд цохон тэмдэглэдэг. Чингээд үзэхээр хэрэв *сяньби* нь *түрэг* хэлтэй үл нийцэх *монгол* хэлтэй байсан нь үнэн бол, *сяньбид* м.э. 80-90 ээд онд нэгдсэн Умард Хүннүгийн 5 зуун мянган хүн амтай *хүннүчүүдийн* нэлээд нь *монгол* хэлтэй байх ёстой.

*Хүннү* хэлийг *монгол* хэлний онцлогыг баримжаалж урьд өмнө судалж байсан эрдэмтдийн бүгд түүхчид.<sup>3</sup> Харин монгол хэл шинжлэлийн эрдэмтдээс Ц.Шагдарсүрэн нэг өгүүлэлдээ уг асуудлыг хөнджээ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pulleyblank E.G. The Consonantal System of old Chinese. Part II, Appendix, the Hsiung-nu Language //Asia Major. New series, Vol. IX, 1962. p. 240; Пуллиблэнк Э.Дж. Язык сюнну // Зарубежная тюркология. Выпуск I. Древние тюркские языки и литературы. Отв., ред. А.Н.Кононов, сост., С.Г.Кляшторный. Москва, 1986. сс. 30; Сүхбаатар Г. Монголчуудын эртний өвөг. Хүннү нарын аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал, соёл, угсаа гарал (м.э.в. IV-м.э. II зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1981. т. 194

<sup>2</sup> Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 308; Лигети Л. Табгачский язык-диалект сяньбийского // Народы Азии и Африки. №1. Москва, 1969. с. 116; Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 94

<sup>3</sup> Доржсүрэн Ц. Умард Хүннү (эртний судлалын шинжилгээ) //Studia Archaeologica. Tom. I, fasc. 5, Улаанбаатар, 1961; Ишжамц Н. Монголд байсан эртний аймгуудын удам угсааны хамаадлын

Хүннү хэлийг судалсан эрдэмтдээс *хүннү, шаньюй, Тоумань, Маодунь* зэрэг хэд гурван үгийг ямагт анхаарч ямар нэг байдлаар тайлбар хийдэг нь бараг уламжлал гэмээр үзэгдэл болжээ. Бид ч мөн Хүннү нэрийг товч боловч тайлбарлахыг оролдье.

Тус нэрийн дуудлагын талаарх саналаа японы эрдэмтэн К.Ширатори, *Über die Sprache der Hing-nu und der Tunghu Stämme* //Изв. Акад. Наук. Том. XVII, №2. 1902, сентябрь, хэмээх өгүүлэлдээ хэлжээ. Тэрээр *хүннүд* хамаарах хэдэн үгийн талаар өгүүлэхдээ бас *хүннү* нэрийн уг дуудлага нь *Kingni (Кунну)* байж гээд, ингэж үзснээ нэгд, ийм дуудлага *хятад* сурвалжид үлдсэн, хоёрт, Орхоны түрэг бичээст –к, –г хоёр авиа байхаас –х байхгүй гэж тайлбарлажээ.<sup>2</sup>

Хятад хэлний утга үсгийн эрт болон дунд үеийн дуудагдах байдлын талаарх судалгаа эхэлж байсан XX зууны эхээр *хүннү* хэмээх утга үсгийн хуучин дуудлагыг сэргээх боломж бага байсан хэдий ч зарим нэг сонирхолтой дүгнэлтийг чухамхүү энэ үед хийжээ. Тухайлбал, Ж.Маркварт, «*Куманчуудын* угсаа гарвалын тухай» хэмээх бүтээлдээ “миний мэдэж байгаагаар «кун» хэмээх угсаатны нэр нь «түрэг-татар» гаралтай хэд хэдэн нүүдэлчин ард түмэнд хамаарч болох юм – гэж өгүүлсэн хэдий ч «кун» нэрийг – илүү эртний бичлэг нь *king-ni*, түрүү үедээ *hun-jok* хэмээж байсан *хүннү (hung-ni)* нэртэй адилтгахаас татгалзаж байна би, энэ бас м.э.ө. III зууны үеийн газарзүйн сурвалж бичигт *тохарын* хамт байнга дурдагддаг *фуны, хрины (phumi, chrimi)* нэрд хамаатай – хэмээн *хүннү/хунну* ба *куныг* нэг гэж үзэхээс татгалзсан боловч – анхны нэр нь «нохой» хэмээх утгатай шоолсон хоч бололтой, *тохарчууд* (минийхээр бол буруу нэрлэлт) гэж нэрлэж байгаа Турфаны *кусу (ku-su)* нарын хэл болох *индо-европ* хэлний «ку-» язгуурын тийн ялгал авч «нохой» гэх утгыг заах болсон «кун» руу аваачиж байна” хэмээжээ.<sup>3</sup> Ж.Марквартын санал гарсан даруйдаа шүүмжлэлд өртжээ. *Куманчуудыг* мөн *сүти, кинок* хэмээн *унгарчууд* нэрлэж байсан тул тэднийг *qin* гэж Ж.Маркварт үзсэн нь их боломжтой санал гэж дэмжсэн П.Пеллио гэхдээ би *хүннү (\*kung-ni)* нэр бол *нохой* гэх утгатай *индо-европ* хэлний *кун* хэмээх үгийн галиг гэж үзэх үндэслэл олж харахгүй байгаагаар дурджээ.<sup>4</sup>

Ж.Марквартын саналтай тун төстэй таамаглалыг хожмын эрдэмтэд дэвшүүлэх болсон юм. *Хүннү* хэмээх угсаатны нэрийн *хүн-ий* эртний *нангиад* дуудлага нь нэг бол *\*χjung* эсвэл G.Haloun-ийг баримталбал *\*χbron* болох юм гэж үзсэн Omeljan Pritsak, магадгүй *хүннүчүүдийн* жинхэнэ нэр биш харин *хааных нь угсааны нэр* байх гээд харин Хань улсын жанжин Хо Цюйбин м.э.ө. 119 онд хүннүг ялсан хэрэг явдлыг тэмдэглэсэн түүхэн мэдээний хэсэгт *хүннүчүүдийг* 葷粥 *hün-yü* (Сыма Цяний Шижи-д), эсвэл 葷允 *hün-yün* (Бань Гугийн Ханьшу-д) гэж нэрлэсэн нэг ёсны жинхэнэ ардын нэршил нь

асуудалд //Studia Ethnographica. Tom. II, fasc. 13, Улаанбаатар, 1965. т. 12-14; Очир А. “Оуто”, “Утку” хэмээх түүхэн нэрийн тухай //Studia Historica. Tom. XIV, fasc. 4, Улаанбаатар, 1979. т. 34-45

<sup>1</sup> Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) //Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи. I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 67-126

<sup>2</sup> Иностранцев К. Хунну и Гунны //Труды Туркологического семинария. I. Второе дополненное издание. Ленинград, 1926. с. 141

<sup>3</sup> Маркварт И. О происхождении народа куманов //Трудов Королевского Научного общества в Геттингене, серия “Философия-история”, Том. XIII, N. 1, Берлин, 1914. ([www.turklib.ru](http://www.turklib.ru) – Turkistan Library. Перевод Алины Немировой (Нэлас), Харьков.)

<sup>4</sup> Pelliot P. A Propos des Comans //Journal Asiatique. Série 11. Tome XV. 1920. p. 136

үлдсэн хэмээжээ. Улмаар О.Прицак нь дээрх *хуньюй*, *хуньюнь* нэрийн *хун* буюу «*hunn*» нэрийн уугуул хэлбэр нь *\*kwan~\*gun > \*kum > \*kun~\*χun* юм гэж өгүүлээд судалгаандаа согд бичгийн мэдээг (*χwn*) ашиглаагүй хэдий ч үр дүн адилыг тэмдэглэжээ.<sup>1</sup>

Г.Сүхбаатар багшийн *хүннү* буюу *сюнну* гэдгийг «хүн» (кун) гэсэн үг гэж үзэх нь буюу эртний дуудлага нь үнэхээр *хунн*, *хуна*, *хун*-тай адилхан, иймэрхүү байх ёстой, онолын хувьд ч үндэстэй хэмээсэн дүгнэлт, *хүннү* хэмээх утга үсгийн эртний авианы дуудлагыг *\*huna~\*хуна* гэж сэргээсэн С.Е.Яхонтовын саналд голлон түшиглэжээ.<sup>2</sup>

Хүннү 匈奴 хэмээх үгийг Б.Карлгрен – *\*χjung-no* (*хиун<sub>2</sub>-но*) хэмээн сэргээсэн бол Э.Пүллиблэнк 1962 онд *\*flōn-nah* (*флон<sub>2</sub>-на<sub>2</sub>*) гэх хэлбэрээр сэргээгээд харин 1980-аад онд *\*hwōn-nā* (*хун<sub>2</sub>-на*) болгон хувиргажээ. С.А.Старостиний *\*hōn-nhā* эсвэл *hōn-nhō* гэсэн сэргээлтэд тулгуурлан А.В.Дыбо тус үгийг *\*hunga* байж болох юм, үзтэл түрэг гаралтай үг биш гэж хэлжээ.<sup>3</sup> Хятад хэлний дундад үеийн дуудлагыг баримжаалж сэргээсэн Б.Карлгрений *\*χiwong-nuo* (*хивон<sub>2</sub>-ну*)-г баримталсан David B.Honey, уг үгийн язгуур хэлбэрийг *\*hun-nag* хэмээн төсөөлжээ.<sup>4</sup> Хүннү нэрийн эрт үеийн төрхийг харуулсан эдгээр хэлбэр нь хятад утга үсгийн тухайн үеийн авианд тулгуурласан тул уг ямар байсныг шууд харуулдаггүй. Аурэл Стэйний цуглуулсан хэрэглэхүүн дотроос нэгэн захиаг тусгайлан авч үзсэн Б.Хеннингийн судалгаанд м.э. 313 онд Лоян хотыг (уг захиад *Sagaγ* гэж нэрлэдэг) довтлон эзэлсэн *хүннүчүүдийг* – *χwn-hūn* (*hun/hūn; χun/χūn*) буюу *хун* гэж нэрлэж байсныг тогтоожээ.<sup>5</sup> Хүннү нэрийг, авиа тэмдэглэдэг бичиг үсэгт тэмдэглэн үлдээсэн дурсгал ганц энэ биш бололтой. Дуньхуанд төрсөн Жу Фаху гэгч *нангиадын* бичгийн хүмүүн 280-308 оны хооронд *энэтхэгийн* шашны судар орчуулжээ. *Татагатагухя*, *Лалитавиштара* хэмээх нэртэй хоёр сударт *энэтхэгийн* тэр үеийн газар зүйн мэдлэгийг илэрхийлэх, ийм «*Čaka, Pahlava, Tukhāra, Yavana, Kamboja, Khaça, Hūna, Sīna, Darada, ...*» гэсэн мөр байдаг. Энэ мөрний *Hūna* –г Жу Фаху орчуулахдаа шууд *хүннү* гэж буулгажээ.<sup>6</sup>

Дурдсан цөөн баримтаас үзвэл *хүннү* нэрийн уугуул хэлбэр *кун* байх нь бараг мадаггүй мэт. Харин энэ үгийн утга нь Ж.Марквартын хэлсэнчлэн эртний дорнод *ираны* буюу *тохар/күсу* хэлний *нохой* гэсэн утгатай «*ku*» язгуураас сурвалжтай байж болох юм. Хүннү нэрийг *нохойтой* (мөн *чонойтой*) холбож тайлбарладаг судлаачид бол бидний мэдэхээр Шмидт (1824 онд ийм санал хэлсэн), Г.Сүхбаатар, Г.Мэнэс нар болно. Судлаач Г.Мэнэс үүнтэй холбогдуулан хоёр гурван өгүүлэл бичиж нийтлүүлсэн ба бүр *нохойтой* холбоотой домгийг цуглуулж тусгайлан нэгэн том өгүүлэл нийтлүүлсэн

<sup>1</sup> Pritsak O. Xun der Volkname der Hsiung-nu //Central Asiatic Journal. Vol. V. 1959/60. s. 29-30, 33

<sup>2</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Монголчуудын эртний өвөг. Хүннү нарын аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал, соёл, утсаа гарал (м.э.ө. IV-м.э. II зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1981. т. 197, 196

<sup>3</sup> Дыбо А.В. Лингвистические контакты ранних тюрков. Лексический фонд (Пратюркский период). Москва, 2007. с. 103

<sup>4</sup> Honey, David B. The Rise of the Hsiung-nu //Zentral-Asiatische Studien. Vol. 24. Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994. p. 19

<sup>5</sup> Henning W.B. The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters //Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. Vol. XII, pt. 3-4, 1948. pp. 604-606, 615

<sup>6</sup> de laVassiere E. Huns et Xiongnu //Central Asiatic Journal. Vol. 49, №1. 2005. pp. 7-14

билээ.<sup>1</sup> Харин Г.Сүхбаатар гуай *нохой жун* (*цюань жун*) аймгийг эрдэмтэд *хүннүгийн* өвөг аймаг гэж үзэж байна, энэ бол *нохой* тотемтой холбоотой байх. *Монголчууд* нохой үхэхээр сүүлий нь огтлон оршуулдаг нь эрт үед *нохой* тотем байсантай холбоотой байж магадгүй гэж үзжээ.<sup>2</sup> Мөн Г.Сүхбаатар багш 1995 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 10-нд, *Монголчуудын угсаа гарвал* сэдвээр түүхийн ангийн оюутнуудад лекц уншиж байхдаа, *хүннүгийн* уг гарвалыг *нохой жунтай* хамаатуулж тайлбарлахдаа *жун* буюу *рун* утга үсгийг *нар* буюу *бид нар*, *тэд нар* гэж хэлэхэд ашигладаг хэмээн өгүүлсэн бөлгөө. Харин мөн оны 3 дугаар сарын 2-ны «Хүннүгийн хэлний хамаарал» лекцэндээ *хүннүгийн* өмнөх аймгуудыг тэмдэглэдэг нэгэн утга үсгийг *чоно*, *нохой* гэх мэт араатан амьтдыг тэмдэглэхэд хэрэглэнэ гэж тайлбарласан юм.

Энэ бүхнээс үзэхүл эхний ээлжинд *Хүннү* нэрийн зөв бичлэг нь *хүннү* бөгөөд уг нэрийн эртний хэлбэр нь *кун-нохой* гэсэн утгатай *индо-иран* үг гэж тайлбарлаж болох мэт.

Олоо харин *хүннүчүүд* ийм нэрээр хэдий үеэс эхэлж нэрлэгдсэн байж болох талаар ганц нэг санал хэлье. Сыма Цяний «Түүхийн тэмдэглэлд» *Хүннүгийн* шаньюйн дээд өвгөөс Тоумань шаньюй хүртэл мянга илүү жил өнгөртээ гэж тэмдэглэсэн байдаг.<sup>3</sup> Тоумань шаньюйг м.э.ө. 209 оны орчим алагдсан гэж үзвэл мянга гаруй жилийн өмнө түүний дээдэс буюу өвөг *хүннү* аймаг байсан нь бараг м.э.ө. XIII-XII зуун болно. Энэ үед одоогийн Монгол Улс, Төв Азийн бүс нутгийн нэлээд хэсэгт *индо-европ* хэлтний соёл нь тархаж байсныг Монголын судлаачид нотолдог. Тухайн судалгаагаар *индо-иранчууд* м.э.ө. II мянганы дундуур Төв Азид нүүж ирсэн ба энэ үеэс тогтсон угсаатны бүтэц м.э.ө. III зууны эцэс хүртэл үргэлжилжээ.<sup>4</sup> Археологийн судалгаагаар томъёолсон энэхүү нөхцөл байдлыг гэрчлэх бичгийн мэдээ бий. Сурвалжийн мэдээгээр *хүннүчүүдийн* өрнөд этгээдээр, *юэчжи* аймаг лав м.э.ө. V-II зуунд тогтмол оршин нутаглаж байжээ. Тэгэхлээр өвөг *хүннүчүүд* эртний *индо-иран* хэлтэн аймгуудтай бараг 1200-1300 жил хөрш амьдарч байсан тул *тохар*, *юэчжи* гэх мэт сурвалжийн болоод *пазырык*, *аржан* зэрэг *индо-иранчуудын* үлдээсэн археологийн соёлыг заан тэмдэглэсэн хийсвэр нөхцөлт нэрээр нэрлэгдэж буй *индо-ираны* томоохон угсаатны нэгдэлээс дорно зүгийн хөрш *хүннүчүүдийг* угсаатны онцлог, тотем шүтлэг зэргийг нь харгалзан *нохой* хэмээх утгатай *кун* гэх үгээр нэрлэж байсан нь бусад угсаатанд тухайлбал *хятадуудад* түгэн дэлгэрэх боломжтой билээ. Тэгээд ч хятадын түүхчид *хүннү* аймгийг м.э.ө. III зууны сүүлчээс өгсүүлэн бараг мянга илүү жилийн түүхтэй гэсэн хэрнээ *хүннү* нэрийг анх м.э.ө. 318 онд (зарим судлаач бүр *хүннү* нэрийг анх м.э.ө. 240-өөд онд тэмдэглэсэн гэж үздэг) тэмдэглэсэн нь сонирхолтой.

<sup>1</sup> Мэнэс Г. Хүннү хэмээх нэрийн эртний дуудлага ба түүний утга учрын тухай асуудалд: эрдэмтдийн үзэл саналыг эргэн харахуй // *Studia Ethnologica*. Tom. XVI, fasc. 6. УБ., 2004. т. 30-38, Мэнэс Г. Монгол угсаатны язгуур гарлыг Хүннүтэй холбох үндэс хэр буй: мартагдсан нэгэн домгийн улбааг мөшгөх нь // *Acta Historica Mongolica*. Tom. X, fasc. 21. УБ., 2009. т. 162-178

<sup>2</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Монголчуудын эртний өвөг Хүннү яарын аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал, соёл, угсаа гарал (м.э.ө. IV-м.э. II зуун). ШГУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1981. т. 156

<sup>3</sup> Материалы по истории Сюнну (по китайским источникам). Предисловие, перевод и примечания В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1968. с. 39

<sup>4</sup> Батсайхан З. Монголын хүрлийн үеийн дурсгалуудын он цаг ба угсаатны үйл явц // *Studia Historica*. Tom. XXIX, fasc. 9. УБ., 1995. т. 44, 46-50

Хүннү нэрийн талаарх судлаачдын тайлбар, ярьж кэлж байснаас үзэхүл уг нэрийг *кунку* буюу *кун* гэж уншаад, *нахой* гэсэн уггатай хэмээвэл буруудахгүй мэт санагдана. Үүнтэй холбогдуулж дараах зүйлийг хэлье. Монголчуудын дунд одоо ч өргөн хэрэглэсээр байгаа, ардын аман зохиолын нэг төрөл болох оньсого дотор ийм нэгэн оньсого их түгээмэл билээ. Тэр нь:

*Хон хон дуутай*

*Хондой дээрээ дэгээтэй*

эсвэл

*Хон хон дуутай*

*Хондой дээрээ хэвтэгчтэй*

*Хоёр хаанд мэдээтэй* гэсэн оньсого болгоо.<sup>1</sup>

Энэ оньсогны нохойг заасан «хон» болон *хүннү* нэрийн эртний хэлбэр гэж үзээд байгаа *кун* хоёрын хооронд холбоо, сүлбээ бий эсэхийг хэлж мэдэхгүй ч нохойн тухай өгүүлэх ардын уламжлалт оньсого дотор ийм үг үлдсэн нь лав тохиолдлынх биш байх.

**Тоба** 托跋.

*Тоба* «托跋 ~ 拓拔 *tuóbá ~ tuòbá*» нэрийн талаар монгол болон гадаадын эрдэмтдээс хэдэн санал дэвшүүлсэн байдаг.

I. Тус нэрийн талаар, П.Пеллио: “386-556 онд умард Хятад нь дорнод Монголоос ирсэн, Вэй 魏 хэмээх *хятад* нэрийг авсан харь угсааныханд захирагдаж байлаа. ... Гэвч хятадын түүхчид эдгээр булаан эзлэгчдийн Т’о-ра 拓跋 буюу (\**Thak-bat*) гэж галиглах, уугуул нэрийг тэмдэглэн үлдээжээ. Энэ галиг Вэй нар уугуул хэлэндээ яг юу гэж дуудаж байсныг хэлэхэд хэцүү юм; жишээлбэл, орчин үеийн *хятад* хэлийг бодвол [харь үгийн] авиаг илүү сайн тэмдэглэж байсан эртний *хятад* хэл гэхэд л *d’implosives* [импловиз гийгүүлэгч] төгсгөлийг (*k, t, p* болохоос биш *č* байгаагүй) орхиж тэмдэглэсэн байна. Энэ дутагдал болон эргэлзээг харгалзан үзээд би өөрөөсөө *Тобагийн* (\**Thak-bat*) үг үг нь арай *Tabγač* биш биз гэж асуулаа. Энэ авиан зүйн орлуулга [l’equivalence phonétique] нь баттай бус, байж болох л зүйл” гэж өгүүлжээ. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, П.Пеллио *тоба* нэрийн тэр үеийн авиан дуудлагын сэргээлтэд тулгуурлан уг нэрийн уугуул хэлбэр *табгач* байж болох юм, гэхдээ энэ бол хатуу тогтоосон зүйл биш гэж бичжээ. Тэгсэн хэдий ч дараахан нь, хожим Төв Азийн нүүдэлчид, *хятадыг* Хитай (*Khитай*) гэж нэрлэж байсантай адилаар VI-VIII зуунд *түрэгүүд* Тан улсыг *табгач* гэж шинээр нэрийдэх нь юу л бол харин энэ нэрийг Төв Азийн ард түмнүүд нэлээд эргэнээс мэдэж байсан байх, Вэй улсыг (386-556) ингэж нэрлэдэг байснаас уламжлалтай гэсэн санааг хэлжээ.<sup>2</sup>

Тобагийн талаар дурссан “П.Пеллиогийн өгүүллээс хойш өрнө, дорно дахины эрдэмтний дийлэнх олонхи нь *табгач*, *тамгаж* зэргийг *тоба* гэсэн үгийг хэлсэн хэрэг хэмээн нут итгэж, тэр нь эргэлзээгүй үнэн мэт болж иржээ.”<sup>3</sup> Тухайлбал, Петер А.Бүүдберг, “Умард хятадыг дундад эртний үед түрэгчүүд: *tabγač ~ табгач*, арабчууд

<sup>1</sup> Монгол ардын түмэн оньсого (судалгаанд зориулав). I. Түүвэрлэл эмхтгэсэн Ц.Өлзийтуяаг. ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1966. т. 90, дуг. 1285

<sup>2</sup> Pelliot P. L’origine du nom de «Chine» // *T’oung Pao*. Ser. II. Vol. XIII. E.J. Brill, Leide, 1912. p. 732

<sup>3</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 83

*tamghāj* طمغاج ~ *тамгаж*, византийн герегчүүд *тауааст* ~ *таугаст* гэж нэрлэж байсны уг үг нь *тоба* \**t'ak-b'uât* мөн юм хэмээн профессор Пеллио «Тун-бао» сэтгүүлийн 1912 оны 792-р талд хэлсэн билээ. Хятадаар тэмдэглэсэн \**Taqbač*-ийн *b-β* ба *γ-q*-г үе тонгорох ёсоор, харин *b'uât*-ийн *-t* төгсгөлийг түрэгийн *-č* –ээр төлөөлүүлж тайлбарлаж болох юм<sup>1</sup> гэж бичжээ. Хэдийгээр *тобагийн* уугуул хэлбэрийг *табгач* хэмээн үзсэн ч Петер А.Бүүдберг *тоба* нэрийн уг үгийн тухайд өөр санал дэвшүүлснийг хойно өгүүлэх болно.

Энэ талаар харин түрэг судлаач Лүй Базин, “Тобагийн хааны ураг. Энэхүү нэр Монголын эртний *түрэг* бичээсэнд: *tabyač* хэлбэртэй байдгийг бид сайн мэднэ. Хятадын \**tabyač* галиг нь үе тонгорсон хоёрдахь хэлбэрийг харуулж байна (*тобахятад* хэлний *-с* төгсгөлийн зохицлын талаар бидний энэ өгүүлэлд бичсэн, Удиртгалыг харна уу.); бодвол үе тонгоролыг энэ галигт тусгаагүй бололтой, харин *Тоба* хэлийг түшиглэсэн байх ёстой. (энэ өгүүлийн №97-ийн А-г харна уу) Гол төлөв үйл үгнээс нэр үг бүтээдэг *-yač* дагавар *түрэг* хэлэнд түгээмэл. Эртний *түрэгийн tab-yač* үгийн язгуураас бид \**tab-* үйл үгийг олох ёстой. «Эзэмших, өмчлөх, соёрхох» утга бүхий *tab-* хэмээх үг Кашгарын толь бичигт байна: тэгэхлээр \**tabyač*-ийн үе тонгорсон *tab-yač* хэлбэр нь «эзэмшигч» гэсэн утгыг агуулах ёстой нь түүний «газар шорооны эзэн» хэмээх *хятад* тайлбартай бүрэн нийцэж байна<sup>2</sup> гэжээ.

“*Тоба* бол Вэйгийн хааны ургийн хэлээрх нэр үг. Хятадын *тоба* 托跋 буюу *t'ak-b'uât* нь, Орхоны *түрэг* бичээст тэмдэглэсэн түүний үе тонгорсон хувилбар *tabyač*-ийг илэрхийлэх нутгийн \**tabat* хэлбэрийг тусгажээ гэдэг нь өнөөдөр илэрхий болсон. *Тоба* Вэй улсыг мөхсөний дараагаар *хятадын* умарт хэсгийг *Tabyač* хэмээн нэрлэж байсныг бид цөм мэднэ – хэмээсэн Л.Лигети улмаар ингэж нэрлэсэн тохиолдол – бусад бичээст *tabyač*, *tavyač* гэж байхаас гадна Кашгарын толь бичиг болон QB (Кутугту Билик), мөн хожуу *уйгурын* дурсгалд тааралддаг; *Tavyač* хэлбэр нь *монголын* үеийнх болохыг миний АОН-ийн I ботид хэвлүүлсэн өгүүлийн 183-р талын 44-р зүүлтээс харна уу. Хятад галигийн *-t* төгсгөлийг нутгийн уугуул *-č* –ээр сэргээх аргагүй. \**Tabat* (эсвэл \**tabar*, \**tabal*) нь *сяньби* хэлний олон тоо биш биз?<sup>3</sup> хэмээн өгүүлжээ.

II. *Тобагийн* нүүдлийн домгийн “тийнхүү нүүхийн арга ухаан нь Сюань, Сянь хоёр хаанаас гарсан учир хүмүүс тэднийг *туйинь* хэмээсэн нь хятадаар *цзуань янь* (хятадаар *цзуань* нь цоолох, нүхлэх, өрөмдөх, *янь* нь эзэмдэх, судлах гэсэн утгатай, ингэхлээр тэр бөглүү газраас цоолж, нүхэлж гарсан гэх санаа агуулжээ) гэсэн утгатай байх<sup>4</sup> хэмээх өгүүлбэрт дурдсан «туйинь»-ий орчуулга «цзуань янь» үгийн утгад тулгуурлан тус “*t'ui-yin*, KD 1265, 283 : *t'uâi-jen* үгээр дамжуулан *Тобаг* Монгол болон Азийн хамгийн чухал, сонирхолтой соёлын түүхтэй холбож болно гэдэгт би итгэж байна” гээд улмаар

<sup>0</sup> Хэвлэлийн алдаа, Пеллиогийн табгачийн тухай өгүүлсэн нь 732-р тал ажээ.

<sup>1</sup> Boodberg, Peter A. The Language of the T'o-pa Wei //Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Vol. I, №2. Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1936. p. 183; Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын утсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 83

<sup>2</sup> Bazin L. Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa (5<sup>e</sup> siècle apres J.C.) //T'oung Pao. Second series, Vol. XXXIX, livr. 4/5. E.J. Brill, Leide, 1950. p. 294

<sup>3</sup> Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 278, n. 24

<sup>4</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Монголын түүхийн дээж бичиг. Тэргүүн дэвтэр. СБХНХГ, Улаанбаатар, 1992. т. 29, тайлбар 10

монголын Эргүнэ хун, түрээгийн Ашинагийн угийн домог, Төв Азийн төмөрлөг үйлдвэрлэлийн уламжлалтай харьцуулж үзсэн Петер А.Бүүдберг, “чухамхүү энэ чиглэлээр бид *T'o-pa* 拓跋, KD 883, 750: *t'ak-b'uât* нэрийн утгыг хайх хэрэгтэй” хэмээсэн байдаг. Чингээд “миний, үндсэн дүр зургийг дээр харуулсан *Toba* ба «Гог ба Магогийн түүвэр»-ийн холбоост үндэслэвэл, «уул давах», «нарийн хавцлаар нэвтэрч гарсан» гэх утгатай монголын *давах-*, *даваа-*, (*дава-*, *даваа-*.) хэмээх үгийн (монголын *d-* ямагт түрээгийн *t-* болдог, жишээ нь, монголын уул буюу *даваган* ~ түрээгийн *тауи*) *түрээ* хэлбэрээс *\*таваа<>t'o-pa* үүссэн бөгөөд Их Тоба Вэйн нэрийг «уул давсан», «уул гэтэлсэн» гэж тайлбарлана гэдэгт би бат итгэлтэй байна”<sup>1</sup> хэмээн бичжээ.

*Түрээгийн* гэрэлт хөшөөнөө тэмдэглэсэн *табгач* бол *тобагийн* уугуул хэлбэр гэж үзсэн судлаачдаас Л.Базин доорх дүгнэлтийг хийжээ. Үүнд, *табгач* бол *түрээгээр* газар эзэмшигч, газрын эзэн гэсэн үг, *хятад* тайлбартай тохирч байна. Энэ нь овог, аймгийн билчээр буюу ан хийх газартай холбоотой, *«табгачийн* ноёлогч аймаг хамтран нэгдэж «газар эзэмшиж байсан» гэж *хятадын* оны бичигт дурдсан нь гайхалтай бус» гээд, үүнийгээ «лавтай» хэмээн хаалтнаа бичсэн байна.<sup>2</sup>

Саяхан эл саналыг дэмжсэн нэгэн судалгааны үр дүн нийтлэгджээ. АНУ-ын Юта мужийн Солт-Лейк хотын судлаач Ань Кин Лим тус үгийг үеэр хувааж *хятад* хэлний орон нутгийн арваад аялгуунд хэрхэн дуудаж буйг харуулаад түүнээс [*t'ɔk*], [*pe*?] дуудлагыг сонгож *түрээгийн* «тоосны/газрын эзэн» гэсэн утгатай «*to:g heg*» хэмээх үг гэж тайлбарлажээ.<sup>3</sup>

Ш. “«Тоба» гэдэг үгийг *түрээ* бичээсийн «табгач» гэсэн үг хэмээн тайлбарлаж болохгүй ... *табгач*, *тамгаж*, *таугаст* гэдэг үгс бол *тоба* хэмээх үг мөн гэх нь ийнхүү түүхэн баримтаар сгт нотлогдохгүй, түүхэн үнэнд нийцэхгүй байна” гэж Пеллио, Бүүдберг, Базин, Лигети нарын үзэл, савалыг шүүмжилсэн Г.Сүхбаатар, *тоба* хэмээх “үг үг өдгөөгийн *монгол* хэлний «дов» гэсэн үг байж болох юм. «Дов» хэмээх үг «товрог» гэдэгтэй язгуур нэгтэй нь маргаангүй бөгөөд Б.Ринчений шинжилснээр «тоос», «товрог» гэх үгсийн язгуур нь нарийн ширхэгт шороо, хумаг гэсэн утга бүхий «тоб-, тог-» байна. Энэ нь *хятад* сурвалж бичигт «тоба» хэмээх үгийн утгыг тайлсантай дүйж байна. *Монголчуудын* хэлдэг «дов довоо хөөх, довоо шарлуулах, довоо борлуулах» гэсэн нийлэмж үгсийн дов нь ч бас жирийн үг бус баймаар санагдана. ... Дов гэдэг үг эрт үед тотемын нэр байсан байх. А.Будберг *тоба* гэдэг үгийг *монгол* хэлний «даваа, давах» гэсэн үг хэмээсэн нь миний таамаглалтай ойролцоо байна. Учир нь *дов*, *даваа* гэх мэтийн үг нэг язгууртай билээ. Гэвч энэ талаар түүх, угсаатанзүй, хэлний тухайлсан шинжилгээ хийн улам нягтлуштай”<sup>4</sup> хэмээн өгүүлснээр бол Г.Сүхбаатар багш, *тоба* бол «дов» байх хэмээн таамагласан хэдий ч улам нягтлан үзэхийг сануулсан ажээ.

<sup>1</sup> Boodberg, Peter A. The Language of the T'o-pa Wei //Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Vol. I, №2. Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1936. pp. 180-183, 185

<sup>2</sup> Bazin L. Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa (5<sup>e</sup> siècle apres J.C.) //T'oung Pao. Second series, Vol. XXXIX, livr. 4/5. E.J. Brill, Leide, 1950. p. 295; Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 83

<sup>3</sup> An-King Lim. On the Etymology of T'o-pa 拓跋 //Central Asiatic Journal. Vol. 44, № 1. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2000. p. 36-38, 39-40

<sup>4</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 85, 86

IV. Тоба нэрийн талаар монголын түүхчдээс гадна манай нэртэй хэл шинжлэлийн эрдэмтэд өөрсдийн саналаа хэлсэн байдаг. Тухайлбал, А.Лувсандэндэв “*Табгачийн* эзэнт улсын “Тоба” 托(託)跋(巴) хэмээх хятад нэрийн тайлбарын талаар эрдэмтэд одоо болгож маргалдсаар байна. Уул нэрийн талаар ойрмог үед гарсан тайлбарууд дотроос монголын эрдэмтэн Г.Сүхбаатарын тайлбар нилээд углуургатай болжээ [гээд улмаар, Г.Сүхбаатарын *табгач* бол Да Вэй хэмээх нэрээс үүсэлтэй хэмээн өгүүлсэн талаар, харин] *Табгач*, Да Вэй 大魏 da'ai ngjwei хоерыг угтаа нэг үг гэж баглахад их хэмжээний «уран сэтгэлгээ» хэрэгтэй биз. Юу боловч хэл шинжлэлч хүн түүнийг нотлох гэж оролдох нь юу л бол. Ялангуяа, харь хэлний үгийг буулгахад нилээд тохиромжтой бичиг үсэгтэй байсан *араб. византийн грек, түрэг* улс төр, эдийн засаг, соёлын нягт харилцаа бүхий хэрш орныхоо нэрийг хүн таних аргагүй буруу хэзгийг болгох гэж баймгүй юм. Зөвлөлтийн эрдэмтдийн зохиосон эртний *түрэг* хэлний голь бичигт *хятадаас* зээлдсэн 180-аад үг оржээ. Гэгэл тэдний дотор танигдахын аргагүй боллоо өөрчлөгдсөн үг нэг ч дайралдахгүй байна. Харин тэр үеийн *хятад* үгийн дуудлагыг *хятад* хэлний түүхэн авна зүйг судлах хэрэглэгдэхүүн болгож болохоор нилээд нарийн буулгасан байх юм. Жишээ нь, эртн. түр. *kumunst*, хят. 巨門星 орчин цагийн дуудлага нь *цзюймэнсин [jumenxing]*, IX зууны баруун хойт аялгуунд *gi-mon-sie* гэх мэт [байна гээд] *Табгач* гэдэг нэрийг эртний *түрэгүүд* Тоба Вэй улс буй болохоос өмөө мэддэг байсан бөгөөд *табгачдыг* төр улсаа байгуулахаас хойно харьяанд нь багтсан бүх аймаг, ястныг *табгач* хэмээн нэрлэдэг болсон байж болох юм” хэмээсэн байна. Түс нэрийн утгын талаар А.Лувсандэндэв гуай цааш өгүүлэхдээ, “ер нь *хятад* сурвалж бичигт гардаг *монгол, түрэг* үгэнд утгын заалтыг хавсаргасан байвал нилээд найдвартай тайлбар хийж болох билээ. Тийн бус бол эрдэмтдийн санал харилцан адилгүй боловч үндсэндээ тэгш эрхтэй буй. 托跋 гэдэг дүрс үсгийн эртний нь дуудлагыг *t'äk-b'üät* гэж сэргээсэн нь эртний *түрэг* бичигт гардаг умард *хятад* гэсэн утга бүхий *tabyač* (одоогийн *t'o-ра*) гэдэг нэртэй тун ч төстэй байна. Энд «о» байгаа, дуудлагад сэргээсэн «а» (*t'äk-b'üät*) байгаа боловч *toy-, tob-, tay-, tab-* гэж үзэж бүрэн болно. Харин *b'üät- ba* хоёрын учир тайлбарлагдахгүй үлдэж байна. Уул «ба» ямар утгатай вэ гэдгийг нягтлалгүй орхиж болохгүй. Зөвхөн монгол хэлний материалд л тулгуурлан уул асуултанд хариу өгч болох юм” гэжээ. Улмаар “... «табгач» гэдэг нэр *түрэг* хэл, нутгийн аялгуунд үгийн сангийн утгагүй бөгөөд гагцхүү *монгол* хэлний авна зүй, үг зүй, үгсийн сангийн үүднээс л тайлбарлаж болох *монгол* гаралтай үг. ... эртний *монгол* хэлний *t'abayat'i, tabyat'i* (мо. *d'abayaci*) орчин цагийн *даваач* гэдэг үгийн галиг “бэрхийг давагч, даваач, дийлээч, ялгуусан, ялан дийлэгч” гэсэн утга бүхий үг байна, *tabayati –табагачи –табгач* нь “даваач”, “ялгуусан” гэсэн үг болохоор *табгач* овог гэдэг нь “даваач овог”, “ялгуусан овог” гэсэн үг болно”<sup>1</sup> хэмээн дүгнэжээ.

Дээрх эрдэмтдийн саналыг товчоор дүгнэн хэлбэл, нэгд, *тоба* нэрийн язгуур нь *табгач* мөн (Пеллио, Бүүдберг, Базин, Лувсандэндэв); хоёрт, *газрын эзэн* гэсэн утгатай үг, эсвэл *тоос/газрын эзэн* гэх утгатай *тогбог* гэсэн үг (Базин, Ан Кинг Лим); гуравт, *даваа* эсвэл *дов* эсвэл *даваач, ялгуусан* гэх утгатай (Бүүдберг, Сүхбаатар, Лувсандэндэв)

<sup>1</sup> Лувсандэндэв А. “Тоба” гэдэг нэрийн учир // *Studia Linguae et Litterarum*. Tom. XIV, fasc. 4. УБ., 1980. т. 12, 13-14

хэмээн тайлсан байна. Эдгээр тайлбарт нийтлэг, ижил төстэй нэг зүйл ажиглагдаж байгаа нь бүгд *тоба* нэрийг тэмдэглэсэн утга үсгийн нангиад орчуулгад тулгуурласан мэт. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, “Вэй Шоугийн «Вэй шугийн» 1-р бүлэгт *тобагийн* гарлын тухай бичсэн: «Хуанди шороон ёст ван тул умар зүгийнхэн шороог «то», эзэнг «ба» хэмээх учир тийнхүү (*тоба* хэмээн Г.С.) овоглосон байна»<sup>1</sup> гэх мэдээнд дурдах *тобагийн* «шороон эзэн» гэсэн утгад түшиглэж бүх тайлбарыг хийсэн гэж үзэж болох юм. Тиймээс *тоба* нэрийн утгын болоод уг язгуур уг ямар байсан тухай тайлбарууд цем ямар нэг байдлаар газартай холбогджээ. Ийм жишээ манай эртний түүх судлалд нэг биш бий. Тухайлбал, *хиданы* үеийн *шивэй* аймаг, *хэйчэзи* 黑車子 *hēichēzi*-г «хар тэрэгт шивэй» хэмээн утга үсгийн одоогийн агуулгаар нэрлэсээр ирсэн. Гэтэл, П.Пеллиогийн судалгааг баримталбал эл аймгийг Тан улсын үест *хэже* 和解 *héjiě* хэмээн нэрлэх ба уул үгийн тэр үеийн (Тан улсын) дуудлага нь \**yuá-kāi* эсвэл \**yuá-γāi*, \**vaγai* буюу бараг \**гахай* гэж сэргээж байна.<sup>2</sup> *Хэйчэзи* аймгийг тэмдэглэсэн утга үсгийн дуудлага нь *хэк-кэ wo-tsi*: (Б.Карлгрен); *хэк-тс<sup>h</sup>ia-tsí/tsí* (Э.Пүллиблэнк); *хлк-ко-сж<sup>h</sup>* ~ *hwək-kö-cj<sup>h</sup>* (С.А.Старостин); *хок-тс<sup>h</sup>хаэ-тс<sup>h</sup>* (Бакстэр)<sup>3</sup> гэж байгаа мөн дээрх аймагтай адил \**γaγaiçi*-\**гахайчин*<sup>4</sup> гэсэн үгийн гажсан хувилбар гэж болохоор байна. Тиймээс дундад эртний нүүдэлчин аймгуудыг нэрлэсэн утга үсгийн орчуулга, эсвэл одоогийн утгыг хэт харгалзах нь буруу арга зам бололтой.

Тэгээд ч *тоба* нэрийг тайлбарлахад тулгуур болж буй «шороон эзэн» гэсэн утга хэрхэн гарч ирснийг дараах байдлаар тайлбарлаж болох юм. Үүнд, *тоба* нар *умард хятадыг* эзлэн авсны дараа улсынхаа нийт хүн амын зонхи олонхийг бүрдүүлж буй хүн амд өөрсдийгөө хууль ёсны эзэд гэж харуулахын тулд *нангиадад* бэлэн байсан домгийг, өөрсдийн угсаа гарвалын аман түүхтэй холбож тайлбарласан нь мэдээжийн хэрэг бөгөөд улс төрийн зорилготой байна. Оросын судлаач В.Ц.Головачев бас ийнхүү тайлбарладаг.<sup>4</sup> Мөн өөрсдийн язгуурын нэрийг тэмдэглэсэн утга үсгийн тайлбарыг бас эл зорилгоор үйлдсэн нь илт харагдана.

Эдгээр шалтгааныг харгалзвал, *тоба* нэрийг оор байдлаар тайлах шаардлага ургаа гарч ирнэ. Юуны түрүүнд ингэж үзэхэд бас нэг түлхэц болсон хэл шинжлэлийн судалгааны зарим үр дүнгээс товч эшлэе.

*Тоба* аймгийн хэлийг судлаачид *түрэг* эсвэл *монгол* хэмээн үздэг. Сурвалжид үлдсэн *тоба* үгийг тайлбарлаж буй байдлаас үзвэл *унгар* эрдэмтэн Л.Лигети-ийн

<sup>1</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 56, 57

<sup>2</sup> Pelliot P. L'Édition Collective des Œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei //Toung Pao. Vol XXVI, Liège, 1929. p. 124

<sup>3</sup> Karlgren B. Grammata Serica Recensa //Bulletin the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. №29, Stockholm, 1957 (1972). 904a-b, 74a-d, 964a-j; Pulleyblank E.G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. UBC Press, Vancouver, 1991. pp. 124, 52, 420; Старостин С.А. <http://starling.rinei.ru/cgi-bin/>; Baxter W.H. An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters, 2000. pp. 49, 15, 186 (<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~wbaxter/>)

<sup>4</sup> Л.Лигети VIII зууны эцэс гэхэд монгол хэлний *-i* нь нэгэнт *-çi* болж хувирсан тул *хэйчэзи* аймгийн уг нэр нь монгол хэлний \**гахайчин* хэмээх үг байх боломжтой. *Шивэй*н эл аймгийн нэрээс үзэхэд, эрхлэх аж ахуйн онцлогтой уялдуулан хөрш аймгуудаас, ө.х. монгол хэлтэн аймгуудаас уул нэрийг өгсөн байх магадлалтай.

<sup>4</sup> Головачев В. Ц. Происхождение тоба-сяньбийцев по версии “Вэй шу” //Конференция «Общество и государство в Китае», Москва, 1997

“бидний шинжилсэн хэдэн үгийг үзвээс *сяньби* хэлний аялгуу *табгач* хэл бол мөн *сяньбийн* өөр нэг аялгуу болох *кидантай* төрөл *монгол* аялгуу байсан бөгөөд эртний *монгол* хэлний байдлыг тусгаж буйг заан тусгаж байна гэж дүгнэж болно. Ийнхүү дүгнэхдээ, *сяньби* хэл бол бүр эхнээсээ *түрэг* хэл лүгээ үл нийцэх *монгол* хэлний шинж байдлыг агуулсан чансаатай учрыг цохолж хэлсүгэй. Түүжюе буюу *түрэг* гарахаас өмнөхөн *табгач* хэл бол *түрэг*, *монгол* махбодийн хольц хэл байсан хэмээн үзэх нь утгагүй зүйл болой. *Табгач* хэл бол *сяньбийн* бусад аялгуу болон хэлний нэгэн адил *монгол* бус махбодь олонтой байсан нь тодорхой билээ”<sup>1</sup> гэсэн нь үнэний хувь өндөртэй дүгнэлт болох юм. Мөн “миний магадласны үр дүнг нэгтгэн дүгнэвээс: *сяньби*, түүний аялгуу *тугухунь*, *тоба* хэл бол *монгол* хэлэнд хамаарагдана гэж дүгнэж бүрэн болно” гэж Г.Сүхбаатар гуай үзсэн байна. Тиймээс *тоба* аймгийн хэлийг дээрх нэрт эрдэмтдийн хэлсэнчлэн *монгол* хэлэнд хамааруулж тухайн үеийн *монгол* хэлний онцлогийг илрүүлсэн судалгааг хэрэглэх нь лав буруудахгүй бололтой.

Монголын хэл шинжлэлийн эрдэмтдийн судалгаанаас үзвэл, *тоба* хэлийг *монгол* хэлний хөгжлийн «анх монгол хэл» эсвэл «эртний монгол хэлний» үед багтаадаг аж.<sup>2</sup> Энэ үеийн *монгол* хэл нь, эгшиг хоорондын *q-γ-b-w* эсвэл *-γ/-g-, -b-, -y-, -n-* гийгүүлэгч тогтвортой хадгалагдсан мөн *тоба* хэлний «бичээч» гэхийг *bitikčün* гэх баримтаар бол – *t* гийгүүлэгч –*č* болоогүй байсан бөгөөд уг үзэгдлийг наад зах нь манай эриний эхний хэдэн зуун жилд байсан гэж лавтай хэлж болох зэрэг онцлог шинжтэй байна.<sup>3</sup>

Одоо *тоба* нэр *нангиад* сударт анх, хэдийд тэмдэглэгдсэн байж болох талаар цухас дурдъя. “*Тоба*, тэдний байгуулсан Их Вэй улсын тухай үндсэн гол сурвалж бичиг бол Вэй Шоугийн зохиосон «Вэй шу» («Вэй улсын бичиг») юм. Хойт Ци улсын Вэй Шоу (506-572) «Вэй шуг» 551-554 онд зохиосон” гэж Г.Сүхбаатар гуай бичжээ. Үүнийг баримгалбал, *тобаг* бичгийн сурвалжид тэмдэглэсэн нь VI зуун болно. Гэхдээ, түүхэнд дурдсан тохиолдлоор *тобаг* анх тэмдэглэсэн нь м.э. II зууны тавиас наяд он болох учиртай “Ван Чэний «Вэй шул» Таньшихуай нутгаа 3 хуваан тавьсан толгойлогчийг дурдахдаа Мицзяцюежун, Суликуайтоу нарыг зүүн хэсэгт, Кэцунцюецзю, Муюн нарыг төв хэсэгт, Чжицзяньло, Ложилюй, Тугуйань, Сею нарыг баруун хэсгийн толгойлогчоор тавьсан, ...” хэмээх мэдээнд гарах их толгойлогч Тугуйань (*Тобагийн* домгоор бол хоёрдугаар Туйинь Сяньди Линь) бол *тоба* аймгийг мэдэж Таньшихуайд

<sup>1</sup> Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 308; Лигети Л. Табгачский язык-диалект сяньбийского // Народы Азии и Африки. №1. Москва, 1969. с. 116; Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын утсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 94

<sup>2</sup> Лувсандэндэв А. Олон монгол хэл аялгууны харшуулсан хэл зүйн зарим асуудал (1973) – Лувсандэндэв А. Монгол үндэсний утга зохиолын хэл бүрэлдэн тогтсон нь. Эмхэтгэн редакторласан Л.Болд. Улаанбаатар, Онги Бээс, 2002. т. 52; Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) // Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүмэлийн эрхи. I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 67-126

<sup>3</sup> Лувсандэндэв А. Формирование монгольского национального литературного языка (1977) – Лувсандэндэв А. Монгол үндэсний утга зохиолын хэл бүрэлдэн тогтсон нь. Эмхэтгэн редакторласан Л.Болд. Улаанбаатар, Онги Бээс, 2002. т. 45; Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) // Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүмэлийн эрхи. I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 104; Лувсандэндэв А. Олон монгол хэл аялгууны харшуулсан хэл зүйн зарим асуудал (1973) – Лувсандэндэв А. Монгол үндэсний утга зохиолын хэл бүрэлдэн тогтсон нь. Эмхэтгэн редакторласан Л.Болд. Улаанбаатар, Онги Бээс, 2002. т. 52

захирагдаж байсан этгээд. Уул мэдээг тэмдэглэсэн «Вэй шу» бол Ван Чэнь хэмээх хүний зохиосон 48 бүлэг түүхийн тэмдэглэл бөгөөд манай үед бүхлээрээ уламжлан ирээгүй хэмээн эрдэмтэд үздэг ба Ван Чэнь хэмээгч нь Жинь\* улсын ордны эрдэмтэн түшмэл ажээ. Харин «Вэй шугийн» 1-р бүлэгт дурдсан *тобагийн* угсаа гарвалын домог, түүнийг тайлбарласан А.Бүүдберг, Г.Сүхбаатар нарын тайлбарыг харьцуулбал, *тоба* нэр м.э.ө. II зуун гэхэд байсан болж таарч байна.<sup>1</sup> Дээрх товч эшлэлээс үзвэл *тоба* нэрийг *нангиадын* бичиг сударт анх тэмдэглэсэн цаг хугацаа нь III зууны II хагасаас V зууны эхэн хагас (ө.х. 265-420-нод он) байх магадлалтай.

Харин Хойд Ци улсын бичгийн түшмэл Вэй Шоугаас, *тобагийн* Их Вэй улсад холбогдох албан баримтаас өгсүүлэн элдэв бичгийг цуглуулан эмхэлж «Вэй шу» нэртэй төрийн түүхийг гаргасан нь 551-554 он болох тул *тоба* нэрийн тухайн үеийн нангиад дуудлага нь VI-VII зууных байх ёстой. Э.Пүллийблэнк энэ үеийг EMC (Early Middle Chinese), харин С.А.Старостин, W.H.Baxter нар MC (Middle Chinese) гэдэг. Бид *тоба* нэрийн сэргээлтэд Б.Карлгренээс гадна энэ гурван нангиадчийн сэргээлтийг хэрэглэнэ.

*Тоба* 托跋 *tuòbá*, 拓拔 *tuòbá*-г, Б.Карлгрен (拓跋 *tuòbá*) \**t'ák-b'uát*, Э.Пүллийблэнк (拓跋 *tuòbá*) \**t'ak-bat*, С.А.Старостин (托拔 *tuòbá*) \**thák-bwát*, W.H.Baxter (托跋 *tuòbá*) \**thak-bat* гэж тус тус сэргээжээ.<sup>2</sup> Эдгээр сэргээлтээс үзэхүл, судлаачдаас *тобаг* тэмдэглэсэн утга үсгийн уг дуудлага (эсвэл үгийн уг хэлбэр) \**taybat* байсан гэж үздэг нь эргэлзээ үл төрүүлэх сэргээлт байна.

Харин харь хэлний үгийг хааж ордог *хятад* хэлний *-t* төгсгөлийг л их төлөв *-č* болгож буй нь эргэлзээтэй байна. Уг нь өөр хэдэн хувилбар бий. Л.Лигети өөрийн өгүүлэлдээ эдгээр хувилбарыг заан тэмдэглэжээ. Тухайлбал, \**taybar*, \**taybal* болно.<sup>3</sup> Тэгээд ч судлаачид, харь хэлний үгийг тэмдэглэхэд үе хаасан *-t* гийгүүлэгчээр *-l* авиаг тэмдэглэдгийг хэлсэн байдаг.<sup>4</sup> Гэхдээ бас *нангиад* хэлний эртний *-t* төгсгөл нь их төлөв *-r* авиа болж сэргээдэг ч мөн *-t* төгсгөлөөр дуудах утга үсгээр нангиадууд *-n* авиаг тэмдэглэдэг хэмээн Э.В.Шавкунов бичжээ.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Тоба нэрийн тухай бидний санал:**

**А хувилбар.** *Тоба* нэрийн \**taybat* дуудлагын төгсгөлийн *-t* гийгүүлэгчийг сэргээхдээ бид Э.В.Шавкуновын, энэ төгсгөлөөр заримдаа *-n* авиаг тэмдэглэдэг гэх

\* Жинь улс 晋朝 265 онд байгуулагдсан, 420 онд мөхсөн.

<sup>1</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 7, 154, 5-6, 60, 61

<sup>2</sup> Karlgren B. Grammata Serica Recensa //Bulletin the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. №29, Stockholm, 1957 (1972). 795 m, 276 b; Pulleyblank E.G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. UBC Press, Vancouver, 1991. pp. 314, 27; Старостин С.А. <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/>; Baxter W.H. An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters, 2000. pp. 138, 2 (<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~wbaxter/>)

<sup>3</sup> Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 278, n. 24

<sup>4</sup> Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) //Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи. I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 92, 93

<sup>5</sup> Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. с. 28

зарчмыг баримтлан *\*tayban* байж болох юм гэж үзлээ. Бас үгийн эхний *-t* авиаг, Ц.Шагдарсүрэн докторын өгүүлэлдээ дурдсан *\*t > č*- болдог зарчмаар,<sup>1</sup> *\*č* хэмээн үзээд *тоба* гэсэн үгийг *\*čayban* байх боломжтой гэж бодож байна. Мөн "... *табагачийн* угийн нэрийг, эгшиг хоорондын гийгүүлэгч нь хэвээр буй, *монгол* хэлний *tūla < tayula < toyula*, эртний түрэгээр бол *toyla*, монгол хэлний *buyuday* буюу эртний түрэгийн *buydai*-н адилаар *tabayači* хэмээн уншвал зохилтой"<sup>2</sup> гэсэн эрдэмтэн А.Лувсандэндэвийн жишгийг дагавал, бидний сонирхоод байгаа *тоба* 托跋 ~ 拓拔 *tuǒbá ~ tuòbá* буюу *\*taybat* нь *\*čayaban* гэх хэлбэртэй байж болох мэт. Монгол бичгийн *doluγan* (долоо) гэх үг угтаа *dal-u-ban* гэдгээс үүссэн<sup>3</sup> гэх баримтаар, мөн эгшиг хоорондын *q-γ-b-w* эсвэл *-yl-g-, -b-, -y-, -n-* гийгүүлэгч тогтвортой хадгалагдаж байсан гэх дээр дурдсан судалгааны үр дүнгээр бол *\*čayaban* нь *\*čayayan* буюу орчин цагийн бидний мэдэх «цагаан» гэх нэр гарч ирж байна.

*Тоба* нэрийг орчин үеийн «цагаан» гэсэн утгатай *монгол* үг гэж ийнхүү үзэж болох ч эргэлзээтэй зүйл байгааг бид хүлээн зөвшөөрч байна. Хамгийн гол эргэлзээ *\*taybat* –ийн эхний *-t* –тэй холбоотой. *\*Taybat* –ийн эхний *-t* авиа нь судлаачдын үзэхээр *-i* эгшгийн нөлөөгөөр *-č* болж хувирчээ.<sup>4</sup> Гэтэл бидний тохиолдолд *\*ta-* байна. Ардаа *-a* авнатай *-t* нь *-č* болдог эсэх талаар хэлэх юм үнэндээ бидэнд лав алга. Үүнээс үүдээд хоёрдахь хувилбар гарч ирсэн юм.

Б хувилбар *Тоба* хэл бол *монгол* хэлний хөгжлийн эхэн үед хамаатах нутгийн нэг аялгуу гэдгийг эрдэмтэд нэлээд эрт нотолсныг дээр дурдсан. Тэгээд ч «анх монгол хэл» эсвэл «эртний монгол хэл» гэж тодотгосон энэ үеийн хэлний онцлогт *-ti* нь хараахан *-či* болоогүй үе гэж судлаачид үздэг.<sup>5</sup> Тэгээд ч Л.Лигети, 813-814 онд бичиж дуусгасан *хятадын* тулгар бичигт тэмдэглэсэн нэгэн уулын нэр *хо-чжень* буюу тэр цагийн *хятад* хэлний дуудлагаар бол авиа зүйн хувьд харь хэлний *γičin, γurčin* гэсэн үгтэй тохирно, энэ бол *монгол* үг, наад зах нь VIII зууны эцсийн үеийн энэ үгэнд *\*ti* –ийн оронд *či* байна, үүнээс харахад *\*ti* → *či* болж хувирах явц VIII зууны үед нэгэнт дууссан байна гэсэн дүгнэлтийг өгчээ.<sup>6</sup> Чингэхлээр лав IV/V-VIII зууны үеийн *монгол* хэлтэй зарим аймгийн аялгуунд *-č* –ийн оронд *-t* авиа байсан нь гарцаагүй. Харин энэ *-t* авиа нь өнөөгийн бидний мэдэх *-č* –ийн үүргийг гүйцэтгэж байжээ. Эл зарчмыг баримталбал,

<sup>1</sup> Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) //Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 92

<sup>2</sup> Лувсандэндэв А. Формирование монгольского национального литературного языка (1977) – Лувсандэндэв А. Монгол үндэсний утга зохиолын хэл бүрэлдэн тогтсон нь. Эмхэтгэн редакторласан Л.Болд. Улаанбаатар, Онги Бээс, 2002. т. 45

<sup>3</sup> Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) //Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 97

<sup>4</sup> Лигети Л. Г.Д.Санжеев. Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков //Studia Linguae et Litterarum. Tom. VIII, fasc. 11, УБ., 1970. т. 338; Лувсандэндэв А. Олон монгол хэл аялгууны харшүүлсан хэл зүйн зарим асуудал (1973) – Лувсандэндэв А. Монгол үндэсний утга зохиолын хэл бүрэлдэн тогтсон нь. Эмхэтгэн редакторласан Л.Болд. Улаанбаатар, Онги Бээс, 2002. т. 52; Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) //Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи. I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 97

<sup>5</sup> Жишээлбэл, дээр олонтоо зөвлөсөн А.Лувсандэндэв, Ц.Шагдарсүрэн нар ийм үзэл баримтлалтай.

<sup>6</sup> Лигети Л. Г.Д.Санжеев. Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков //Studia Linguae et Litterarum. Tom. VIII, fasc. 11, УБ., 1970. т. 336-337

\**taɣbat* нь ялангуяа үгийн эхний *-t* -тэйгээ байсан ч \**taɣaban* ~ \**taɣabaɕ* буюу мөн л «цагаан ~ цагаач» утгыг хангалттай илэрхийлэх магадлалтай.

Одоо *тоба* ~ *цагаан* байж болоход дэм өгөхүйц ганц нэг түүхийн жишээг дурдья. Г.Сүхбаатар багш номондоо, “сүхэ (素和) аймаг, ... бол Ширатори, Яо Вэй-юань хоёрын нягталснаар *Сяньбийн* Таньшихуайн удам бөгөөд *сяньбийн цагаан* аймаг мөн байна. Ширатори, Сүхэ бол *цагаан* гэсэн үг гэж нотолжээ. (白鳥庫吉。東胡民族考。上海, 1934. т. 134-135) Хятадаар *бай* (白) буюу *цагаан* аймгийг *сүхэ* гэсэн болохоор энэ нь *сяньбигаар* ‘цагаан’ гэсэн үг байж болно”<sup>1</sup> гэсэн жишээг дурддагийг бид бүгд мэднэ. Тэгвэл С.Г.Кляшторный гуай, *Түрэгийн* гол ноёлогч овог (ураг) болох «ашина»<sup>\*</sup> гэсэн үгийн утгыг бас өнгө заасан, *сак* буюу эртний *дорнод иран* үг гэдгийг баримгаар баталсан билээ. Тэрбээр, “хэрэв, дорнод Туркестаны эртний хаадын [ургийн] нэрийг ажваас өнгө заасан үг [хэд хэд-Б.Б.] байсныг тэмдэглэх хэрэгтэй. Жишээ нь Кучагийн хааны ургийг «цагаан» (тохар хэлээр *A kutsi*, самгарьдаар *arjuna*, нангиад буулгавар нь *bo*) хэмээн нэрлэдэг. (Bailey H.W. Taugara //BSOS. Vol. III, pt. 4. 1937. p. 900) Бүр Дорнод Туркестанд хэрэглэж байсан утга, санаагаар хязгаарласан ч [ашинагийн-Б.Б.] уг, язгуур хэлбэр нь согд хэлэнд *'xs'yn'k* (-*эхдөнө*) «хөх, бараан»; хотан-сак хэлэнд (брхами бичгээр) *āṣṣeina* (-*āṣṣeina*) «хөх» гэх ба урт *ā-* нь *axs->āṣṣ-* хувирч хөгжсний үр дүнд бий болсон; тохар хэлэнд *A āsna-* «хөх, бараан» (гэхдээ *хотан-сак* эсвэл *согдоос* сурвалжилсан) гэж байдаг. (Bailey H.W. Dictionary of Khotan saka. Cambridge, 1979. p. 26) Тиймээс *ашина* (<*āṣṣeina* ~ *āṣṣeina*) нэр «хөх» гэсэн утгатай *сак* гарвалтай үг болох нь авиа-утгазүйн хувьд маргашгүй болж таарч байна”<sup>2</sup> хэмээн бичсэн юм.

*Цагаан* хэмээх үгийг өнгө, бэлгэдэл талаас нь эрдэмтэн С.Дулам: “баруун зүг бол ертөнцийн үүслийн домгийн ёсоор «цагаан, төмөр зүг», ... тэнгэр шүтлэгийн ёсоор сайн үйлийн тавин таван «цагаан тэнгэрийн зүг», чингэхлээр аль ч утга бэлгэдлээрээ өнгөний хувьд «цагаан зүг» болно. *Хүннүгийн* морин цэргийн жагсаалд баруун этгээдэд нь *цагаан* зүсмийн морьтон дайчид жагсдаг”<sup>3</sup> гэжээ. Гэтэл *Сяньбийн* хаан Таньшихуай улсаа гурав хувааж, тавиад аймгийг хуваарилахдаа, баруун жигүүрийн хориод аймгийг Чжицзяньло, Ложилуо, Яньлию (Сею), Туийнь нарт захируулсан байдаг. Баруун зүгийн өнгө – *цагаан*, Таньшихуайн *Сяньби* улсын баруун гарын – *тоба* аймаг хоорондоо холбоотой эсэхийг хэлж мэдэхгүй ч сонирхолтой давхцал байна.

Чингэхлээр Төв Ази, Дорнод Туркестанаар нутаглаж байсан цөөн бус овог, аймгийн ноёлох ургийнхан өөрсдийн өндөр байр суурь, тэнгэрлэг язгуурыг илтгэх өнгө заасан, тэнгэртэй холбогдохуйц үгээр өөрсдийгөө нэрлэх явдал түгээмэл байжээ.

Энэ огүүлийн эцрст тэмдэглэн хэлэхэд: *монгол* хэлтэн байсан нь нэлээд баталгаатай (Л.Лигети, Г.Сүхбаатар нарын судалгааны үр дүнг жишээ татаж байна) болсон *сяньбийн* томоохон аймаг, *Тоба* (\**taɣbat*)-гийн нэр нь одоогийн *монгол* хэлээр «цагаан»

<sup>1</sup> Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 44

<sup>\*</sup> Дашрамд өгүүлэхэд *ашина* нэрийг *Түрэгийн* гэрэлт хөшөөний бичээст *ашинас* хэлбэрээр тэмдэглэснийг *ятоны* судлаач Suzuki Kōsetsu болон Монголын зарим судлаач баримт түвшин нотлох болсон.

<sup>2</sup> Кляшторный С.Г. История Центральной Азии и памятники рунического письма. Филологический факультет СПбГУ, Санкт-Петербург, 2003. с. 248

<sup>3</sup> Дулам С. Монгол бэлгэдэл зүй. Дэд дэвтэр. Өнгөний бэлгэдэл зүй. Зүг чигийн бэлгэдэл зүй. МУИС-ийн ХТ, Улаанбаатар, 2000. т. 162-163

гэх утгыг агуулсан \**tayabat* ~ \**tayaban* ~ \**tayabač* буюу \**čayaban* ~ \**čayayan* ~ \**čayayač* хэмээх хэлбэргэй байж болох юм гэсэн дүгнэлтэд хүрч байна.

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Боломж гарвал цааш нь ганц хоёр юм нэмэх санаа байна аа тэгвэл шинэ хувилбарыг бас илгээх болноо.

## BATSUREN, Barangas : On Hunnic Names and Topa

The article summarises those theories, which had been published during the last three hundred years in this topic. Several western scholars thought that the Huns had Turkic or Mongolian languages, and small groups compared some Hunnish words with the languages of distant Siberian peoples. The author confirms that the word Kuman or Kun also belonged to them, because various expressions for Huns in Chinese chronicles meant “Hung” or “Hun”.

Next to Huns, To-pa or Tabgach determined the early Middle Ages of Inner Asia and the Far East. The author gathered lots of sources, which prove that the original version of the name was tabgach, which can be read on the famous Turkic runic inscription of Mongolia. According to some Mongolian experts, the name is connected with “dob” or a sacred mound, where Huns and their descendants celebrated some feasts. This theory is accepted by the Hungarian linguist Katalin Czeglédi, who also realised that not only To-pa or Tabgach, but also in Tibet such name as “tob, tab, dob” or mound, mountain, is preserved.



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**ТАМБОВЦЕВ, Юрий Алексеевич****Типологические расстояния между различными группами манси и некоторыми другими народами по данным дерматоглифики**

Статья исследует типологические расстояния между различными этническими группами манси и некоторыми другими народностями. Расстояния основаны на дерматоглифических характеристиках, которые обычно достаточно хорошо отражают геном этноса. Большие этно-типологические расстояния между сосвинскими, вагильскими и ивдельскими манси показали их различное происхождение. Этно-типологическое различие вызвало наличие различных диалектов. Та же тенденция прослеживается и для двух этнических групп эстонцев: выро (южные) и хаапсала (северные). Две разных этнических групп ненцев вызвало два диалекта. Следовательно, этнический субстрат вызывает диалектные различия.

**Ключевые слова:** этно-типологические расстояния, дерматоглифические характеристики, диалекты, сосвинские, вагильские и ивдельские манси, эстонцы, выро, южноямальские (лесные) ненцы.

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Некоторые данные по генотипу этнических групп, в частности, дерматографические характеристики, проливают дополнительный свет на контакты народов в процессе их исторического развития. Методы идентификации как отдельных личностей, так и этнических групп на основе дерматографических характеристик всегда широко использовались в судебной медицине (Чистикина и др. 2009). Эти показатели легко перенести в этнографию для определения антропологического сходства, применив разработанный нами метод определения расстояний на базе критерия “Хи-квадрат”. В связи с этим, целью нашей работы является проверка, насколько генотип этноса, влияет на наличие диалектов в том или ином языке. Другими словами, насколько антропологические различия могут быть связаны с разделением языка на диалекты.

В процессе своего исторического развития многие народы были завоеваны другими народами. Завоеванные народы чаще всего переходили на язык завоевателей, хотя иногда происходил и обратный процесс, т.е. завоеватели теряли свой язык и переходили на язык завоеванных ими народов. В языкознании эти два процесса известны под названием “теория субстрата и

суперстрата". При изучении разницы звуковых картин диалектов или языков важно понять, почему эти звуковые картины не похожи друг на друга. Это происходит вследствие того, что у этих этнических групп разные артикуляционные базы. Л. В. Щерба объяснял это тем, что люди начинают говорить на языке, которого они не знают. Их речевой аппарат не подготовлен к произнесению тех или иных звуков, поэтому они начинают искажать неродной язык. Это искажение происходит одинаковым образом, вследствие их артикуляционной базы (Щерба 1974: 80).

Исходя из этого, нам нужно показать, что манси, ханты, эстонцы и другие народы в своем составе имеют различные этнические группы, что выражается в наличие различных диалектов на этих языках. Изучение некоторых дерматоглифических характеристик помогает нам понять, насколько различаются этнические группы в составе некоторых народов или народностей. Следовательно, по антропологическим данным можно судить, насколько различаются этнические группы. Мы можем измерить эту разницу в виде этнографических расстояний. Нами были использованы данные по строению кожных узоров, которые получены В. П. Алексеевым, Т. Д. Гладковой, Г. Ф. Дебецом, Н. И. Клевцовой, Р. В. Микельсаар, Г. Л. Хить, А. В. Хорн и другими антропологами и этнографами (Ауль 1964, Гладкова 1961, Марк 1975, Хорн и др. 1972). Значительная часть этих данных в сопоставимом (соизмеримом) виде приведена в книге Г. Л. Хить (Хить 1983). Важно отметить, что наши фоно-типологические расстояния в отношении близости некоторых финно-угорских и самодийских языков подкрепляются данными по схожести дерматоглифических характеристик. Наше фоно-типологическое расстояние между литературным эстонским языком и водским языком подтверждается и антропологическими данными, которые выражены через дерматоглифическое расстояние. Это подтверждает выводы предыдущих исследований Так, Ю. Ауль на основании кранеологических характеристик делает вывод о том, что эстонцы по своему антропологическому типу ближе к води, нежели к вепсам или карелам (Ауль 1964: 98).

Г.Л. Хить указывает на то, что дерматоглифические характеристики этносов являются достаточно стабильными (Хить 1983: 19 – 25). Внутригрупповой анализ различных этносов показывает их большую схожесть между собой, что доказывает Г.Л. Хить на своих и данных десятка других авторов (Хить 1983: 28 – 35). Из этого следует, что дерматоглифические характеристики внутри какого-либо этноса более компактны, чем аналогичные характеристики между различными этносами.

Мы проанализировали дерматоглифические данные при помощи критерия "Хи-квадрат", который позволяет вычислять расстояния между двумя объектами и говорить об их схожести или несхожести (Тамбовцев 2003а; 2003б).

Известно, что мансийский язык имеет множество диалектов. В основу литературного мансийского языка положен его северный диалект (Тамбовцев 1977). На этом диалекте говорят сосвинские и ляпинские манси, которые проживают в территориальной близости друг от друга. Достаточно далеко на юго-запад от них проживают ивдельские и вагильские манси, которые говорят на других диалектах.

В качестве антропологического расстояния мы приводим величину ТМВ, которая получена в результате деления эмпирического значения статистического критерия «хи-квадрат» на его теоретическое значение в зависимости от уровня значимости и количества степеней свободы.

Таб. 1

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Манси сосьвинские (северные) - (65 человек)

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	<b>Манси сосьвинские – манси ляпинские</b>	13,43
2.	Манси сосьвинские – ненцы южноямальские (устье Оби)	17,67
3.	Манси сосьвинские – селькупы тымские	49,47
4.	Манси сосьвинские – ханты березовские	61,28
5.	<b>Манси сосьвинские – манси ивдельские</b>	64,11
6.	Манси сосьвинские – ханты ваховские	127,49
7.	<b>Манси сосьвинские – манси вагильские</b>	160,14
8.	Манси сосьвинские – нганасаны	171,38
9.	Манси сосьвинские – эстонцы Хаапсалу	265,47
10.	Манси сосьвинские – венгры	278,25
11.	Манси сосьвинские – карелы ливвиковские (олонецкие)	409,34
12.	Манси сосьвинские – финны Мюнямяки	413,75
13.	Манси сосьвинские – вепсы шелтозерские	430,35
14.	Манси сосьвинские – коми-зыряне язвинские (юго-зап.)	449,63
15.	Манси сосьвинские – эстонцы Выру (южные эстонцы)	470,69
16.	Манси сосьвинские – коми зыряне мезенские (удорские)	519,23

Таб.1 показывает, что сосьвинские манси по своему генотипу ближе всего к ляпинским манси (13,43). Достаточно неожиданно сосьвинские манси показывают свою близость к южно-ямальским ненцам (17,67) и к тымским селькупам (49,47), но не к другим группам манси. Сосьвинские манси достаточно далеко отстоят от ивдельских манси (64,11) или вагильских манси (160,14). Разница по этническому происхождению может объяснить и разницу в мансийских диалектах. По генотипу сосьвинские манси также далеко отстоят и от венгров (278,25). Вероятно, на близость по генотипу сосьвинских манси к таким группам самодийцев как тымские селькупы и лесные (южноямальские) ненцы повлияло то, что они имели интенсивные контакты с этими этносами в процессе своего

исторического развития. Важно отметить, что по краниологическим данным А.Н. Багашева северные и западные манси достаточно далеко отстоят друг от друга [Багашев 2000: 228 - 245].

Таб. 2

**Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Манси вагильские – (59 человек)**

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Манси вагильские — мари горные (космодемьянские)	21,05
2.	Манси вагильские — венгры (Мукачево)	22,49
3.	Манси вагильские — финны кокемяки	31,08
4.	Манси вагильские — мари луговые (звениговские)	33,40
5.	Манси вагильские — мордва мокша	34,35
6.	Манси вагильские — финны куриikki	36,94
7.	<b>Манси вагильские — манси ивдельские</b>	37,19
8.	Манси вагильские — коми-пермяки зюздинские (Пермск.)	40,65
9.	Манси вагильские — финны хаухо	58,42
10.	Манси вагильские — селькупы тымские	67,81
11.	Манси вагильские — финны улиторио	68,57
12.	Манси вагильские — саамы (лопари)	68,65
13.	Манси вагильские — финны киурувеси	71,14
14.	Манси вагильские — финны салла (Похъяймаа. Юго-зап.)	73,10
15.	Манси вагильские — эстонцы хаапсалу (северные)	74,65
16.	Манси вагильские — ненцы южнаямальские	92,07
17.	Манси вагильские — финны мюнямяки (варсинайс-суоми)	98,96
18.	Манси вагильские — коми-пермяки язвинские	103,28
19.	Манси вагильские — мордва эрзя	109,92
20.	Манси вагильские — финны кеуруу	114,13
21.	Манси вагильские — карелы ливвики (олонецкие)	117,80
22.	Манси вагильские — русские (Архангельская Обл.)	130,02
23.	Манси вагильские — финны кесялахти	138,89
24.	Манси вагильские — коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	153,75
25.	Манси вагильские — ханты березовские (Полноват)	154,27

26.	Манси вагильские – финны аскола	160,00
27.	<b>Манси вагильские – манси сосьвинские</b>	160,14
28.	<b>Манси вагильские – манси ляпинские</b>	163,56
29.	Манси вагильские – Выру (южные эстонцы)	176,87
30.	Манси вагильские – ханты ваховские (сургутские)	177,47
31.	Манси вагильские – вепсы шелтозерские (прионежские)	182,96
32.	Манси вагильские – финны ристины	277,33
33.	Манси вагильские – энцы	437,28
34.	Манси вагильские – нганасаны	474,53

Как и в предыдущем случае, этнические группы манси достаточно далеко отстоят друг от друга, что не могло не повлиять на их язык.

Таб. 3

**Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Манси ивдельские (западные) – (59 человек)**

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Манси ивдельские – селькупы тымские	5,20
2.	Манси ивдельские – ненцы южнаямальские	21,27
3.	Манси ивдельские – ненцы североямальские	25,72
4.	<b>Манси ивдельские – манси вагильские</b>	37,19
5.	Манси ивдельские – мари горные (космодемьянские)	46,37
6.	Манси ивдельские – саамы (лопари) финские	54,98
7.	<b>Манси ивдельские – манси сосьвинские</b>	64,11
8.	Манси ивдельские – финны кокемяки	81,18
9.	Манси ивдельские – ханты березовские	83,39
10.	Манси ивдельские – финны курикки	90,57
11.	Манси ивдельские – финны салла (с.Похъяймаа. Юго-зап.)	90,62
12.	Манси ивдельские – мордва мокша	99,51
13.	Манси ивдельские – венгры мукачевские	101,50
14.	Манси ивдельские – финны хаухо	100,92
15.	Манси ивдельские – финны улиторио	109,97

16.	Манси ивдельские – ханты ваховские	128,12
17.	Манси ивдельские – коми-пермяки зюздинские	140,08
18.	Манси ивдельские – финны киурувеси	151,47
19.	Манси ивдельские – финны мюнямяки. Варсинайс-Суоми	200,68
20.	Манси ивдельские – финны кесялахти	204,03
21.	Манси ивдельские – финны кеуруу	207,47
22.	Манси ивдельские – коми-пермяки (язвинские)	222,76
23.	Манси ивдельские – мордва эрзя	239,75
24.	Манси ивдельские – финны аскола	254,81
25.	Манси ивдельские – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	281,88
26.	Манси ивдельские – энцы	293,400
27.	Манси ивдельские – нганасаны	332,89
28.	Манси ивдельские – финны рститины	439,70

Ивдельские манси достаточно далеко отстоят от других этнических групп манси, но очень близки тымским селькупам и лесным (южноямальским) ненцам. Североямальские ненцы также показывают с ивдельскими манси близость по генотипу.

**Таб. 4**

**Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Эстонцы Хаапсалу (95 человек). Северо-запад Эстонии**

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Юлиторнио	4,90
2.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Хаухо	5,53
3.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Кокемяки	15,16
4.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Курикки	16,16
5.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – мордва-мокша	22,20
6.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Киурувеси	23,65
7.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Кесялахти	23,69
8.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – мари космодемьянские	24,57
9.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – карелы ливвиковские (олонецкие)	26,18
10.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – вепсы шелтозерские	31,32

11.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Кеуруу	36,70
12.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – эстонцы Выру	44,01
13.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Мюнямяки	46,37
14.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Асколы	49,90
15.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Саллы	54,80
16.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – венгры мукачевские	60,15
17.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси вагильские (западные)	74,65
18.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – ненцы североямальские	84,85
19.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-пермяки язьвинские	84,98
20.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	91,10
21.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-зыряне ижемские	92,13
22.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси ивдельские (западные)	100,79
23.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – мордва-эрзя	105,19
24.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – селькупы тымские	122,84
25.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-пермяки зюздинские	123,85
26.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Ристийны	183,82
27.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси ляпинские	217,70
28.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – саамы Финляндии	249,38
29.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси сосьвинские	265,47
30.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – ханты ваховские	414,16
31.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – энцы	678,04
32.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – нганасаны	737,43

Генотип северных эстонцев (Хаапсалу), который проявляется через их дерматоглифические характеристики, четко показывает, что южные эстонцы (Выру) – это другой антропологический тип. Это выражается в большом расстоянии между ними – 44,01. В то же время, северные эстонцы показывают сходные антропологические характеристики со многими группами финнов и прежде всего с финнами Юлиторнио – 4,90. В то время как южные эстонцы близки по своему антропологическому типу к финнам Кесялахти – 3,28. Как мы видели выше, это различие проявляется и в звуковой картине языков и диалектов. Интересно отметить, что по антропологическому типу мордва-мокша достаточно близка к северным эстонцам – 22,20. Далеки от эстонцев манси, ханты, энцы и нганасаны.

Таб. 5

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Эстонцы Выру (105 человек). Юго-восток Эстонии

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Кесялахти	3,28
2.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Асколы	3,89
3.	Эстонцы Выру – вепсы шелтозерские (прионежские)	7,67
4.	Эстонцы Выру – карелы-ливвики (олонецкие)	13,60
5.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Кеуруу	14,17
6.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Киурувеси	29,54
7.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Мюнямяки	32,71
8.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Юлиторнио	33,47
9.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Хаухо	38,81
10.	Эстонцы Выру – эстонцы Хаапсалу (северные эстонцы)	44,01
11.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	50,22
12.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Курикки	55,09
13.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Кокемяки	62,35
14.	Эстонцы Выру – мордва-мокша	62,76
15.	Эстонцы Выру – латыши Кулдиги	78,55
16.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-пермяки язвинские	80,69
17.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Ристины	85,93
18.	Эстонцы Выру – мари космодемьянские (горные)	93,07
19.	Эстонцы Выру – мордва-эрзя	96,18
20.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-зыряне ижемские	107,58
21.	Эстонцы Выру – венгры	116,36
22.	Эстонцы Выру – русские (Старая Русса Новгород. обл.)	121,79
23.	Эстонцы Выру – литовцы-жемайты (западные)	167,74
24.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Саллы (юго-западные)	173,83
25.	Эстонцы Выру – манси вагильские (западные)	176,67
26.	Эстонцы Выру – латыши Резекне	182,19
27.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-пермяки зюздинские (западные)	187,19
28.	Эстонцы Выру – ненцы северомальские	204,56
29.	Эстонцы Выру – манси ивдельские (западные)	254,81
30.	Эстонцы Выру – селькупы тымские	294,00

31.	Эстонцы Выру – манси ляпинские	397,76
32.	Эстонцы Выру – саамы Финляндии	438,45
33.	Эстонцы Выру – манси сосьвинские	470,69
34.	Эстонцы Выру – ханты ваховские (сургутские)	648,35
35.	Эстонцы Выру – энцы	961,16
36.	Эстонцы Выру – нганасаны	1025,17

Южные эстонцы (выру) показывают достаточно большое сходство с шелтозерскими (прионежскими) вепсами и карелами-ливвиками (Таб.5). Антропологически далеки от южных эстонцев (выру) энцы и нганасаны.

Таб. 6

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Ненцы южноямальские. Устье Оби. (100 человек).

	Различные народы и народности	ТМВ
1.	Ненцы южноямальские – селькупы тымские	16,48
2.	<b>Ненцы южноямальские – манси сосьвинские</b>	17,67
3.	<b>Ненцы южноямальские – манси ивдельские</b>	21,27
4.	Ненцы южноямальские – мари луговые	25,12
5.	Ненцы южноямальские – кумандинцы (Северный Алтай)	27,69
6.	Ненцы южноямальские – ханты березовские (Полноват)	34,16
7.	Ненцы южноямальские – ненцы североямальские	46,27
8.	Ненцы южноямальские – саамы (лопари) Финляндии	49,65
9.	Ненцы южноямальские – ханты ваховские (Сургут)	80,87
10.	Ненцы южноямальские – манси вагильские (западные)	92,07
11.	Ненцы южноямальские – мари горные	121,27
12.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны салла	170,20
13.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны кокемяки	171,17
14.	Ненцы южноямальские – энцы	171,88
15.	Ненцы южноямальские – мордва мокша	177,71
16.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны курички	181,42
17.	Ненцы южноямальские – венгры (Мукачево)	192,62

18.	Ненцы южноямальские – эстонцы хаапсалу (северные)	201,59
19.	Ненцы южноямальские – нганасаны	202,13
20.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны улиторнио	209,19
21.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны хаухо	233,56
22.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны киурувеси	265,57
23.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны кеуруу	321,09
24.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны кесялахти	322,71
25.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны мюнямяки варсинайс	328,25
26.	Ненцы южноямальские – карелы ливвиковские	329,16
27.	Ненцы южноямальские – коми-пермяки язвинские (Пермская)	351,77
28.	Ненцы южноямальские – вепсы шелтозерские (Прионежские)	366,07
29.	Ненцы южноямальские – мордва эрзя	367,33
30.	Ненцы южноямальские – эстонцы выру (южные)	389,52
31.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны аскола	390,62
32.	Ненцы южноямальские – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	424,86
33.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны ристины	601,48

Таб. 1 - 3 показывают, что сосвинские манси по своему генотипу ближе всего к ляпинским манси (13,43) и к тымским селькупам (49,47), но не к другим группам манси. Сосвинские манси достаточно далеко отстоят от ивдельских манси (64,11) или вагильских манси (160,14). Разница по этническому происхождению может объяснить и разницу в мансийских диалектах. По генотипу сосвинские манси также находятся далеко и от венгров (278,25).

Южноямальские (лесные) ненцы (Таб.6), которые проживают в устье Оби и южнее, ближе всего стоят к тымским селькупам (16,48) и сосвинским манси (17,67).

Выводы: Деление языка на диалекты часто происходит вследствие его субстрата. Дерматоглифические расстояния четко показывают то, что в составе какого-либо этноса имеются различные этнические группы. Несомненно, что различные мансийские диалекты были вызваны различными этническими группами.

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**TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri : Typological Distances between some Groups of Mansi and some other Peoples by the Data of Dermatoglyphics**

The article deals with the typological distances between different ethnic groups of Mansi and some other peoples. The distances are based on the dermatoglyphic characteristics, which usually reflect the genome well enough. The great values of ethno-typological distances between Sosva, Vagil and Ivdel Mansi showed their different origin. The ethno-typological differences caused the dialect differences. The same tendency was found for the two ethnic groups of Estonians: Vyro (Southern) and Haapsala (Northern). Two ethnic groups of Nenets: Northern and Southern also have different dialects. Therefore, ethnic substratum causes the dialect differences.

Key words: ethno-typological distances, dermatoglyphic characteristics, dialects, Sosva, Vagil and Ivdel Mansi, Estonians, Vyro, South Jamal (Forest) Nenets.



*ANCIENT WRITING SYSTEM  
RESEARCH*

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MELLÁR, Mihály

## The Phaistos Disc Revisited

The shorter an unidentified writing the harder is to decipher it. The task is particularly difficult if the number of once occurring signs is high. On the Phaistos Disk out of the 45 signs 9 is hapax. Everybody takes this figure as fact, I have used to do the same, and however, this is only a misleading appearance. *The disk is legible in both directions*, thus the so called “hapax” occurs in at least two different readings. Beside the text, which is divided into fields, is a *multiple acrostic poem*: the initial and closing signs of the fields compose legitimate sentences in both directions, 16 lift out closing signs and the remaining closing signs are also readable in both directions. Thus, there are ten intertwined, but different readings on the disc, making the phonetic values of the signs verifiable. The contrivance of these manifold intertwining readings guided the scribe in choosing the picture-signs; therefore one can only draw conclusions about the effective realization of this objective. In this regards the scribe has created a perfect masterpiece.

He did manage *to choose* the 45 small pictures in such a way that with the help of the consonantal frame or the initial of the depicted objects (rebus principle) he could place ten different, but connected and with the many reading directions intertwined messages on a single disc.

With the ten possible reading directions, by using only 242 imprints of the 45 signs he managed to compose 497 words into meaningful sentences on a palm size disc. For this, to write it down with our modern alphabet we needed exactly 3,000 characters. The *disc* is indeed a real *record!!!*

These new revelations about the disk and the shaping of a theory of picture-writing challenged me to take the disk in hand again. The story has not changed, but significantly enlarged and its multiple interlacing this time assures the incontestability of the readings.

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*The new research results are presented in a Supplement to the current issue of the Journal of Eurasian Studies. They are introduced by a theoretical paper on the hieroglyphic writings, entitled ‘The Codebook of Hieroglyphic Writings’. — Ed. Journal of Eurasian Studies*



# *POLITICS*

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**BADALOV, Ulugbek****Construction of National Identity in Kyrgyzstan**

The construction of an ideology supposedly “new” remains an important element of the unexpected and sudden independence to which the Kyrgyz Republic acceded in 1991, like its Central Asian neighbors. After the collapse of the Soviet system marked by the omnipresence of Marxist-Leninist ideology for over 75 years in its territory, the elaboration of a new national identity, intended to replace the former one, has become a major challenge which faces the independent state of Kyrgyzstan (Olivier Roy, 2000). Indeed, this “new” ideology in development, the manufacture of which has necessarily involved a network of scientists and cultural figures formed in the communist dogma, is far from the “science of ideas”, in the classic sense of term. In fact, for the State it was just in order to ensure its hold on power by touching a nationalist chord and providing its people with a new “ideological reference”, without philosophical dimension, to replace the cast aside communism.

Devoid of the political legitimacy of the former regime that mobilized the entire population under the monopolistic march towards the utopia of socialism, the Kyrgyz independent state, in its way, invented its own nationalistic ideology in a purely organic frame. Led by former members of Kyrgyz soviet nomenclature, the State has made a great stride in search of its own national identity. This process of looking for ethno-national authenticity is characterized by a return to cultural traditions of socio-cultural groups deemed essentially mono-ethnic in the Republic: culture, language, history, territory. Indeed, the Kyrgyz State, and the entirety of Central Asia, was established by the Soviet authorities in 1920-1930, which very arbitrarily assigned it a nationality, territory, language, literary corpus, culture and folklore. The nation-state, in today’s Kyrgyzstan, in its conception and implementation is a colonial legacy of the Russian Empire and Soviet domination that had imposed their political and administrative models. The Soviet policy has left its models that the Kyrgyz independent State tries to imitate to define national identity, with symbols and characteristic references (flag, anthem, arms, national language, etc.).

Indeed, it is a configuration of state nationalism that involves the manipulation of cultural facts by the elites in the government: in order to mobilize the masses; they select the symbols of identity and give them an ideological dimension. These emblems of the Kyrgyz independent Republic are represented by cultural references: the flag evokes the circle of the sun crossing the top of the yurt (traditional house of nomad people in Asia), while the arms represent the mountains and valleys as a large symbol of Kyrgyz territory. The State has not only the monopoly of legitimate violence, but also the human and financial resources which offer it ways to ensure its legitimacy by propagating the notion of national identity.

This national identity –in vogue today– is in fact a fictitious and mythical concept which appeared at the same time as the creation of the nation-state during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe, where major projects were launched with massive participation by intellectuals, artists and writers, a human creation consisting of identifying ancestors and imagining folklore and mass culture (Anne-Marie Thiesse, 1999).

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The process of national legitimacy, being elaborated by the Kyrgyz State today, corresponds perfectly to the creation of national identities in European countries during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The elites, pure products of communist dogma, follow the same scheme to cement and to legitimize the new regime. Using the danger of threat to their nation by enemies external (former Soviet regime or the West for some) and internal (some radical Islamic or political movements), they try today to restore a pre-colonial identity that has disappeared; they rewrite history going back far in time by inventing mythical historical founders and memorial sites.

The processes for the production of national identity are based on three main elements that structure the ideological construction: rewriting of national history, references to national heroes, and return to traditional and cultural values of Kyrgyz people. This ideology endures despite three regime changes since independence in the country.

Indeed, when the issue of national identity was imposed by Kyrgyz state, the first President, Askar Akayev, tried to lean on a purely ethnic concept. He referred then to a Kyrgyz epic, *Manas*, based on which he created "manasizm", a new class taught to students in the country. Considered a great founder and unifier of the Kyrgyz nation, Manas lends his name to the statues, places, songs, and even to a motto on the national currency. With regard to the content of the work, according to authorities, the central subject of the epic is the struggle for independence of Kyrgyz nomads against Chinese invaders under the domination of the Mongol dynasty. Born in the Altai Mountains, the main character, Manas, gathered all Kyrgyz nomadic "tribes" in order to build a strong army with which he planned to march on Beijing to confront its enemies. However, during a festive ceremony intended to discuss the project, a misunderstanding dispute took place between the nomadic "tribes", particularly between Manas and his uncle Kochko Khan, who went on to support the Chinese. Without realizing his goal of the reunification of the nomadic Kyrgyz, Manas was murdered by his own close circle. His son Semetey fled with his mother to Bukhara and later attained the reconquest of the land of Kyrgyz. He died also murdered, the result of the usual betrayal. Later, small Seytek, grandson of the family, finally managed to flee the enemy and gather the Kyrgyz nomads. There are no exact sources on the time of the epic: some evoke the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries; others, perhaps more credibly, think that it dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the Soviet area, literary works did not attach any importance to the epic, considered a simple oral ethnographic tradition of the Kyrgyz people. Its first edition was published in 1926. Only since independence has it proven to be a primordial support for the power that uses it to legitimize its national policy. In the process of searching for a national identity, it became the national symbol that, according to former President Askar Akayev, reflects the genetic codes of the Kyrgyz nation.

Akayev also estimated that Manas had existed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and even identified the year of his birth as 995. Thus, in order to celebrate its 1000th anniversary in 1995, he declared it the year of Manas in the country. All this was organized to manipulate and sensitize the population on the eve of the referendum. As part of these ceremonies, a museum about the history of the Kyrgyz people was built in a year in the Talas region, where Manas was held to be buried.

### Statue of Manas in Bishkek



Akayev even went so far as to define the seven principles of the Manas epic, which are 1) unity and mutual support, 2) inter-ethnic harmony, friendship and cooperation, 3) national honor and patriotism, 4) strength and knowledge for prosperity and well-being, 5) respect of ancestors and future generations, 6) harmony with nature, 7) strengthening the defense of the Kyrgyz state (David Gullette, 2009). These seven principles symbolize the base of the spirituality of the Kyrgyz nation, according to the former President, referring then to the mythical past. They are engraved on the statue of national hero. To quote his words in one of his books published in 2002, "Our national hero is related to the future of our next generation with its high moral and ethical values that are flesh and blood of the Kyrgyz. Heroism and nobility, two important characteristics of the Kyrgyz identity, were born in difficult conditions of our history, and have resisted for centuries." (Askar Akayev, 2002). These moral implications of the heroic figure, expressed through the term "spirituality", remain the primary concerns of the ancestors' return in the contemporary world. The former President Askar Akayev has used this theme with two new connotations. First the term "spirituality" offers a new version of moral values based on national and local concepts. This is a break with the Soviet concepts. Then this unbiased term means a secular system not only based on Islamic values, which give to Kyrgyzstan the image of a country respecting Western democratic values and civil society. Having become a national epic showing the so-called "history of Kyrgyz nation", Manas undertakes a reformulation of the real that involves a re-appropriation of time in imagination. Like any narrative imagination, it plays first fiddle in the state's policy to inculcate national sentiments in individuals.

If Manas became the father of Kyrgyz nation, the state did not fail to define a heroic mother in the person of Kurmanjan Datka (*Datka Kurmanjan kyzy* in Kyrgyz). Contrary to the "father of nation", in the

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case of the “mother”, she is indeed a historical figure that lived between 1811 and 1907 in southern Kyrgyzstan. Kurmanjan Datka was a woman also known as the “Queen of Alai”, a sovereign who fought against the feudal system of her day. In 1862, after the death of her husband she took over power and ruled the Alai region, then south of Kyrgyzstan and subordinate to the Khanate of Kokand and Bukhara, which recognized its autonomy. When the Alai region came under the rule of the Tsarist Empire in 1876, she established good relations with the settlers, estimating useless and futile any resistance. In 1906, she even received a visit from Baron Carl Emil Mannerheim (1867-1951), then colonel of the Russian Army, future Marshal and President of Finland who took her photograph. Today she has become a symbol of the true modern Kyrgyz woman, but one who is also devoted to her roots; her image decorates the motto of national currency (50 soms notes) and her statues shine on main places of the cities in the country. In 2004, a great statue was unveiled in her honour by former President Askar Akayev in the center of the capital, at the beginning of Erkindik Avenue (Freedom, in Kyrgyz).

Thus, in order to replace the great fallen figures of the communism, the state “restarted the machine” to make new national heroes, “memorable” liberators of the Kyrgyz people of the ancient golden ages. The authorities of Kyrgyzstan dash to build new commemorative monuments to establish a fictitious national memory. These “great heroes” are, above all, the imagined or represented symbols for the collective memory of the Kyrgyz nation, for which they serve as examples, in particular on how the population should behave in the name of patriotism. These monuments erected in short time to commemorate heroes such as Jusup Balasagyn, Togolok Moldo, Kasym and others decorate today the main squares of cities.

When the ethnic minorities expressed their discontent about the monopoly of the national ideology, the government of Askar Akayev promoted in 2004 another ideological concept called “Kyrgyzstan-our common home” (Кыргызстан - наш общий дом), that avoided somehow the mass exodus of ethnic minorities. If this “alternative ideology” has helped to strengthen and consolidate the different minority diasporas, it has not established a dialogue with the Uzbeks, the second largest minority in the country (over 15%) after the Kyrgyz population of origin. This minority considered itself sufficiently important at the numerical level to ask for an official status for the Uzbek language, and more than 30% of parliamentary seats for Members of Uzbek origin, an issue that has not been resolved.

In addition, to strengthen the construction of national ideology, already characterized by the popular imagination, the Kyrgyz state also launched the process of rewriting of the history of the Kyrgyz people. To do this, from the beginning of independence, a major project called “Adventure of historical research” was launched, to which were invited to participate, politically speaking, many history teachers of the country. The objective was to entangle historical references in order to give to the most distant past a label of authenticity and a legitimate greatness of the current state. Intellectuals of the country, submissive to this political ordering, privileged some periods, ignoring some and re-interpreting others in order to write a history to the glory of the nation. In this search for a mythical past before the modern historical period, they change the vocabulary and disparage the history of Soviet area in favor of founders and heroes who have given so much to the Kyrgyz nation. Though the nation-state has emerged in the region only by the political will of territorial delimitation on the part of Soviet authorities, they do this as if the concept had indeed existed in the pre-colonial period. This adjective is chosen deliberately because all national museums of Kyrgyzstan and those of other neighbouring countries cite the Empire and Soviets as

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colonizers. Research was launched in “Soviet” archives in order to offer new perspectives for the creation of new lessons of the “National history of Kyrgyzstan” in which references are really re-formatted. This program is taught in schools and universities of the country where pupils and students must pass tests on the specific history of their homeland to get marks and diplomas. To re-animate this imagined history, under the auspices of former President Akayev, the government inaugurated in 2003 a new Museum of History and Art for the 2200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kyrgyz nation.

It should also be mentioned that when Akayev’s successor, former President Bakiev, came to power, he tried to change the ideology of his predecessor. He proposed then a new ideological concept, purely ethnic, a national identity that would reflect the true history and ancestral past duly authenticated, of the Kyrgyz people. For this, he followed the same methods that Askar Akayev had used: he ordered researchers of the Academy of Sciences of Kyrgyzstan to write the best book possible on the nomadic Kyrgyz. However, his project did not bring the expected results despite the fact that funding had already been paid to some of them.

Likewise, in the name of national identity found again, the State tries also to format its citizens through a new religious belief that could unite all populations of Kyrgyz origin. In 2005, on the eve of presidential elections, Askar Akayev solicited a group of scientists of the country with at its head, Dastan Sarygulov, Secretary of State, future director of the “Association of Preserving the National Heritage Tengir Ordo”, to work on the elaboration of a new religion that would be specific to Kyrgyz people (Marlène Laruelle, 2006). They then recommended Tengrism (*tengrichilik* in Kyrgyz), a kind of religious belief that the population of Turkish origin in Central Asian region practiced before Islam, based on a politico-religious concept of “Heaven” (Tengri). The state even launched a campaign to popularize this belief of ancient ancestors which might have missed because of exogenous influences. A number of movements began to organize around associations such as Tengrism and Tengir Ordo that supported the return of this natural monotheistic religion. In a situation where the country was faced with the emergence of many Islamic movements supported by Turkey, Egypt, and Pakistan, the leaders of this group declared Islam a foreign belief to the Kyrgyz people. In the name of “cleansing” the country of all extrinsic influences (Islam, atheism, Westernization) they called the population through conferences and propaganda operations to join them massively. In collaboration with recognized historians, they published books on Tengrism. These historians, so-called “new theologians”, advocate Tengrism as a religion perfectly adequate to Kyrgyzstan today. According to their analyses, it represents the sky and ecology at the same time as it calls man to live in harmony with nature, one of the sacred principles of shamanism (another ancient belief that survived in the country). Furthermore, without clergy and sacred text, it is tolerant towards other religions living together in society. However, the attempts by the authorities to convert the population to a new national religion did not bring the desired result, and Sarygulov was dismissed by the President of the Republic. The movement has only a few thousand followers, composed by formerly atheist intellectual circles. The failure is due to the absence of regular rituals and theological principles. It seems difficult to promote this new “national religion” in the country where it competes with Islam and Christianity, which already include most of the population. The Kyrgyz people is, it would seem, less “convincible” than other neighboring peoples, the result of their late arrival in the region with the remnants of their shamanic practices (Daniel E. Harmon, 2005).

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Another important element in the construction of the national identity is a return to traditional and cultural values of the Kyrgyz people. Indeed, Kyrgyz society is mainly Muslim and Islam has shaped the worldview, lifestyle and traditions of the people. However, its practice is also marked by the influences of shamanism. Under the Soviet period, the policy tried to secularize family law, to establish co-education and to declare gender equality in the name of Soviet modernization. Yet traditional customs and values could be practiced and survived among the peoples of Central Asia, with their return to society after the collapse of USSR. Since the end of communism, Kyrgyz traditions are back, and supported by the authorities.

When people talk about traditions in Kyrgyz society, marriage always remains an important factor in this revival of national and traditional consciousness. Marriage is the symbol of the “beautiful traditions of Kyrgyzstan”, conceived as an obligation of parents to their children whom they must marry in taking charge of all the expenses of the wedding. Kyrgyz marriage has similarities in its content and form with that of neighboring societies in the region: Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. First observation in the Kyrgyz marriage is the practice of the tradition *Ala Kachuu* (to escape in Kyrgyz). Today it is usually practiced with the consent of the both families; formerly it was not always the rule.

Despite all the nuances and interpretations that can be given, this tradition dates back to the time of nomadic style life of the Kyrgyz, then characterized by patriarchal domination. According to many people I met during my investigation, *Ala Kachuu* has two contradictory explanations: positive and negative. Previously, when Kyrgyz people evolved with a nomadic way of life, the traditions formed their life style.

Another explanation: men stole women from other Uruq (tribes in Kyrgyz) to avoid incest, inbreeding, endogamy. That's why according to the customs marriage between members of the same Uruq was strictly forbidden in Kyrgyz society. This ban is still in effect today. For this reason, when Kyrgyz parents marry their children, they are seriously interested in the genealogy of the family of their future daughter-in-law. This concept is called “Sanjyra” (family line, in Kyrgyz) that each family needs to know and pass on to future generations; some even use a book on the genealogy of the ancestors. According to this notion of family line, the Kyrgyz are divided into three main groups of belonging: the right wing (ong kanat) in the north, the left wing (sol kanat) in the central region, and the interior wing (itchkilik) in the south of the country. This structure of society remains an important factor to explain the political and cultural divisions. In the popular representation, a Kyrgyz man must know the names of his seven grandfathers, or *Jeti Ata* (seven grandfathers in Kyrgyz), which never happens in reality. That's why it is common to ask in Kyrgyz society in a conversation if people know the name of their seven grandfathers. Someone who does not know his roots and origins is called *mankurt* in Kyrgyz society, the world of the great Kyrgyz writer Tchinguiz Aïtmatov. It is common enough today to hear that word, which is back in the national sense of the term in popular segments of the population rather than among intellectuals.

In regard to the methods of kidnapping the girl, they differ from one region to another. If in the past, people had used a horse, an animal that has always been highly appreciated by the Kyrgyz people, today, with modern means, young people do it with nice cars that they choose together. Once the strategy of “kidnapping” is done with the participation of parents, the future bridegroom chooses the appropriate time: after school, after work time or after a party with friends. The girl, often forcibly kidnapped, or willingly for some so as to escape parental disagreements, is sequestered in the house of the young man. And then, a group of women led by the mother forces the girl to wear the traditional scarf of marriage,

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often of white color, that generally every Kyrgyz mother prepares specifically for this greatly anticipated “happy day”. Called *Oromol* in Kyrgyz, the scarf is the final sign of the abdication and consent of the girl, obtained under pressure from other women. Once the scarf worn, older women explain to the bride all the superstitions and folk beliefs, handed down from generation to generation, by reminding her of her role in traditions and duty towards her ancestors. Because of the hierarchy between generations is very important in Kyrgyz society, where the agreement and the decision of older people prevail, that the young girl is forced to incorporate the usual remarks such as: “This is fate”, “We were kidnapped too like you”, “Think of the honour of your parents and of your family”, “You will not be happy if you refuse and be badly judged by society”. During my investigation, I met several women who had married according to this tradition, even under the Soviet period where the government forbade this practice, fundamentally contrary to the concept of gender equality.

Love often comes only after marriage according to popular representations in Kyrgyz society. But, if it is not the case, there is the solution of divorce, very marginal in a society where all pressures and curses always weigh on the woman. According to unofficial data of NGOs working on women’s rights in the country, over 43% of marriages today are based on this tradition. There are a large number of Western NGOs operating in the country and their activities are oriented towards the individual rights of women. But, their attempt to change the “Kyrgyz mentality” is futile. Their lessons on contraception, law, and gender equality in the West are not always welcomed by local people. In the name of unquestionable traditions, women become victims of Kyrgyz rituals that threaten them through social pressure in case of refusal.

According to some researchers in the region, reactivation and increasing of this tradition, especially in rural areas, can be explained in two ways: avoidance of paying too costly dowries and ceremonies, and the assertion of ethnic and identity references. Despite the laws theoretically prohibiting the practice of tradition in the name of gender equality such as polygamy still present in society, its application is ambiguous. It is usual to see cases where police officers are married according to this “honourable” custom.

Another interesting element of the question of traditions is the frequent use of the term “kyrgyztchylyq” (manners to observe in Kyrgyz). The *kyrgyztchylyq* has two connotations in the language: it means first the traditions only relative to Kyrgyz people, and at the same time, all that is contrary to the moral and human values in the ethnic sense of the term. For instance, phenomena such as corruption, nepotism and others are repeatedly have the negative sense mingling with customs such as kidnapping of the bride, submission to elders, social and family pressure, etc.

Indeed, this return to tradition from family to society is practiced too in other areas: cultural, musical and vestimentary. The national television channels broadcast series made in the national language, based on traditional values such as respect for elders, Kyrgyz wedding customs, solidarity, religion, etc. Singers and artists create music, played with traditional instruments, on themes glorifying the nation and respect for parents. Traditional dress, formerly seen as the symbol of a backward way of life, especially that of rural areas, is used today to enhance not only the ceremonies during the holidays, but also the daily life of many people in big cities. Young people attracted by the West, where some have had lived before freely, mix European fashion with traditional patterns in their dress style.

In summary, we find that the recent historical and political past of the Kyrgyz State has a significant impact on the propaganda of a new national ideology still under construction. Inherited from the communist regime, it employs the same methods of indoctrination practiced by the former Soviet power by monopolizing legitimate violence that submits the population to a new sentiment of national belonging. This national feeling, as we have seen, comes from the political elites formed under communist dogma. The monopoly of legitimate violence of these powerholders is characterized by control of the educational system and through the manipulation of popular beliefs that helps to strengthen the nationalist sentiment in society.

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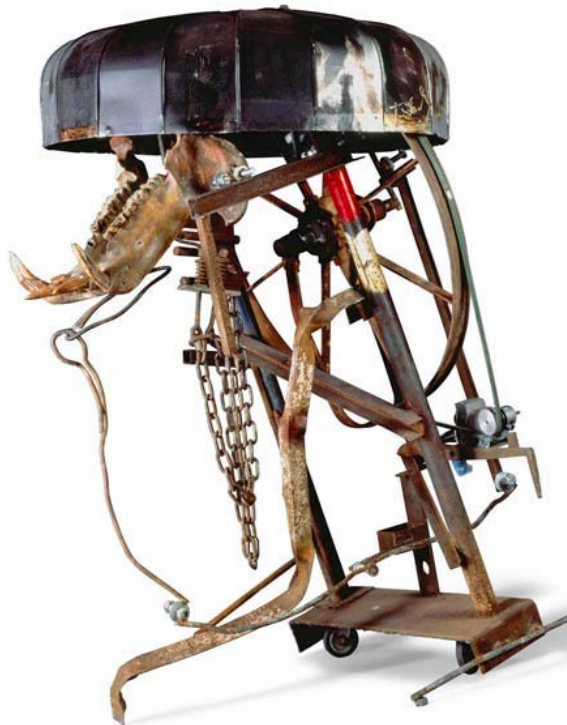
# *LITERATURE & ARTS*

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## MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

### Taming an Artwork

“Maybe, I could tame artworks”, I thought one day. “All I must do is to pick an artwork, sit in front of it and wait patiently. Maybe, I shall even sit there several times before we get to know each other...” The Gemeentemuseum of The Hague currently houses a retrospective exhibition on modern art<sup>1</sup>. It appeared to be an ideal target for my taming exercises. “Now, which work shall I choose?” I recalled several exhibits I especially loved. Then suddenly the image of an artwork entered my mind that I had found absolutely hazy and crazy during my previous visit. That was the work I had to start with:



*Jean Tinguely: Le Golem (1990). 176 x 107 x 140 cm steel, chains, wire, electric motor and skull of a hippopotamus (source: arttattler.com)*

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<sup>1</sup> The exhibition entitled: ‘Paris. City of Modern Art’ is on between 15 October 2011 and 29 January 2012. It presents famous masterpieces from Kandinsky, Brancusi, Picasso, Matisse, Miró, Giacometti, Léger, Braque and Delaunay; forty of which are on loan from the Parisian Centre Pompidou.

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My experiment held out the promise of success: a bench stood at comfortable distance from the artwork. I sat down in front of the monstrous being and waited. My attention was drawn to the skull, for it was the most familiar element for me in this composition. It is the lower jaw of a hippopotamus, with enormous tusks. The robust bone, at the place where the jaw muscles used to attach, was machine drilled and connected to the metal frame with an enormous grub screw. I sketched down how this screw would look in a man's jaw. Then I started studying, still from my sitting position, the way it was assembled. I saw the two small wheels, and the strong frame, and imagined the terrible noise this structure could make while slowly advancing. As it was obvious that the electric motor attached to its back and the belt drive served to move this creature. Contrarily to all ugliness, admittedly it was a nicely assembled, precisely welded structure.

Time passed, visitors walked up and down, they wondered what is to see on this piece... and I also wondered. I raised and made a round. As I looked at it from the back, I saw the skull and the enormous tusks protruding, as if from inside. Now I could really see the movement and, all of a sudden, I understood something. (Being condemned to stand still, *Le Golem* is really a piece to be viewed from each side, and not only from the front, as the present situation suggest.) I could see how terrible those tusks were: the four razor-sharp incisors at the middle, aiming straight forward, were like four pikes. The two upturned canines at the sides seemed to serve as shields, or even windshields.

What an enormous contradiction lies between the docile appearance of hippos and the actual aggression these animals bear in them! Their plump, bulky body which is balanced on short, stumpy legs, the twinkling of the relatively small eyes and their peaceful herbivore diet: all these signs easily delude the unguarded. But a single glance at this jaw is enough to convince us: hippos are dangerous animals.

I imagined that this particular piece of bone inspired the artist. He may have seen in it the inherent movement; this readiness to forge ahead, to fight. He took this bone and created a whole structure around it, bearing the same inner contradiction: *Le Golem* is indeed similar to a hippo. The hugger-mugger of the frame serves for clumsiness, the huge "lid" ensures an evenly docile looking and yet the jaw makes it menacing. The presumably inconvenient noise certainly adds to the effect: it could blare down our laughter easily.

My second sitting was not on the following day and not even at the same hour. This time the hall was packed with visitors. I tried to focus on the metal structure. My lack of mechanical knowledge got suddenly helped by a museum guide who explained that due to a swinging lever attached to the belt-driven wheel, the straight advancing of the sculpture was time by time interrupted by a sudden change of direction.

The strong contrast, the surprise or even shock is certainly an important element in Tinguely's work. Next to *Le Golem* we find a small object: "*Untitled*", from 1964; it consists of a small piece of paper in a metal clip which is attached to an electric motor. By pushing a button the visitor sets the clip in fast motion creating a loud and quite inconvenient noise, breaking the decent atmosphere in the exhibition hall. Tinguely was certainly a man of humor and imagination.



*La Fontaine Stravinsky, near the Centre Pompidou in Paris. Created in 1982-1983 by Jean Tinguely and his wife Niki de Saint Phalle, it is probably the most well known of Tinguely's works.*

The Swiss-born artist<sup>2</sup>, who moved to Paris in 1952, at the full-swing of the avant-garde movement, soon attained wide international recognition with his kinetic sculptures. His sculptures were made from recycled material. Some of his structures were self-destructing which detonated after being set in motion.

Tinguely's art is widely considered to be a critique on the overproduction of material goods by the consumer society. However, exceeding any social consideration, I believe his art talks about something much more fundamental. It talks about life that exists in motion. Tinguely was convinced that the essence of both life and art consists of continuous change, movement, and instability.

The Renaissance genius, Leonardo da Vinci also showed strong interest in assembling moving structures. He designed several automatic machines, such as a self-propelling cart, a mechanical lion and a mechanical knight. Leonardo's structures served well-defined practical purposes, though they were quite unpractical at their time. They had function, though they failed to function. Tinguely's works, on the contrary, function without having any function at all. For Leonardo, creation was a divine work and man's creations had to mirror the divine beauty and order that lies in the natural world. Tinguely did not

<sup>2</sup> Jean Tinguely (1925-1991) was a Swiss painter and sculptor, best known for his sculptural machines.

search for beauty outside his structures. In his appreciation the beauty was inherent in the machines: the functioning, the movement itself was beautiful. For him, machines were not just functioning tools, but moving, almost living creatures, which got alive when set in motion and “died” when exploded. Tinguely even introduced a kind of unpredictability (“free will”) by involving spectators in many of the events that he engineered; where the spectators were able to partially control or determine the movements of his machines.

*Afterword*

What we seek in artworks is the spirit. The spirit cannot be grasped intellectually such as ideas. Ideas have form, they can be described, almost touched, but the spirit only exists in motion, in the change itself; it can only happen. The artwork is a chest, which opens as if by itself, if we approach it the right way. It opens for a short instance and then closes again. But that short instance is enough to fill our soul with joy. And that joy is sometimes translated into ideas that we can share.



# *TRAVELOGUE*

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## OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála

### In the Wake of the Eastern Huns

#### Lessons from the Congress of Mongolists

I devoted almost the whole month of August in 2011 to Hunnic research. I wished to get informed of the results of the past five years of Hunnic research in Mongolia and China, and also what were people there thinking about our ancestors, the Huns. I found myself in a privileged situation to be able to take part in two important international conferences, where I would present my own new results on Huns and Hungarians.

I was invited to the 10<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Mongolists, which was held from 9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> of August, 2011 in Ulaanbaatar. I participated in the historical session, where I was able to witness many excellent presentations. The first speaker, the Indian professor Indra, analysed the ancient connections of the Mongolian and the Indian territories. She highlighted the fact that according to Mongolian chronicles of the Middle Ages Chinggis Khan's lineage originated from Indian royal dynasties. Who were they? The Kushans or the Scythians as the Mongolian White Chronicle tells us; according to it the Mongolian Khan stems from the same royal clan as the religion founder Buddha! Although some scholars question the truthfulness of the Mongolian chronicles, Indra and other scholars found evidence that support its claim; moreover she presented other ancient analogies between the regions. She referred to Bira's point of view, who dealt with the similarities of ancient teachings between Mongolian and North-Indian traditions, which have a common root: Scythians, who occupied and settled down in India in multiple waves.

The Japanese Koichi Matsuda presented a paper on the land ownership system in the Great Mongolian Empire (13-14<sup>th</sup> century). In that system the whole land belonged to the Great King or Khagan, but he awarded some portions to the members of Golden Clans (Altan urag)<sup>1</sup>. The awarded persons could retain 30% of the goods and the remaining 70% went to the state treasury. It is rather the same as the Hungarian system in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, though the Hungarian historians consider this as the first Christian King, St. Stephan's reform! After the presentation, I asked the professor whether that system was in place only among the Mongolians, or were there similar systems before that. Professor Matsuda replied that according to the chronicles of the Tang Dynasty, or Tang-shu that was in place during their reign. But he was not sure, where this system came from: China or the steppe. The Tang Dynasty had a strong steppe influence, and some scholars are of the opinion that they originated from Xianbei, a strong pre-Mongolian tribe alliance of the early Middle Ages. He was so surprised that in the Hungarian medieval state the same system existed. It is very likely, that the Hungarian St. Stephan (1000-1038) had not used foreign or "western" elements, when he reorganized the Hungarian administration system; rather he used the ancient Hunnic one. The next day it was my turn to present. My paper had the following topic: 'On some special objects of the steppe communication'. I presented the paper in English, and next to that I created a

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<sup>1</sup> Chinggis Khan's clan was called so.

summary in Mongolian, so both the foreign and Mongolian scholars understood it. In it I proved that the ancient communication devices originated from the Hunnish Empire and most of them survived in the Hungarian and Mongolian traditions. My presentation was met with great success, after the speech many scholars came to me and asked for my business card. I was even interviewed by at least three Mongolian journalists. It was a very successful congress, where international and Mongolian scholars evaluated and presented in a professional manner the rich Hunnic heritage.

During the congress, I met Ya. Ganbaatar, who is a renowned Hunnish scholar in Mongolia. He wrote an excellent book about the Huns, wherein he translated from poems and related material from Chinese sources. We share the same opinion on the origin and historical role of the Huns. He also stated that the Huns had a state before Maotun (Baatar) or 209 BC.

After the official part of the congress I visited the new Chinggis Khan monument and museum, in Tsonjin Boldog, which opened in 2010. It is 100 km from Ulaanbaatar. According to a legend, the great Khan lost his whip, which is the symbol of greatness. Whoever owns the great whip is able to rule over the world – explained the guide of the museum. I immediately thought of our great ancestor, Attila, who was named as “flagellum Dei” or God’s whip! I found other similarities between the two steppe heroes and statesmen, their death and funeral happened in a similar way!



*Chinggis Khan's statue and museum near Ulaanbaatar.*



*Chinggis Khan's giant whip. He ruled the bow-stretching people by that.*

### **Let us go to Inner-Mongolia!**

On August 17 I flew to Hohhot, the capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Province, China, where I consulted with the professionals of the Inner Mongolian University on some topics of Hunnic history. We have lots of similar topics, and all of them are connected to the Huns. They are our common ancestors, after all. I was able to visit the Inner Mongolian Museum, which – during my last visit in 2006 – moved to a new place. It is situated near the airport, where a modern six-storey building waits the visitors. For the first time we looked at the ancient creatures of the earth, the dinosaurs. Northern-China

or Inner Mongolia is one of the greatest sites in the world. Then we went upstairs, where we visited a temporary exhibition on Kublai Khan's period. I realized with great interest that many objects like great silver cups can be observed not only among Mongols of the Middle Ages; their origin can be traced back to Southern Huns or even earlier Hunnish periods. The cup was the symbol of masculinity among the steppe tribes; for the Mongols, a man, who has no cup, is not a real man! The Mongols portrayed the same mythical animals as the Huns and Hungarians; on the showcases one can see deer, falcons (turul or togril) and griffins. I observed several ancient cups, which could be sacrificial objects at Shamanic ceremonies. One can see such cups starting from the Scythian period up until the Mongolian one; they offered brandy to the Heavenly Sky (Mongkle Tengri) and to the ancestors' spirit.

On the showcases I discovered ancient belts with metal ornaments, which show parallels with the ancient Hungarian men's custom in the 10-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Mongolians wore such belts up until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Manchus occupied almost the whole territories of the Mongols and prohibited the wearing the ancient belts. The Mongolians returned to their traditional culture after the collapse of the socialist regime and now the belt with metal ornaments is again a living tradition among them. I was able to witness another important element of Eurasian art and its impact on Western civilisation: the so-called Ming-porcelain. During the late Middle Ages Western European markets required lots of special – blue and white – Chinese ceramic wares. It is not of Chinese origin; rather it was the creation of Mongolians, or Yuan, who developed special ornaments of Islamic style.



*Mongolians also wore belt with metal ornaments.*

When we completed the visit of the temporary exhibition of the Yuan-era, we travelled at least a thousand years back in time and we observed some ancient relics of the Huns and their allied tribes. It was possible to discover some nice potteries of the Xia Dynasty (2200-1700 BC). Although some scholars still insist that it was only a mythical dynasty, the exhibition proved that ancient Xia, probably a Hunnish kingdom, was a real one and flourished around the Yellow River, which is the cradle of ancient civilisations of Chinese and steppe tribes. On the showcases I observed a unique bronze cauldron, which had three legs. It is similar to the ancient Hungarian cooking ware, or "saucepan" (lábás). The object was used during the Shang Dynasty (1700-1045 BC) and shows similarities with later Hunnish cauldrons. I recalled explanations from Henri Maspero's Ancient China monograph, wherein the author stated that the ancient Chinese dynasties like the Xia, Shang and especially the Zhou copied the northern "barbaric" magnificence. The same had happened with the usage of the cauldrons. On the showcases I saw ancient bronze and iron deer; it remembered me of the ancient beliefs of the Scythians and Huns. Among the mythical animals I observed the falcon (Hungarian turul, Turkic togril) which can be seen on the Ordos Hunnish crown.



*People in the period of the Shang Dynasty used big cauldrons like this one. It reminds us of the Hun and Hungarian ones.*



*Shaman dress and stick.*



*Hungarians preserve the ancient tradition "regölés", which takes us back to ancient times.*

As my Shaman friend (the Mongolians do not use the foreign terminology of Shaman for their ancient intellectual leader, they use *udgan* for woman shaman), Hisgee explained, the leading ancestor followed his own tribe in the form of a falcon. In one room I discovered dresses and other accessories of the shamans. On their headdresses stood a deer horn, in the middle of it a bird watched our world. Next to the dress I observed a stick, which reminded me of the Hungarian folk stick (*regös bot*); it is still in practice during some feasts. The parallel of this stick can be seen among Manchurian Daur shamans, who used this device during the ancient ceremonies. I also saw special Daur houses with thatch. I wondered, whether the similarity with Hungarian houses is accidental? I asked Bayartu, who is a professional Mongolian folklore expert who spent one year in Hungary. According to him most objects of the traditional Northern-Chinese material culture are similar to the old Hungarian ones. Is it possible that such houses were first built by Huns? As I left the Daur houses I was surprised again. Among the South-western Chinese national costumes I discovered one interesting one: one woman wore a headdress, which was similar to our *Matyó* in Northern Hungary! The similarity was simply shocking! I started to contemplate where this similarity comes from. The territory did not belong to the Chinese; rather it was a land, where several steppe tribes moved and settled down from time to time. We know from a couple of sources dating from the period of the Han Dynasty, that some Southern Hun tribes moved southward

and settled down in Yunnan and they left remarkable archaeological remains. When the Mongolian Kublai Khan invaded China, he attached Yunnan to the Yuan Empire and some Mongolian tribes moved southward again. Hence, it is possible, that the woman headdress of the Bai ethnic group of Yunnan belongs to the heritage of the Huns.



*Traditional dress of Mongolian minorities in Yunnan Province (South-Western China).*



*Head dress of Hungarian Matyó women, rather unknown for scholars.*

*It might be connected with Yunnan, probably indirectly, through Huns.*

Among ceremonial wares of the early Shang Dynasty the most interesting one was a vessel with four legs and a dragon at the ear. Sergulent, a PhD student of the Inner Mongolian University explained that it was used as a ceremonial vessel, wherein the participants of the assembly cleaned their hands with water. I suppose it was a ritual ablution ceremony. The object reminded me of one vessel, the bull-headed vessel among the Nagyszentmiklós treasures. The shape was rather the same and the function could be the same too. Because they made it of gold and decorated it with royal symbols of the steppe tribes, we assume, it belonged to a collection of an aristocrat probably of Hunnish descent, however, the precise origin of this collection is disputed among scholars.



*Ceremonial vessel from the Shang period (1700-1045 BC). High dignitaries washed their hands before they entered the assembly hall.*



*An amazing treasure from Nagyszentmiklós, connected to Huns or their close descendants. Its function is unknown to scholars.*

After the five hour long visit in the Inner Mongolian Museum, we drove to another famous place, in outskirts of Hohhot: to Zhao Jun's symbolic tomb, wherein a Hunnish Museum was opened in 2006. Zhao Jun, was a famous woman in the early historical period. She came from the non-Chinese Qiang tribe and became Huhanye Shanyu's chief-wife around 33 BC. She lived during the remaining part of her life at the court of Huns, where she enjoyed freedom and great respect. She is the one of the four beauties in Chinese tradition. The museum aims to represent the historical schedule of the Huns from Inner Asia to Europe and the showcases refer to our great hero, Attila, who delivered a determinant blow to the Roman Empire. We were on hurry, because we were invited by Hunnish experts to dinner. I became acquainted with famous film director and producer Chagdarsuren, who composed many great films on Mongolian history and folklore. Currently he is making a film on Huns in Europe and Asia. He promised to take us to Ordos and show his own birthplace, Uushin County. It is very near to the amazing ruin-city Tongwancheng! As he explained, Chagan Balgasun<sup>2</sup> was part of Uushin County, but the Mongolian governor of this region gave that place to Shaanxi province, because the rising number of Chinese peasants almost occupied the pastures of the Mongols. It was a significant place, where the ancient Hunnish civilisation is preserved by Mongols.

### **Huur, an ancient string musical instrument**

The origin of the Hungarian word "húr" can be traced back to Inner Asia, to Huns, who established a huge empire in ancient time. When I visited a wonderful local museum in Uushin County, I learnt something new about the ancient musical instrument of Huns and Mongolians. Here is a sensational collection of string instruments. As Haschogtu, the director of the museum explained, the ancient Chinese

<sup>2</sup> The Mongols of Ordos never speak about the above mentioned foreign name; they know only the Mongolian expression.

chronicle, Han-Shu recorded the ancient instrument of Huns, which was the 'er hu' or two strings, which was similar to present day morin-huur, or horse headed instrument. The later famous Mongolian instrument is part of the UNESCO Intellectual World Heritage. It has a long history dating from the Huns. Huur is not only a Hunnish and Hungarian, but a Mongolian word as well. Inside the showcases I discovered the prototype of this instrument: our ancestors took a shanag or a cup (Hungarian chanak) and pulled two strings above it.



*Prototype of Hunnic string instrument or huur.*

### **In the wake of Chinggis Khan's cult**

Sometimes we need to travel far in order to discover our own values. The journey to Ordos fitted well my overall travel, where I observed the Mongolian version of the preserved ancient Hunnish culture. Our ancestors did the same, but their method was a little bit different. When I visited Chinggis Khan's mausoleum, the darhats, who settled down there to preserve the great Khan's cult, took me around the territory and showed me several special objects of the Great Khan; I realised then that almost the same method is practised among Hungarians, mainly Seklers (Székely or Siculus in Latin sources). One parallel is the cult of the Khan's cup. The cup is the most significant symbol of the steppe leader, as I mentioned before. Not only in this mausoleum, but also among Seklers existed a special cup for sacrificial ceremonies; it is well documented with drawings in Balázs Orbán's monograph 'Description of Seklerland'. It is interesting to know how Chinggis Khan's cult began. Does it really have any parallels with Seklers' custom? After the first great Mongolian Khan died in Ordos, during the Tangut<sup>3</sup> War, one of his closest friends, Boorchu took an oath to preserve his Khan's heritage. He moved and settled down with 500 darhats in Ordos, and established a cultic centre of the Great Khan. The so-called "eight yurts" became the spiritual centre of Mongols, where the later khans came and prayed in front of their ancestors. What do we read about Seklers in the Hungarian chronicles? After the bloody battle of Nedao, 15,000 Seklers gathered on Chigla's field and decided to move to Transylvania. According to the

<sup>3</sup> They were descendants of Huns in Ordos.

Hungarian chronicles they migrated there because they feared the Western peoples. The territory was free from any foreign occupation. They settled down around Budvár and surrounding places; it was the main sacrificial place until the Middle Ages. Under the leadership of rabonban, or the chief of Seklers, they preserved the ancient Hunnish heritage there. When they heard about Árpád, and that the descendants of Attila entered the Carpathian Basin they went to meet them and joined forces with them in order to reunite the Carpathian Basin for the Hunnish tribes.



*Sacrificial cup of Mongolians.*



*Seklers used a similar type of sacrificial cup. Several chronicles state that it was a heritage of Huns.*

### **Hungarian Grey Cattle in Ordos?**

Hungarian scholars have no common theory on the origin of the great treasure of the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld), Hungarian Grey Cattle. If somebody visits the ancient centres of the Huns is able to get an answer to this highly debated question. According to evidences in Ordos, such a big grey cattle like ours lived in present-day Northern-China. According to one theory it was brought to Hungary by the Cumans only in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to another it is of an aboriginal kind, because they discovered a rather small one in Ukraine.

In reality, around the bend of the Yellow River, in some parts of Ordos we have found three traces that may help identify the origins of the Hungarian Grey Cattle. The first one can be found in the Museum of Darhats, next to Chinggis Khan's mausoleum. On the first floor a big horn was presented on the table. I could hardly believe my eyes; it reminded me of our Grey Cattle! Fortunately, Uchiraltu, who has seen our Grey Cattles in Hungary, supported my theory. Hence, I wanted to know more about that animal. The Darhats told me that their animal died out in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Later, when we visited the

Uushin Museum, I discovered the photo of this magnificent animal, which was indeed similar to ours. Its name was “usan ükür” (water bull). The third trace was the greatest one. Returning to Hohhot, we visited the Ordos Museum in Ordos city (Chinese name is Dongsheng) where ancient findings from the Bronze Age can be seen. On one bronze plaque I observed a big horned bull. The Chinese “experts” wanted to identify it with water buffalo, but the horns were different, so I thought, it could be our grey cattle. If it is true, it means, our favourite animal lived already in the Bronze Age in the heartland of the Huns! Hence, this national treasure belongs to our ancestors.



*Horn of grey cattle inside the museum of Darkhats.*



*Last image of grey cattle in the Uushin County Museum.*



*Hungarian grey cattle.*

### Da Xia Museum

We spent a whole day in the centre of Uushin County, where I discovered lots of Hunnic treasures. The next morning we waked up early in order to drive to Chagan Balgasun. On the way we stopped at Batin tolgoi (Bat's head) in order to visit the Da Xia Hun Cultural Museum. At the southern border of Inner Mongolia we have found the museum, which was opened last autumn. It is the second special Hun museum on Mongolian territory. One can see a quite small, but interesting collection, the only problem is the lack of explanation in any foreign language; everything is only in Chinese. On the centre of the institution we can see the model of Chagan Balgasun; it presents how the ancient Hunnish city look liked in the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. It seems like a real metropolis. One should keep in mind that at this time the Western Roman Empire was collapsing, with most of its inhabitants moving and settling down in villages. On the showcases we can read – if mastering Chinese or traveling with Mongolians, who can translate it – the role of Huns in the world history, the lineage of Hunnish clans, etc. When Uchiraltu explained the leading clans, he mentioned Xubu. To my question, whether he has a relationship with Huba, the name of the Hungarian leader, his answer was affirmative. Later I watched Uchiraltu's etymologies on some Hunnish words and titles. The museum represented two special horses. One was found in Gansu Province along the Yellow River's bend, which was the other centre of the Huns. The name of this horse is "Heavenly Horse" (tian ma), which is the symbol of Chinese Tourism today. Huns had professional breeders for special kind of horses, which were able to run 10 thousand li's. Other amazing creature is a horse from Chagan Balgasun; it can be seen in Xian inside the Stele Forest Museum.



*The recently opened museum for Hunnic heritage.*



*The heavenly horse belonged to Huns of ancient times.*

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### Nestorians in Ordos

An early Christian sect, the Nestorians, gradually moved eastwards to preach Jesus' teachings and appeared in Central Asia in the course of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to the activities of their missionaries some steppe empires, e.g. Turkic, Uighur and later Mongolians supported them and built amazing temples and monasteries in the steppe. Several ruins were identified in Inner Mongolia, Ulanab County, but in the 1930s we got sensational news from Ordos. Antoine Mostaert, a Wallon evangelist spent a few years in Ordos, and published an article about the remnants of Nestorians in Ordos. He stated that in some territories, *erkeüts*, the remnants of Medieval Christianity survived centuries and lived there. He got information from Garma Basar, who told him of special ceremonies of the Nestorians. Unfortunately, during the past eight decades nobody has heard about them.

I wanted to know more about them, but I was not able to find any traces before, despite asking my Mongolian friends many times. This summer, however, I have received new information about them. For the first time Nachug, one leader of the Darhats, showed us one ancient stamp, supposedly it belonged to Kereits, who were converted by Nestorian missionaries in the Mongolian steppe. Some scholars kept them as amulet or necklace, but the button contains two other symbols — Sun and Moon together — confirming being a stamp. It would be important to research Kereits from a Hungarian point of view, because their name shows similarities with the Hungarian *keer* (*kér*). According to Uchiraltu's research, they were a Hunnish tribe of Ordos; the Chinese chronicles recorded them as *helian*. The most prominent person was Helian Bobo, the builder of Chagan Balgasun. But let us return to Nestorians!

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Mostaert thought that the *Erkeüts* were the descendants of *Onguts*, another Hunnish tribe northward of the Yellow River. He based his theory on Pelliot's point of view. But I have found that they lived among Kereits of Ordos. In Uushin County I was told something special relating to them. In one evening I was invited to a party, where I met Erhsechen, the Tugchin of Ligden Khan's flag. He recounted their ancient tradition. He explained that Uushin territory was populated by Kereits, but among them some *Erkeüt* groups lived in the same place. I could hardly believe what I heard and asked him: who are the *Erkeüts*? He answered me that they are the remnants of Nestorians, who kept their ancient Christian faith up until now. He told me also that inside their sacrificial centre some ancient Christian objects are kept. As Tugchin told me they preserved their ancient faith until 1586, when the Mongolian Khans ordered that everybody had to convert to Buddhism. Nevertheless, in the past four centuries they were able to preserve some ancient Christian tradition. According to Erhsechen, those Christians, who were converted by Mostaert, also exist in the neighbouring county, Otog.

Among the Kereits, the Nestorian faith was strong. I wondered why they insisted on a foreign religion. The answer is related to the ancient *ongon* cult of steppe tribes, such as Mongols, who pay attention to every cult, which relates to a sacred person. Hence, those *Erkeüts*, who practise this ancient Nestorian faith, preserve that in the memory of their great queen. Because a Nestorian Kereit princess, *Sorkhakhtani-beki* was married with Toluy, Chinggis Khan's youngest son, and she became mother of three great khans in the Mongolian Empire (Kublai, Mongke and Hulegu), her cult was practiced in vast territories of the Mongolian tribes. She is named as *Eshi-Khatun* or Ancestor Queen, and got a yurt inside Chinggis' mausoleum, where common and aristocrat women pray for fertility and health. As Uchiraltu told me, there another Nestorian temple ruin stood in *Shilin-gol*, *Shuluun tsagaan*, where Mongolians prayed for the great queen.

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*Erkhsechen, tugchin of Tsagaan sum.*



*Nestorian seal from the Middle Ages.  
It may be connected with Kereits.*

### **Huns in Ulaanbaatar**

After the few days visit to Inner Mongolia, I had to return to Mongolia, because I faced a great event: between 26 and 29 of August the Mongolian Academy of Sciences' Institute of History organised an international conference entitled 'International Conference of Xiongnu and Research of Ancient Mongolian State.' About 70 scholars from eight countries represented the Huns. I was the only researcher from Hungary, the former centre of the European Hun Empire. That is why I was elected section chairman.

The official event began in the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, when Yo. Otgonbaatar, the Cultural Minister of Mongolia opened the Hunnish exhibition in the Mongolian National Museum. It was a fantastic collection of recent archaeological excavations in Mongolia. First of all, we wondered several ancient carpets of Huns from Noin uul burials. The men had not belonged to the Mongolian "race" but the faces showed similarities with Central-Asian Scythians. I discovered such a horseman, which appeared to be King Azes, the king of Kushans in Northern-India; he was the famous king, who had the sacred whip! Later I observed some special Parthian or Sarmatian heads; the later ones had deformed skulls. I also found tendril ornament from Takhlit hotgor (Western Mongolia's Hovd Province), which amazed me. It was very similar to the ancient Caucasian ornaments and popular ornaments in early Hungarian Christian temples.

The next days were devoted to the conference, where we had chance to listen to interesting papers on several topics – history, archaeology, ethnography, religion, etc. On the plenary section the greatest Mongolian experts presented papers, where they showed evidences on the Hunnish-Mongolian connection. The academic J. Boldbaatar, for instance, presented one document from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, where Chinggis Khan mentioned his own ancestor, the shanyu of the Huns.

It is almost impossible to recount every paper and discussion of this extremely important and interesting conference. I can only name a few: The Russian historian Nikolay Kradin examined the

underlying reasons of the demise of the great nomad empires. Üchler Bulduk from Turkey highlighted the fact that the peoples of the empires of the steppe cannot be separated based on modern western ethnic criteria. Ya. Ganbaatar of Mongolia highlighted that a highly developed Hunnic state existed well before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, based on Chinese chronicles.



*A nice ornament from a Hunnic cemetery, Takhilt khotgor (Western-Mongolia, Hovd Province).*



*Hungarian parallel of Hunnic ornaments.*

In the archaeological section most of the Russian, Mongolian and South-Korean scholars presented the results of the Noyon Uul excavations. The examination of the anthropological finds was also given enough time and attention.

Last but not least, for the Hungarians the most important result of the conference was that it was established that the Hungarians are direct descendants of the Huns. According to the researchers of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences' Institute of History, the Hungarian historical chronicles are a valuable source in solving many issues relating to the history of Huns. The traditions, names preserved by Hungarians are generating lively interest among the Mongolian, Russian and Turkish researchers. In the near future many of them will visit Hungary in order to research the Hunnish finds, traditions on the spot. Several Mongolian film makers expressed their intent to make films on the living Hunnic traditions in Europe.



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## TAPON, Francis

### Belarus — Europe's Last Communist Country

I searched for a cultural event around Oktyabrskaya Square. Eastern European cultural events are a bargain. In 1999, for example, I saw a ballet in the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow for \$9 and one in Ukraine's best theater for \$6. Unfortunately, such events are 10 times more expensive today, but if you go to smaller cities, you can still find deals. Therefore, I was excited when my guidebook mentioned that, "Minsk has quite a lively cultural life." However, when I visited in the July 2004, I discovered that the circus was closed until August, the ballet was closed until September, dance performances were suspended until November, and the Philharmonic Hall was undergoing reconstruction. In short, this city of two million (22 percent of Belarus's population) had nothing going on.

One Russian said that the reason Minsk is quiet during the summer months is that most people go to the countryside. Fine, let's see what's so great about the countryside. For the next two days, I communicated with grumpy bus drivers in order to visit three towns in the countryside: Dudutki, Mir, and Njasvizh. These small towns were nice, each one showing off a few dilapidated 500-year-old buildings. The sixteenth-century Mir Castle, a UNESCO site, was memorable. Located 85 kilometers from Minsk, the red brick castle has a stone spiral staircase that lets you explore the floors and the archaeological museum. On the other hand, if you never see these places, you're not missing much. Moreover, I didn't see the hordes of Belarusians who supposedly had escaped from the culturally dead Minsk.

This wasn't the first time Minsk was nearly dead. Like Lithuania's Kaunas, Minsk has come back from the dead several times since it was born in 1067. Several fires burned Minsk to the ground throughout the centuries, Crimean Tatars sacked it in 1505, Napoleon ruined it in 1812, the Germans pounded it in 1918, and then the Poles came in to finish the job in 1919–20. Still, it was WWII that delivered Minsk's most brutal spanking: the city was leveled and half of its population perished, including nearly all of its 50,000 Jews. With this dismal history, how do real estate agents convince anyone to buy a home in Minsk?

#### The Great Patriotic War

Imagine if the US fought a war where a third of Americans died. That puts into perspective the importance of WWII for Belarus. Perhaps that's why Russians don't call it WWII, but rather The Great Patriotic War. For the Soviets it was symbolically equal to (Pearl Harbor + September 11) x 100.

When you enter the Museum for the Great Patriotic War, they ought to give you a barf bag—it's that graphic. There are photos of people (including women and children) getting hung and shot. Mutilated bodies are everywhere. It's gruesome to see photos of soldiers with blown-off heads, body parts strewn about, and close-ups of young dead faces. On the other hand, everyone should see such horrors. If more people saw just how ugly war is, we might think twice before getting involved in one.

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Later in my trip, I would visit the border town of Brest, which has the best Soviet WWII memorial in the world. The Brest Fortress defends the confluence of the Buh and Mukhavets Rivers. For one cruel month in 1941, Soviet soldiers fought to the death against the Nazis. The relentless German siege consumed Soviet supplies and energy. Although the Soviets lost that battle, it cost the Germans dearly. In honor of those who fought so valiantly, a gigantic soldier's head, carved from a single rock, dominates the center of the memorial. The sculpture's name is *Valor*. Next to it, an obelisk pierces the sky, an enormous eternal flame burns, and violin-filled music that sounds like "Adagio for Strings" plays in the background. If this memorial doesn't move you, none will.

WWII was a big deal throughout Eastern Europe because they bore the brunt of the war's devastation. They had most of the concentration camps. They had to deal with the Nazis storming in, the Soviets pushing them back out, and then overstaying their welcome. They saw their Jewish population vanish. In some cities, Jews were up to 75 percent of the population. (One reason for this was that during the 1800s Russians forced its Jews to settle in Belarus.) Today, thanks to Hitler, Jews are only 0.3 percent of the population. WWII not only annihilated the Jews, it also killed 2.5 million Belarusians.

So many Belarusians died that they're still unearthing the bodies. In 1988, for example, an archaeologist digging near Minsk made a mysterious and gruesome discovery. He dusted off a 50-year-old human skull. Within minutes, he found another, then another. Eventually he estimated that the mass grave in Kurapaty contained the remains of over 200,000 corpses. It ended up being the third largest concentration camp in WWII. This should give you an idea of just how many people died in Belarus, when you realize that someone could sweep that many human remains under the carpet, right outside of Minsk, and nobody discovered it until 44 years later!

These Belarusians had been executed between 1937 and 1941. The question remained: who done it? The two usual suspects were rounded up: the Soviets and the Nazis. Belarusian nationalists concluded that the Soviets were to blame. They believed that the USSR was trying to wipe out Belarus's culture and language. As Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev once said, "The sooner we all start speaking Russian, the faster we shall build communism." On the other hand, the Nazis had this thing for killing lots of people and making mass graves. Most objective historians conclude Stalin's regime is to blame.

### **What if the US suffered like Belarus did in WWII?**

To understand how Belarus was nearly obliterated in WWII, try to digest these numbers. The fighting destroyed half of its economic resources, 72 percent of its cities, and 85 percent of its industry. Minsk looked like Hiroshima after the atomic bomb. Nearly a third of the country died—many were executed in over 200 concentration camps.

Let's compare what Belarus sustained in WWII with what America suffered in its deadliest war: the American Civil War. In our conflict, most our resources and infrastructure were untouched. Approximately 625,000 Americans died, which was about *two percent* of our prewar 1860 population. Compare that to *33 percent* of Belarus's population dying in WWII.

Let's imagine that what happened to Belarus in WWII happened to America. Imagine 100 million Americans dead—that every third person you know is dead. Imagine most of our industry in Michigan,

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Ohio, Illinois, and Silicon Valley obliterated. Imagine nearly three-fourths of our cities in ruin, including New York, Chicago, Miami, Los Angeles, Dallas, San Francisco, Seattle, and Atlanta. Imagine half of our farmland and forests burned, most of our lakes and rivers contaminated, and 85 percent of our schools and universities destroyed. Imagine Washington, DC completely flattened: the Washington Monument toppled, the US Capitol building without a stone standing, the Lincoln Memorial a pile of rubble, and the White House a charred and burning mess.

Now try to imagine what kind of psychological trauma that would have on the generation that had to rebuild. And then imagine trying to rebuild with the oppressive, totalitarian government with Stalin breathing down your neck. Perhaps only now you can begin to imagine the incredible hardiness of the Belarusian people. They've put up with a lot of shit.

*If you are going through hell, keep going. — Winston Churchill*

\* \* \*

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.

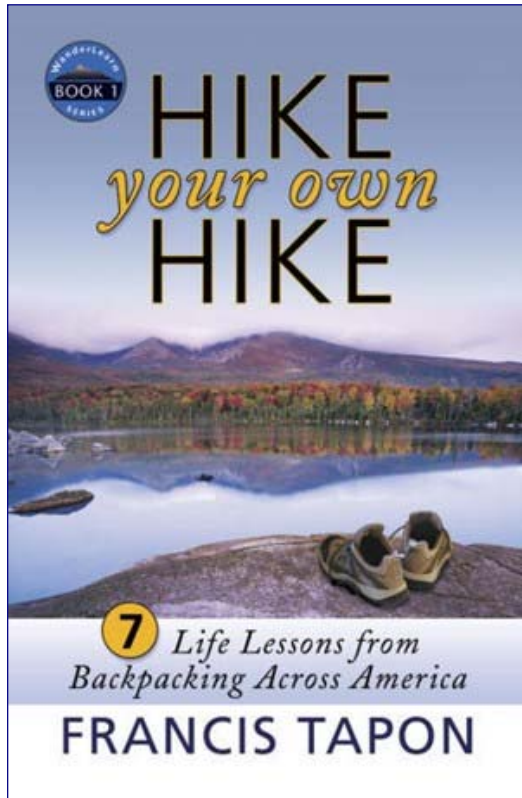
In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip 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, was published as ebook on December 12, 2011, and will be published as hardcover on March 4, 2012.**

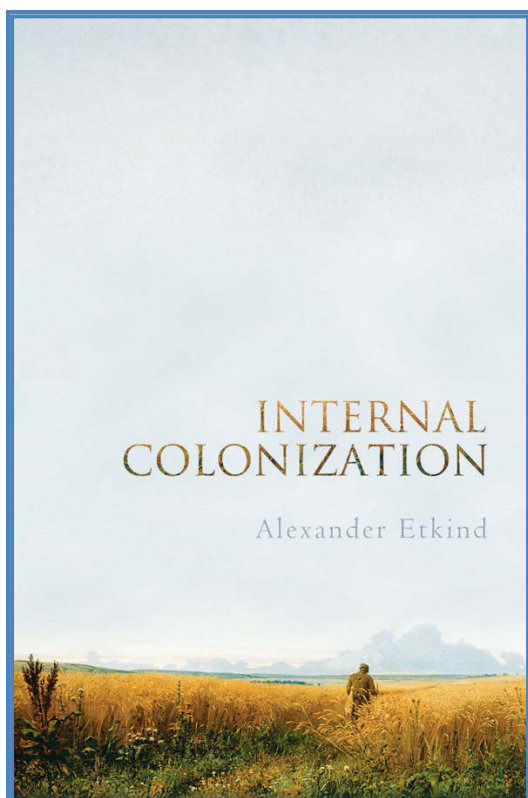
In 2012-2015, he plans to visit every country in Africa and write a book about that in 2016. His goal is to wander to all 193 countries of the world, see what we can learn from them, and share it with everyone.

Francis' website is <http://FrancisTapon.com>



# *BOOK REVIEW*

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**FARKAS, Flórián****Russia's Internal Colonization****Author:** Alexander Etkind**Title:** Internal Colonization

— Russia's Imperial Experience —

**Publisher:** Polity Press**Year of publishing:** 2011**Language:** English**Number of pages:** 264**ISBN-13:** 9780745651293**ISBN-13:** 9780745651309 (pb)<http://www.politybooks.com/>

The 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian poet, Fyodor Ivanovich Tyutchev, said that Russia could not be 'measured with a standard yardstick'. How right he was! Russia, which in one form or another existed for more than a thousand years, is an entity with an impressive staying power, being history's great survivor. The current Russian Federation is still the largest country in the world, spreading over two continents, eleven time zones, with a wide variety of climatic and geographic conditions. On top of this, it holds a significant portion of the world's natural resource riches. Today Russia is one of Eurasia's most formidable powers and contrary to the wishful thinking of some it will remain so in the foreseeable future.

Despite this, the image and nature of Russia is in the eye of the general public clouded by illusions and is based on ignorance. In the light of this it is a pleasant surprise the publication of such a valuable piece of work like '*INTERNAL COLONIZATION — Russia's Imperial Experience*' by Alexander Etkind.

The author of this volume of collected essays, who is Reader in Russian Literature and Cultural History at the University of Cambridge, takes the reader to a fascinating journey through Russian history

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combining literary and historiographical vehicles. The diverse essays of the volume were previously presented at international seminars all over the world and they are linked through a common thread: internal colonization. The idea of internal colonization, which is not new in Russian cultural thinking, has its roots in the nature of the Russian Empire. This cosmopolitan empire was engaged in the colonization of foreign lands and at the same time in colonization of its heartlands.

In the introduction and the first essays the author provides the analytical framework, which is used throughout the volume; especially Edward Said's monumental work on orientalism is revisited and taken under critical loop concerning Russia. Then in the consecutive essays fascinating topics are revealed and presented in new light like the role of the fur trade in extending the borders of the empire, the Russian discourse on internal colonization, the special role of foreign colonies inside Russia, the history of internal colonisation's institutions like serfdom and peasant communes, the effort of revolutionary leaders to form an alliance with the exotic sectarians, and many-many more.

Throughout the book we are also taken into the world of literary masterpieces signed by timeless classical writers such as Gogol, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Defoe, Kipling, Conrad and many others. Masterpieces such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Nose*, *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*, *The Hero of Our Time*, *The Enchanted Pilgrim*, *Heart of Darkness*, *The Captain's Daughter*, *The Idiot*, etc. will be (re-)read in a different way after going through this volume. Nothing proves better the political force of culture in general and literature in particular than these literary excursions into the masterpieces mentioned above.

Alexander Etkind wrote and compiled this volume of essays on Russian culture with great erudition. This makes the reading of the volume not only very useful but also very enjoyable. Claiming this volume a *tour de force* is absolutely not an overstatement. It is safe to consider it as one of the best books of 2011 in its category and it will definitely have an impact on Russian studies for many years to come.



# *IN MEMORIAM*

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**OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála****Remembering József Thúry  
(1861-1906)**

150 years ago, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 1861 a great Hungarian Turkologist and historian, József Thúry was born in Makad, Pest County, Hungary. He was a talented pupil; hence his parents intended to find a good school for him. After completing his elementary school, he was enrolled in a secondary school in Kunszentmiklós, and then he moved to Pest for academic studies. He was an excellent pupil and he decided to study Hungarian history and Turkish culture and linguistics, because his interest turned towards the Turkish world from his childhood. At university he studied Persian, Turkish and Central-Asian Turkic literature and languages. He was able to compose such an excellent paper on the Central-Asian Chagatai language that he won a prize.

Ármin Vámbéry, the well-known Turkologist all over the world, spotted his talent and subsequently supported him. They read together Old Turkic manuscripts. After graduation, Thúry was elected Turkish teacher for the Commercial Academy in Budapest, where he taught Turkish language for four years.

In 1884 he visited Turkey, where he travelled to the Asian part and investigated old Osmanic monuments and special dialects. Returning home he did not get a suitable job, therefore he taught in several schools. He supported Vámbéry's point of view in the Turkic-Ugric war, therefore Thúry was not a favourite Turkologist for Budenz and Hunfalvy. Thúry expressed his view that Vámbéry was a great scholar because he insisted on facts, while Budenz had an aggressive theory which was not based on evidence supported by data. He never gave up his idea on Turkic-Hungarian relations; moreover he wrote countless papers on the ancient connections. At least in the autumn of 1887 he got a job in the secondary school of Nagykőrös, where he spent one year. The next year Áron Szilády invited him to Kiskunhalas, where they he was able to develop Turkology. Szilády was a prominent scholar of that time.

*Vámbéry's best student*

Thúry was an excellent scholar; from the earliest time he was able to systematize several topics and he wrote quality papers. He regularly published essays on battles of Osman-age. As mentioned above, he expressed openly his point of view on the Turkic-Ugric war, against the influential Hapsburg agents (Toldy and Hunfalvy) who were able to replace the age old historical heritage of the Scythians and Huns with the so called Ugric people.

Thúry's bravery saved his master, Vámbéry, from academic attacks and he emphasized in his every paper that the Finno-Ugric theory had no any evidence whatsoever. In order to prove the Turkic relation he began to write a comparative Turkic-Hungarian vocabulary; it was so grandiose that even Hunfalvy

himself openly glorified the work and supposedly wished to print it, although it contradicted the Finno-Ugric theory. Unfortunately this great work is still manuscript up until now.

After the great linguistic debate, Thúry began to translate Turkish historical sources, which dealt with Hungarians. The Academic Committee accepted this idea in 1891 and he did a great work. Two volumes were printed, which collected Osman history during the 14-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is the oldest source to Osman history in Hungary.

*On Hungarian ethno genesis*

During the Millenary Anniversary (1896), his interest turned to Hungarian pre-history. Probably he discovered significant sources among the Turkish material, and he identified new data on Hungarians' early history. As he typified his work — it was based only on sources and data. He published his paper on ancient Hungarian history in 1896 entitled "Origin, ancient place and wanderings of Hungarians", wherein he showed evidences of the Hunnic-Hungarian relationship. His methods would be applicable for historians even today. He stated that we must rely on the closest — in time and place — historical sources, because they are the most authentic ones. In case of the Hungarians we must rely on sources around the Caucasus in the 5-8<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The second amazing paper was about Savard-Hungarians, who remained in Transcaucasia. He was the first scholar, who dealt with this rare, unknown topic. He wrote that Savirs broke from Hungarians and settled down somewhere in the Caucasus. Thúry — based on Muslim sources — identified them in present day Eastern-Armenia and Western-Azerbaijan. He followed their traces until the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

*Bright scholar*

He was an acknowledged expert in Hungary and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences entrusted him to assess doctoral theses; he worked for the Academy as editor and lecturer. He was elected corresponding member of the Academy and later on he became full member. Despite being an excellent scholar, a good editor and lecturer, he did not get an academic job in Budapest; that is why he remained in Kiskunhalas and taught thousands of pupils. At the university a less talented scholar taught Turkology, one who accepted the Finno-Ugric theory. The endless work made him ill and later on he was diagnosed with gastric ulcer. He was taken to hospital on 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1906, and died there. Just as he was invited to become Head of Department of Turkish-Persian Studies in Budapest.

*CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON  
EURASIA*

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## VÁMBÉRY, Ármin

### In Bokhara

**Ármin Vámbéry** (1832-1913) was a Hungarian orientalist and traveller. Based on his extensive linguistic and other studies, travels and other experience, he strongly advocated the theory of a close Turkish-Hungarian linguistic relationship.

Between 1861 and 1864 he travelled from Constantinople, disguised as a Sunnite dervish, through Persia and Central Asia. During his travel he visited among others Trebizond, Tabriz, Zanzan, Kazvin, Shiraz, Ispahan, Khiva, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Herat. This was the first journey of its kind undertaken by a European. He then paid a visit to London, where he was treated as a celebrity because of his daring adventures and knowledge of languages. We present here a chapter on Bukhara from his book *'His Life and Adventures'* published by T. Fisher Unwin (London, 1889).

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We marched into Bokhara on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, and betook ourselves straight to the spacious *tekkie* (convent), shaded by trees, which, forming a regular square, is provided with forty-eight cells on the ground floor. The chief of this building was the descendant of some saint, the court-priest of the Emir, and a man enjoying universal respect. Hadji Salih, my intimate friend and companion, had been at one time a pupil of this holy man, our present host, and, in that capacity, he took upon himself at once to introduce me and the more prominent members of our party to him. The recommendation and introduction coming from such a source, we were received in the most friendly manner by the chief of the tekkie; and having indulged in half an hour's conversation with me, his satisfaction seemed to know no bounds, and he loudly expressed his regret at the Badevlet's (his Majesty the Emir's) absence from Bokhara, which prevented him from taking me to the Emir at once. He immediately ordered a separate cell, in the most hospitable location near the mosque, to be assigned to me, one of my neighbours being a learned mollah, and the other Hadji Salih. The tekkie was full of celebrities, and I had happened to light on the principal nest of religious fanaticism in Bokhara. The official reporter had given information of my arrival as an event of great importance, and Rahmet-Bi, the first officer of the Emir and commander-in-chief in Bokhara during the Emir's absence on his campaigns in Kokhand, was making inquiries of the hadjis about me, on the first day of my stay. But as the Emir's power does not extend to the tekkie, the inquisitiveness of his first officer was made so little account of, that nobody had thought it worth while to inform me of the same. In speaking of me my friends said: "Hadji Reshid is not only a good Mussulman, but a learned mollah besides; and he who entertains a suspicion against him commits a most grievous sin."

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On the following day I went out with Hadji Salih and four others of our party, to take a look at the city and its bazaar. Although the squalid and rickety buildings and the streets covered with sand, one foot thick, did not tend to place "noble Bokhara" in the most favourable and imposing light, yet upon entering the bazaar and beholding the thronging multitude animating it, I could not refrain from being intensely interested at the novel sight. The beauty and wealth of the bazaar were not the things that surprised me, so much as the immense and multifarious variety in races, dress and manners which struck the eye everywhere. The type of Iran was visible in the faces of a great portion of the people; but the Tartar features, which could be seen in all their shades, from the Uzbek to the wild Kirghiz, claimed my particular attention owing to their prominence. The last, and generally the Turanian race, may be distinguished from the people of Iran by their heavy and awkward gait. Jews and Hindoos could be seen in great numbers, too. I cast, now and then, a stealthy glance at the contents of the shops, finding in them but few goods of the manufacture of Western Europe, but Russian manufactures were all the more extensively represented in them. Home-made articles have a separate place assigned to them in the bazaar, and it is to this place that the Kirghizes, the Kiptchaks, the Kalmuks and the inhabitants of Chinese Tartary resort to make their purchases of clothing.

After loitering about and observing for nearly three hours I became so exhausted with fatigue that I had to request my guide, Hadji Salih, to allow me to take some rest. He led me, through the tea bazaar, to a place called the "Divanbeg's Reservoir." It was a tolerably regular square, in the centre of which a lake, flagged with stones and shaded by magnificent elm trees, was visible. The place is encircled by tea-shops, in which gigantic *samovars* (teapots), manufactured in Russia especially for Bokhara, are standing. In numerous shops are sold candies, sweetmeats, bread and fruit, around which thousands of gourmands and hungry people swarm. A mosque stands on one side of the palace, in front of which dervishes and *meddahs* (story-tellers) recount the heroic deeds of renowned prophets and warriors, distorting their features in every possible way as they do, to a large and curious audience. As we were entering the square we saw a procession of fifteen dervishes from the cloister of Nakishbend pass before our eyes. It was a sight not to be easily forgotten — the mad jumping about of these dervishes, in their wild fanaticism, with tall caps on their heads and their long flowing hair, waving their sticks, and bellowing forth in chorus a hymn, the several strophes of which were first sung to them by their gray-headed chief.

Although I had put on a costume such as they wore in Bokhara, and the sun had disfigured my face to such an extent that my own good mother would not have recognized me, I was followed, nevertheless, by a crowd of curious people, whose embraces and hand-shaking became very annoying to me. Judging by my gigantic turban and the large Koran suspended from my neck, they evidently took me to be some ishan or Sheikh, and there was no way to escape the unpleasantness. While in Bokhara, its people never, during the whole time of my stay there, suspected me, although they are rather cunning and distrustful. They would come to me for benedictions, listen to my recitals in public places, but never a farthing did I get from them.

The authorities did not trust me as implicitly as the people did. Rahmet-Bi, the Emir's chief officer, whom I have mentioned before, could not assail me publicly, but he pestered me with spies whose business it was to engage me in conversation, dragging into it all the time the Frengistan name, in the hope of seeing me betray myself before them, through some inadvertent remark. Failing in this method they thought to frighten me by stray remarks, such as that the Frengis covet the possession of Bokhara,

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and that several of their spies and emissaries had already met with condign punishment. Or they would talk of some Frengis (unfortunate Italians) who had come to Bokhara a couple of days ago, and were arrested owing to their alleged importation of several boxes of tea, sprinkled with diamond dust, for the purpose of poisoning the entire population of the sacred city. These spies were for the most part hadjis who had been living for years in Constantinople, and were now trying to test my knowledge of the language and the circumstances of that place. To get rid of their obtrusions I pretended to a feeling of indignation and impatience at their everlasting discussion of the Frengi. "Why," said I to them, "I have left Constantinople for this very reason, to get rid of the sight of these Frengis who have robbed the devil of his reason. I am now, thank God, in noble Bokhara, and have no wish to waste here my time on speaking about them."

At one time again one of the servants of Rahmet-Bi brought to me, by orders of his master, a thin little man, requesting me to examine the individual, and then tell if he were an Arab from Damaskus, as he claimed to be. Immediately on his entering I was struck by his features, and set him down at once for a European. I was strengthened in this opinion after having talked with him for a while, for I found his pronunciation not to be the true Arabic at all. He told me he was going to China to visit the grave there of some saint. He was visibly embarrassed in the course of our conversation. I rather regret not having met him afterwards, for I strongly suspect he was acting the same part I was.

The commander-in-chief, finding himself foiled in his attempts to draw me out by spies, invited me to a *pilar* (a dish of rice and meat) at his house, where a brilliant galaxy of the representatives of the ulema world of Bokhara were awaiting my appearance. As soon as I entered and looked about me I saw at once that the whole company were assembled to sit in judgment upon my case; that a hard task awaited me, and that my powers of dissimulation would have to pass through a fiery ordeal. I thought best to anticipate their design, and instead of giving them time to address questions to me, I boldly plunged into a discussion of some religious dogmas and requested their opinions concerning them. My zeal met with applause at the hands of the pious assemblage, and a very heated dispute arising soon after, in which I was careful not to take any part, concerning some mooted points in the sacred book, I took occasion to loudly declare the mental superiority of the mollahs of Bokhara over the ulemas of Constantinople. At length, my trial ended with my triumph; the learned mollahs gave Rahmet-Bi to understand by nods and winks and words, that his official reporter had been outrageously mistaken, and that there could not be the slightest doubt about my identity.

During my whole stay in Bokhara the heat was intolerable, and I had to undergo besides the additional infliction of drinking warm water as a preventative against getting the *rishte*, viz., the filaria medinensis, with which every tenth person here is afflicted. People in Bokhara think as little of feeling in summer an itching sensation in their feet or any part of their bodies, as Europeans do of a cold. The itching is followed after a while by a red spot, from the centre of which a worm of the thickness of a thread issues to the length at times, of several yards, and it must be carefully unwound in the course of a couple of days. This is the regular course of the disease, which is otherwise unaccompanied by any pain. But if the worm happens to break whilst being unwound, inflammation sets in, and six to ten appear where there had been one before, compelling the patient to keep his bed midst great sufferings for a week. The more courageous gets the rishte at once removed from his body, by having it cut out. The barbers in Bokhara

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perform the operation with considerable skill; the spot where the itching is felt is cut open in an instant, the worm removed, and the wound heals in a very short time.

Bokhara is supplied with water from the Zerefshan (gold-scattering) river by means of open aqueducts. The canal is sunk to a sufficient depth, but not kept clean. As it frequently happens to run dry, the water coming in again is received by the populace with shouts and screams of delight. First of all the people, young and old, dive into the basin and take a regular bath; then comes the turn of the horses, cows, and asses, followed by the dogs. When this general bathing of man and beast is over any further going into it is forbidden; the water settles somewhat and becomes clear again, but it remains, nevertheless, tainted with dirt and messes of all kinds.

There is something of the metropolitan character, withal, about Bokhara, at least it was so to a man like myself who had been wandering for a considerable time through the deserts of Central Asia. I had good hot bread, I could get tea, fruit and cooked eatables; I even went to the length of having two shirts made for myself, and indeed got to like the comforts of civilized life to such an extent that it was with a pang of regret that I listened to my companions talking of the preparations I should make for our departure, as they wished to reach their distant Eastern homes before the setting in of winter. I intended, at all events, to accompany them as far as Samarkand, where I might easily happen to meet the Emir, in which case my fellow-hadjis would be of great service to me. There, in Samarkand, I should then have to choose either to continue the journey to Kokhand and Kashgar, in their company, or to return by myself to Teheran by way of Herat. I was warmly urged by Hadji Bilal and Hadji Salih to remain with them, but in order to afford me every facility, in case I would not be persuaded by them and insisted upon leaving them at Samarkand, they made me acquainted with a kervanbashi from Herat, who was staying in Bokhara with one hundred and fifty camels, and was going to leave for his home, Herat, in three weeks. *Molla Zeman* was the name of the kervanbashi; he had known my friends for a long time, and they recommended me to him in such cordial terms as if I had been their brother. It was consequently arranged between me and Molla Zeman, that in case I made up my mind to return from Samarkand I should meet him in three weeks at Kerki, on the other side of the Oxus.

Before saying good-bye to Bokhara I shall make some mention of the place where I first met him. It was one of those caravansaries where the unfortunate slaves are put up for sale. The Turkoman karaktchi, who hunts the Persians, cannot afford to wait a long time for his money, he therefore usually sells his human booty to some wealthier Turkoman, who makes a business of buying a good many of them, and then takes a large troop of slaves to Bokhara to be sold there. He then sells as many as he can during the first days after his arrival, the rest which he is not able to dispose of he hands over to the dellal to be sold for him; the latter is the person who does the real wholesale business in slaves. Slaves of from three to sixty years of age, unless from some cause or other they have become crippled, are constantly for sale in the marts of Bokhara and Khiva. The tenets of their religion, it is true, forbid them to sell into slavery any but unbelievers, but hypocritical Bokhara knows how to elude the law. Besides the Shi-ite Persians, who are declared to be unbelievers by the Sunnite law, any number of Sunnite true believers are sold into slavery, conscience being salved by the simple process of compelling them before their sale and by the most cruel tortures to confess to being Shi-ites.

The male slave who is exposed for sale is publicly examined, and the seller is bound to guarantee that the article sold by him is without a flaw. The hour in which a slave gets out of the clutches of the

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slave-dealer is his happiest, for it is impossible that such ill-treatment could await him, even at the hand of the worst master, as he endures whilst in the warehouses of the dealer in human flesh. The prices paid for the slaves vary according to the political situation, being favourable or unfavourable, as the Turkomans send their *alamans* (robber-bands) into the neighbouring countries. At the time of my visit the price paid for an able-bodied strong man was from forty to fifty tillas (from £210s. to £310s.); but at the time when the Persians were defeated near Merv, and 10,000 prisoners were taken, a man could be bought at the low price of from three to four tillas. This abominable traffic, I am happy to remark, has since the time of my sojourn in Bokhara, if not entirely ceased, yet certainly greatly abated; and it is very probable that ere long slaves will not be exposed for sale at all in Central Asia. For the cessation of this horrible practice we are indebted to Russia, who has forbidden the slave trade in her own Asiatic possessions, as well as in the countries under her protection. Nor can the Turkomans, the chief men-stealers, continue as before their inroads into Persia to carry away men and cattle.

We had already passed eighteen days in Bokhara, and my friends being unwilling to remain any longer, we had to proceed on our journey to Samarkand. Our purses, too, were at a rather low ebb, for in Bokhara we got nothing beyond hand-shaking. All that we had saved up in Khiva was spent by us in Bokhara. I had to sell even my animal; and many of my companions sharing my fate, we were compelled to hire a waggon in order to continue our journey. Some of our fellow-hadjis said good-bye to us here, and many and affectionate were the leave-takings and embraces.

Before leaving I paid a farewell visit to Rahmet-Bi, who was kind enough to furnish me with a letter of recommendation for Samarkand, and made me promise that I would get myself introduced to the Emir.

The road to Samarkand leads for the most part through well-cultivated fields, populous and nicely built villages. We halted at five stations on this road. Now that I was drawing near Samarkand all my curiosity and interest revived to see this Mecca of my longings of old. Mount Tchobanata, at the foot of which the city spreads, was already visible, and climbing up an eminence we saw Samarkand, the city of Timur, before us in all its pomp and splendour, shining out, with fairy-like enchantment, with its many coloured cupolas and towers, illumined by the rosy hue of the rising sun.



# 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](mailto: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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This *News Brief* was compiled and edited by *Andor Zombori*.

**ARCHAEOLOGY****Afghanistan: Afghanistan's ancient jewels finally see the light of day**

[http://www.scotsman.com/the-scotsman/international/afghanistan\\_s\\_ancient\\_jewels\\_finally\\_see\\_the\\_light\\_of\\_day\\_1\\_1973845](http://www.scotsman.com/the-scotsman/international/afghanistan_s_ancient_jewels_finally_see_the_light_of_day_1_1973845)  
The Scotsman (Nov. 19, 2011)

**Armenia: 5,900-year-old womens skirt discovered in Armenian cave**

<http://news.am/eng/news/73915.html>  
News.am (Sep. 13, 2011)

**Azerbaijan: Ruins of ancient buildings discovered in unique archaeological complex in Nakhchivan**

<http://en.trend.az/news/society/1925893.html>  
Trend (Sep. 2, 2011)

**Azerbaijan: Burial mound aged 5,000 demolished in Azerbaijan**

<http://www.news.az/articles/49234>  
News.Az (Nov. 22, 2011)

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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. Since 2007 she studies fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

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 postgraduate 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.

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Mr. Rather has an MA degree in History and a BEd degree from the Kashmir University. Thereafter he received an M.Phil degree from the Centre of Central Asian Studies of Kashmir University Srinagar, India. Mr. Rather has many years of teaching experience in secondary schools and at college level. Currently he is teaching history at college level.

## TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri

Mr. Tambovtsev was born in 1948 in Leningrad, Russia. In 1970 he graduated from Cuban University. In 1972 he began teaching linguistics at Novosibirsk University. In 1987 he received a PhD degree from Leningrad University in linguistics. From 1988 to 1993 he was chairman of the Department of Linguistics at Lvov University. Since 1994 he is a professor of linguistics at Novosibirsk Pedagogical University. He has published 6 books and 314 articles.

## TAPON, Francis

- ✚ Author of *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*, which is his second book of his WanderLearn Series; it was published as ebook on 12/12/11, and it will be published as hardcover on March 4, 2012.
- ✚ Author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*.
- ✚ Has visited all 25 Eastern European countries at least twice and has traveled there nonstop for 3 years.
- ✚ Has traveled to over 80 countries, walked across America 4 times, backpacked over 12,500 miles in the mountains, and was a finalist in the California Outdoors Hall of Fame.
- ✚ He's been covered in *The New York Times Magazine*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Backpacker Magazine*, TGO (The Great Outdoors) Magazine in the UK, *New Mexico Magazine*, and others. He's been interviewed on radio stations and podcasts.
- ✚ [Amazon.com](http://Amazon.com) & Lincoln Mercury selected him as the best example of someone who is fulfilling the dream of traveling the world, and produced a video profile on him.
- ✚ His dad is French, his mom is Chilean, and he was born in San Francisco. Speaks several languages. He has never owned a TV, chair, table, couch, bed, or rocket ship.
- ✚ Has a BA in Religion from Amherst College and an MBA from Harvard Business School.

## WANI, Mohd Younus

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

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

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