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DEAR READER,

The roots of this electronic periodical go back to a *Mikes International Salon* evening on October 7, 2007 in The Hague. Those present at that reunion decided to establish the *GÁBOR BÁLINT DE SZENTKATOLNA SOCIETY*, within the Mikes International Foundation (established in The Hague in 2001), in order to facilitate and promote the free-spirited research of the history of Hungarians, origins of the Hungarian language and related fields. The Society was named after Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna to honor the great Hungarian linguist and scholar. In the subsequent period many joined this informal network; scholars who subscribed to our goals. The output of this informal think tank was published in the column entitled *Hungarologia* of the electronic periodical *Mikes International*.

The enthusiastic response we received from our readers and the motivation of the members of this think tank necessitate the launching of a new electronic periodical. With the name of this new periodical — *JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES* — we intend to indicate both the scope and the depth of our quest. Eurasia — this amazing supercontinent — is both the birthplace of mankind's great civilizations and the witness of great battles and civilization movements across millennia. For most of the time the Eastern part represented its center of gravity. During the last 400 years the Western part of this supercontinent tilted the power balance towards itself and under its leadership pushed the world into a fully interconnected global system. Since the end of the 20th century, however, the Eastern part of Eurasia is rebalancing the global power structure. The fall of the Berlin Wall, the rise of China and India, the resurgence of Russia are the most visible facets of this tectonic shift that makes the history of the 21st century so exciting and colorful. In order to provide understanding of trends and intelligent guidance in this new world we need first of all a clear understanding of our past.

The members of the Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna Society wish to contribute to this process through the *JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES*, among others. We intend to cover all fields and disciplines that are relevant to this goal: history, linguistics, politics, philosophy, religion, geostrategy, literature, economics, etc. The current members of the editorial board as well as our authors by nature reflect our stated objectives: they are respected individuals of many professions and are scattered over this great supercontinent, from London to Inner Mongolia. Enlargement of this network is one of our major goals, including everybody who subscribes to our goals, irrespective where he or she lives and which profession masters.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed with certain unalienable rights, that among these are freedom of scientific research, the unhindered publication of their findings and the scrutiny of their theories based solely on academic arguments. That to secure these rights, scientific bodies are instituted among men, deriving their just moral powers from the consent of the scientific community, that whenever any form of scientific institution becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new scientific institutions, laying their foundation on such principles and organizing their powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their spiritual freedom.

Finally, please let me present you the logo of our quarterly that was created by Szaniszló Bérczi. Its components symbolize the following: Sun and Moon are ancient symbols of the heavens, and parts of the

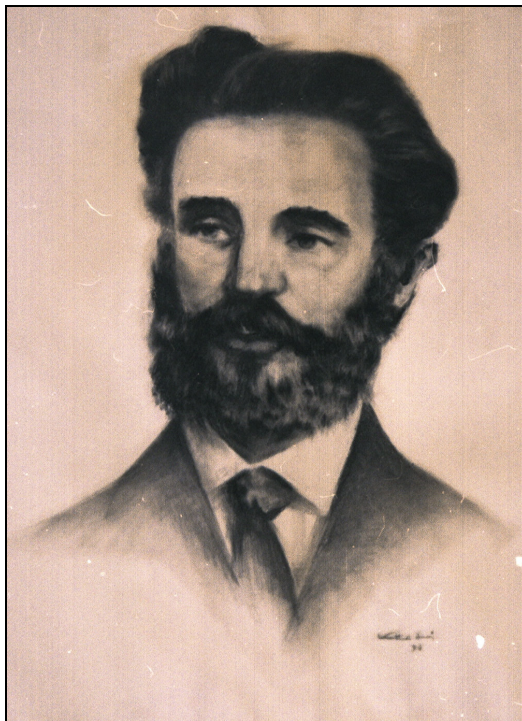
ancient Chinese character "meng", that is oath, agreement, especially covenant of blood. The outer arc of symmetric antlers represent disguises for horses in order to redress them as deer, the ancient magic or holy animal. The archaeological finding, which inspired this drawing, was unearthed in the Altai Mountains, at the pazyryk kurgan excavations by Sergei Rudenko. In one of the tombs 5 horse mounts were excavated and some of the horse-disguises were antlers, some others bird disguises for horses. The inner fight scenario is taken from the Saint Ladislaus legend; in this case a mythic mural image series painted in some 50 Hungarian churches 600-700 years ago. The scenes of the mural preserved the old Eurasian mythic fight between light and darkness. King Saint Ladislaus of Hungary lived in the 11th century A.D. The central scene is the wrestling between two heroes, one of the light (represented by King Ladislaus) and the other the darkness (represented by a Cumanian hero). The representations of this scene can be found all over in Eurasia. This mural detail is from Kakaslomnic, old Árva County in Medieval Hungary. (At present this village is in Slovakia.) All the three drawing elements represent far interconnections within the cultural heritage of the Eurasian people, from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, March 15, 2009

P.S. I experience it as rather symbolic that at the time of this periodical's launch I am on a visit in Istanbul, in this magnificent and mystical city at the junction of Europe and Asia. Physically the launch is taking place from the St. Sophia Hotel, in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya) and Sultan Ahmed Mosque (Sultanahmet Camii).

GÁBOR BÁLINT DE SZENTKATOLNA

(1844-1913)

The great Hungarian linguist, orientalist, Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna was a legendary Hungarian scholar of the 19th century. He studied theology, oriental languages and law; it is stated that he spoke about 30 different languages. Thanks to a support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he reached Kalmykia for the first time in order to investigate the Mongolian language. He studied Tatar, Turkic, Finnish, Russian and other languages in the field, and with the help János Fogarasi, great linguist of that time, travelled intensively in the northern part of Eastern Eurasia, did fieldwork in present-day Mongolia, which at that time made part of the Manchurian Empire. He stayed in Urga (nowadays: Ulaanbaatar) for years, and he studied the old literatures of the Mongols and Manchu's. It is very likely that he was the first European scholar who collected runic scripts in Inner Asia, but unfortunately these collections disappeared. According to some whispers, Hunfalvy, the librarian of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences had burned them, because Bálint's work did not fit in his new theory of origin of Hungarians. When Bálint returned to Hungary in the mid 1870's, the Hungarian scientists were heavily debating the origins of Hungarians. Some foreign scholars — as Hunfalvy or Budenz — created a new theory, which was based on comparative linguistics, but this method alone could not be proved by scientific evidence: that was why they brought the debate to an end by using force. Those ones, who

were not able to accept the new theory, or Finnugrian linguistic relatives, were chased from the scientific field, and could not get any job in any institute. Bálint got some financial support from his mentors, and for some time he taught at the University of Budapest. He even joined Béla Széchenyi's Asian expedition, and reached Southern-India in 1876 where he studied the Dravidian language. When one of his mentors died and the General Secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences retired, Bálint lost his job in that scientific institute, despite he was the most talented scholar in Hungary. In 1879 he decided to leave Hungary.

Large parts of Bálint's work remained unpublished. His extended manuscripts were archived, partly in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. From these only two were published in his lifetime in Hungarian: "Ritual book of the Manchu's" and "What do the Japanese Celebrate" (Ethnographia). Bálint's notes written in Kalmyk on the migration and hunting practices of the Kalmyk's is regarded as a treasure chest of extraordinary importance for pre-Conquest Hungarian history.

Bálint recognized that the Romanized Xiong-nu is a self-dealing creation of Western scholars and it incorrectly and misleading renders the spoken Chinese form hun or hunnu. Bálint listed the data from the ancient European sources, which refer to the Huns. Confronting these with own observations made during his fieldwork he concluded that the ancient authors' description of the Huns and Mounted Nomads are generally correct. In his view, the Hun society and culture was shaped in close neighbourhood with the Chinese in the East. An interference with China and Chinese was of crucial importance already in the past pre-B.C. centuries in shaping the Hun way of life and military organizations. Newer research concluded that the saddle — apparently mounted nomad invention — was known in Eastern China already as early as 220 B.C.

The personal fate of the scholar Bálint brought him in direct confrontation with Joseph Budenz, who worked in Budapest in the 1870-1880's and who became a leading figure of the hypothetic Ural-Altaic studies. Budenz was the favourite of the Budapest University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Budenz was a book-scientist who learned languages from grammar-books and dictionaries. Bálint was an enthusiastic and successful field-worker, for him, the spoken form of the language was primary in which he beat the office tablet philologists. The Budapest linguistic establishment permitted only one view: the one represented by Budenz. After a murderous intellectual discussion on the origin of the Hungarian language, Bálint went into a kind of self-chosen exile from 1879 until 1892.

Abroad he spent years in Ottoman Empire, studied among others Arabic languages. In the 1880's he taught Arabic language at the University of Athens. Jakab Elek and other Hungarian scholars in Hungary demanded the Ministry of Cultural of Hungary-Austria, to call back Bálint to Hungary. Finally, he was appointed Head of the Department of Ural-Altaic Studies in Kolozsvár (nowadays: Cluj). He taught there until 1912, when he retired.

He died suddenly in 1913 in Temesvár.

Bálint's place is a valued one in the gallery of great Transylvanian scholars like S. Gyarmathi, S. Kőrösi-Csoma, the two Bolyais, Sámuel Brassai, who often had more productive scientific life with intellectual output, than some influential scholars in bureaucratic Budapest.

His main results:

- ❖ He was the first European linguist, who proved the identification of Asian Huns with European ones.
- ❖ He showed the linguistic connections between Dravidian languages with Central-Asian ones; in his view the Dravidian was the Sanskrit of Turanian languages.
- ❖ He was the first Mongolist in Hungary and the third in Europe.
- ❖ His Kabardian vocabulary is the best in the world.
- ❖ He taught such kind of languages at European Universities like Japanese, Kabardian, Mongol, etc.
- ❖ After Palladius's work Bálint was the first European scholar, who introduced the Secret History of Mongols in 1895. He studied that from a Manchurian version. So did that with the Geser-story, too.
- ❖ For the first time he introduced the Manchurian shaman rituals to Hungarian scholars.
- ❖ He was the first, who connected Levedia with the Meotis-region, when he studied the origins of Hungarians.
- ❖ According to his investigation, Kazars were descendant of Huns, they belonged to Hun-Bulgarian groups, not Turkic ones.
- ❖ He refused the Ural-Altaic theory, and supported the Turanian one.

His main publications are:

- ❖ 1877. Párhuzam a magyar és mongol nyelv terén. (Parallel between the Mongolian and Hungarian languages), Hornyásky, Budapest.
- ❖ 1888. A tamul nyelv a turáni nyelvek sanszkritja vagy van-e a magyarnak testvére? (Is the Tamul language the Sanskrit of Turanian languages, or Have the Hungarians Brothers and Sisters?) In: Erdélyi Múzeum. V. kötet I. füzet. 33-55, 215-236.
- ❖ 1895. A mongol császárság története. (The History of the Mongolian Empire) In: Erdélyi Múzeum. 121-128, 209-218, 248-259.
- ❖ 1901. A honfoglalás revíziója, vagyis a hún, székely, magyar, besenye, kun kérdés tisztázása. (Revision of the Hungarian Homeland Conquest or clarifying the Hunnic, Székler, Hungarian, Pecheneg and Cuman questions), Kolozsvár, Magánkiadás.

Borbála Obrusánszky

OUR AUTHORS

ALIMBAY, Nursan

Studied ethnography. His main area of research is nomadic culture and nomads. Currently he is director of the State Museum of Kazakhstan, Almaty.

ARADI, Éva

She received her M.A. degree at the Eötvös Lóránd University in the field of Hungarian and English language and literature. Following this she stayed in India (Bombay) for 8 years and studied Hindi language and literature at Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan from 1971-1976. Took part in many international conferences. She taught Hindi and Indian culture, literature in the Asia Centre of Faculty of Sciences at Pécs University. Visited India several times. She holds a Ph.D. degree of Hindi literature. Ms. Aradi was awarded by the Vice President of India, in 1975 — at the First International Hindi Conference in Nagpur — and by the President of India, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma in 1992, in Budapest — for “her services of Hindi”, and from the Indian Government in New York, in July 2007, at the 8th World Hindi Conference. She published several articles and one book about the Hungarian ancient history, about the Hephtalites. She translated short stories and novels from Hindi to Hungarian, and published several articles in India (in English and in Hindi, too. She was the and chairman of the 1st International Hungarian Ancient Conference in 2004, in Budapest, organized by the World Federation of Hungarians., and in August 2008 of the 2nd International Hungarian Ancient Conference also organized by the World Federation of Hungarians. Her main fields of research are the ancient history of the Hungarians and their Asian connections.

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

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

FARKAS, Flórián

Electric engineer; MBA. IT and management consultant. Living in the Netherlands since 1992.

MARÁCZ, László

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

MARCANTONIO, Angela

Senior researcher and lecturer of 'Historical Linguistics' and 'Uralic Studies' at the University of Rome "La Sapienza". She is a founder of the so-called 'revolutionary school' of Finno-Ugric/Uralic studies. The results of her research are controversial, because she challenges the foundation of the field, that is, the validity of the conventional Finno-Ugric/Uralic theory and related family tree. She is the author of several books and numerous articles (e.g.: *The Uralic Language Family: Facts, Myths and Statistics*, 2002; *A történeti nyelvészet és a magyar nyelv eredete. Angela Marcantonio válogatott tanulmányai* ('Historical Linguistics and the Origin of Hungarian: Selected Papers by A. Marcantonio', 2006). Next to this, she is working on the origin and prehistory of Hungarian in close cooperation with colleagues from the Universities of Budapest and Amsterdam, and she is also publishing in Hungarian periodicals in the Netherlands like *Amsterdam Studies* and *Mikes International*.

OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála

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

ALIMBAY, Nursan :

**Community as a Principle Organizational Form of
Social Relations of Nomads**

— Preliminary notes —

The author of these lines has justified the thesis on nomadic society as of communal type of social phenomenon in a number of his publications devoted to different aspects of history and ethnography of nomads in Kazakhstan.¹ Such conclusion directly proceeds from objective logic of public relations in nomadic ambience. This makes them a starting point in reflections about the nature of nomadic society of Kazakhs, which certainly has “universal strength of determination” for all ethnically specific, geographically (ecologically) and historically conditioned form of nomadism in Eurasia. Nevertheless, as the author I was not satisfied with the work done. And first of all because the sense of public (social) relations (in the context of nomadic and not only nomadic society) as reference notion for studying mechanism of functioning of nomadism has not been clearly denoted initially. The point of such explication consists in clear understanding of the fact that chosen cognitive angle of approach fully excludes old-established in historiography (mainly in the republics of the former USSR) strategy procedure to this issue, in particular stable practice of separating, or, to be more exact, artificial isolation of economic aspects of the social phenomenon as a special and priority scientific trend as if it is a panacea for solving practically all aspects of nomadology. It is obvious that such vision of the problem is conditioned by still prevailing and lop-sided understanding in post Soviet science of the Marxist scheme: “basis > superstructure”. In reality, functioning of social phenomenon, in our case, nomadic, in effect means interaction of all components of this type of social relations. Evidently, it is not possible to ignore unequal role of these or those structural elements in real functioning of these relations. However, unequal or preferential character of separate components of social relations in society cannot account for priority-oriented approach to them. Formed in soviet historiography tradition of preferential study of economic issues of nomadism separately from other aspects (e.g., culturological, ideological, political, etc.) led to the formation of a isolated trend, still dominating in post soviet nomadology, i.e. economic determinism of soviet doctrine with its self-contained and rather conservative character. It is clear that such reserved position does not allow carrying out even productive-economic researches, which would qualify for modern requirements. We will speak later about it.

Meanwhile, real meaning and functions of any structural element of public relations (in our case, nomadic), are amenable to true scientific reconstruction only to the extent in which each of these elements

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¹ See Alimbai N. Obschina kak sotsialnyi mekhanizm zhizneobespecheniya v kochevoi etnosisteme // Alimbai N., Mukanov M.S., Argynbayev Kh. Traditsionnaya kultura zhizneobespecheniya kazakhov. Ocherki teorii i istorii. Almaty, 1998, p. 10–61. Alimbai N. Evraziiskoye kochevnichestvo kak obschinnyi tip sotsialnosti (Vvedeniye v problematiku) // Alimbai N. Ob iskhodnykh printsipakh izycheniya traditsionnogo kazakhskogo obschestva (kratkii nomadologicheskii diskurs). Trudy Tsentralnogo museya. Almaty, 2004, Vyp. I, P. 137–160 (in Kazakh language) and others.

is considered in mutually dependent and conditioned ties with components of these relations. Such apprehension of social relations as of substance of social structure of nomads makes up the content of relevant common position of the researcher in this issue. This is the **first** basic logical level of approach to studying mechanism of functioning of nomadism in real historic space and time.

The **second** essential logical level of approach of research means studying of organizational form of social relations of nomads, i.e. the community itself understood as main mechanism of functioning of nomadic social phenomena. The community is considered both as generalized level and as specific type of social relations, and in functional aspect as a means of social activity in nomadic ethno-ecosystem.

Heuristic possibility of these two levels is consistently implemented, concretized and completed in the process of realization of the **third** final logical level of the research. The point of the latter consists in studying ethnically characteristic, historically and ecologically conditioned organizational forms of communal relations in nomadic ambience. If two first logical levels are transitional, the latter is resulting the procedure of organization and submission of corresponding historical (ethnological) material. Certainly, the limits between these levels are inter-crossable and highly tentative.

Now we will speak about the nomadic community itself, which is traditionally in focus of interests of several generations of scientists. We should note that the role of the community as a principle life-supporting public institution in the life of the nomads and meaningful category in the history and theory of nomadism is acknowledged by almost all the researches and is posited in all serious works on nomadism. There is a list of terms marking the existing network of categories and notions of Soviet and post Soviet study of nomadism such as “pasture and nomadic community”, “territorial and neighborly community”, “private ownership labor stock raising peasant household”, “extended” (meaning “maximal”) and “minimal” communities representing “cooperation of working individuals on the whole production cycle” etc.² However, these determinations, brought mainly from the sphere of Oriental, Slavonic or African study, which have been formed in the tideway of historical materialism traditions, expressively characterize one rather remarkable peculiarity of traditional nomadology, i.e. its dedication to studying only economic aspects of the issue. As mentioned above, this way of material presentation is a consequence of dividing social system of nomads (and not only nomads) into two artificial opposing thresholds – productive- economic, being considered as primary, basic and so-called topside, including all other aspects.

In the tideway of such scientific logic it was and is considered that studying of production and economic issues of the problem allows disclosing naturalist and social nature of nomadism. Thus, “economic-deterministic” attitude towards not only so-called topside structures but also the nomadic community on the whole as some secondary, derived formation has been formed in science. It's not accidentally that all

² See Vladimirtsov B.Ya. *Obschestvennyi stroi mongolov. Mongolskii kochevoi feodalizm // Raboty po istorii i etnografii mongol'skikh narodov.* M., 2002. P. 295–488; Shakhmatov V. F. *Kazakhskaya pastbishno-kochevaya obschina (Voprosy obrazovaniya, evolyutsii i razlozheniya).* Alma-Ata, 1964; Tursunbayev A.B. *Kazakhskii aul v trekh revoliutsiyakh.* Alma-Ata, 1967; Tolybekov S.E. *Kochevoye obschestvo Kazakhov v XVII – nachale XX veka: politiko-ekonomicheskii analiz.* Alma-Ata, 1971; Markov G.E. *Kochevniki Azii. Struktura khozyaistva i obschestvennoi organizatsii.* M.1976; *Obschina v Afrike. Problemy tipologii.* M., 1978; Masanov N.E. *Kochevaya tsivilizatsiya kazakhov: osnovy zhiznedeyatel'nosti nomadnogo obschestva.* Almaty-Moscow, 1995; Kurylev V.P. *Skot, zemlya, obschina u kochevykh i polukochevykh kazakhov (vtoraya polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka).* Saint-Petersburg, 1998, and others.

above-mentioned definitions of nomadic community in practice turned out to be non-operational, i.e. arbitrary constructions far from historic and ethnographic reality. In other words, rather restricted in its heuristic possibilities approach of "historical materialism" failed to explain the nature of nomadic community as a social phenomenon. Obviously, this is why modern study of nomadism does not allow to present systematic structure and functions of nomadic community, basic organizational form of its functioning in real historic ambience and time.

The logic consequence of such approach is that existing determinations of the community are based only on its empirically fixed external features (collective and corporate nature of associations of direct producers, solidarity of purpose (first of all productive), availability of territory, local ethnic self-denomination, consciousness, etc. It is clear that these features being external manifestations of essential parameters and qualities of a communal organization cannot serve as criteria of systematic identification of the community. In other words, they do not allow explaining the mechanism of autonomous functioning of the community as a social phenomenon.

Meanwhile, studying of the nomadic community at the level of newest achievements of social sciences is a key to solution of nomadism secrets, which is understood both as specific form of self-organization of a human group and optimal social technology and strategy of use of nature under the conditions of Central Asian heavy continental climate. Unfortunately many of these secrets have not been disclosed yet. We are speaking about the necessity of studying the nomadic community as a dominating mechanism of functioning of nomadic society. This explains topicality and necessity of studying the communal organization as an original and key aspect of history and theory of Central Asian nomadism, i.e., the basic category of modern study of nomadism.

It should be noted that communal structure is in the first place self-reproducing and self-regulating system, i.e. the dominating mechanism of permanent reproduction of social phenomenon and personality of a communal type. This functional feature is principally important and methodologically necessary for elaborating optimal way of theoretical solution of the issue, i.e. ethno-sociologic reconstruction of nomadic community as a basic organizational form of social relations of nomads. In other words, an idea of the community as of self-reproducing and self-regulating system, i.e. a system with autonomous regime of functioning is a basic and key principle of forming of methodologically true attitude towards the object under research. Thus, typological parameters (structural elements, features, characteristics, etc.) of the nomadic community should answer the purposes of elaborating such theoretical construction, which would allow to clearly imagining this social organization as a self-reproducing and self-regulating autonomous system. We are speaking about such community forming and community identifying parameters, which would possess system structure forming features. Only various types and levels of social relations in nomadic ambience, the system aggregate of which makes up the content of community relations possess such qualities. **In my opinion, the idea of the community as of organic unity of various types and levels of social relations of nomads localized (but not local) by social, economic, institutional, territorial, ecological, ideological and even social-cultural principles is a reliable criteria of system identification of nomadic community as a self-reproducing and self-regulating entity, i.e. a social phenomenon.**

For understanding the essence of this determination it is necessary to note that main components (structural elements) of social relations are not only subjects but also objects, items and means of social

activity considered in their naturalist multilevel mutually dependable relations. Thus, there are all grounds to assert that social relations in certain sense act as structure (and as “technology”) of social activity. In their turn, the latter should be considered as functional state of social relations.

A very important consequence, which allows specifying the structure of communal relations in a nomadic ambience, results from the logics of this concept. It consists in the fact that not only individuals from the community with their alternate social ties but also all social-significant objects, items, means and norms of human activity, i.e. cattle, territory, local ethnic consciousness and self-denomination, various rituals, rites, system of relationship, ethnic stereotypes and moral norms of conduct, folk traditions and even nomadic paths and routes (understood as the most important elements of production process), etc. functioning as specific ways and means and “channels” of realization of social relations are the structural elements of the communal relations.

It can readily be ascertained that suggested determination of nomadic community in its two mutually conditioned aspects – structural and functional – does not exclude but naturally includes above-mentioned traditional communal identifying features (availability of territory, local ethnic consciousness, community of interests, etc.) as organic components of communal relations.

Alongside with this, it should be noted that all levels, types and structural elements of communal relations are in different correlative and cause-and-effect mutually dependent relations. This fact represents a very important principle of theoretical reconstruction of communal relations.

This allows making principally important conclusion about the nomadic community as of generalized type (level) of social relations.

Let us proceed to the central issue of this report: in what organizational form did this generalized type of social ties localized in parameters mentioned above function? Is it organic fusion of different types and levels of public relations in the form of zhuz³, tribe or clan, i.e. “seven-generations” exogamic structure?

If we judge by real logic of nomadic society then it is the exogamic type of social formation synthesizing practically all levels and types of social relations that acts as mechanism of self-reproduction and self-regulation of social phenomenon. It is question of so-called «seven-generation” exogamic structure uniting paternal groups of relatives (real and seeming) within seven generations and detached from similar structures by exogamic barrier of family and marital relations. Its known demographic limitation in time and space, territorial localization as well as delimitation from similar formations by exogamic barrier of family and marital relations received ideological grounding in principles and norms of genealogic tradition – shezhire⁴ and are conditioned by social-economic, natural,

³ Zhuz is the name of potestas-political association (or union) of tribes with its own territory and autonomous system of self-administration. Kazakhs traditionally were divided into three zhuzs: Big, Middle, Little. Basing on information of Russian “servants Petrov T. and Kunitsyn I. about their trip to Kalmyk land... in 1616” as well as on the materials of famous writing of medieval author Khafiz Tanysh “Sharaf-Name – I Shakhi” the known Orientalist Yudin V.P. believed that by the beginning of XVII century “... the dissociation of all three zhuzs has taken place”.// Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV-XVIII vekov. Alma-Ata, 1969, p.243.

⁴ Shezhire (in Arab “shadzhar” is translated literally as “tree”) is a specific and the most popular trend in folklore historiography in traditional ambience of Kazakhs narrating about origin (frequently mythological) of this or that clan (tribe) and even ethnos. However, such genealogic trend of shezhire is in fact subject to main “ideological” goal, i.e. regulation of

ecological and institutional factors. It is a fundamental principle of not only regulating family and marital relations at the level of the whole ethnos but also a specific way of self-organization of nomadic society.

Figuratively saying “seven-generations” structure represents a genealogic tree in which the main system-forming and regulating role pertains to mixed cognation group of agnate type, a sort of ancestral trunk having more close genealogic relation to common ancestor. As a consequence, more close and intensive tribe relations characterize him. In a complex system of socio-culturally, economically and ecologically conditioned relative and clan relations “ancestral trunk” realizes common generalized organization and management function. The latter is realized in the form of genealogic segmentation of relative and clan relations (practically speaking, genealogically organized social ties) in the social phenomenon on the basis of determining “genetic distance” of branches from ancestral trunk. Principal parts of the genealogic tree – ancestral trunk; bottom, upper and side branches as a matter of fact represent main institutionalized knots of regulating various types and levels of public relations. It was within the framework of this structure that life activity of the individual, family and the community itself has been reproduced and regulated.

“Seven-generations” exogamic form of family and marital relations alongside with patrilineal-genealogic system of identification and organization of relative and clan relations determine exogamic-genealogic principle of segmentation of public relations and in this capacity is the main way of territorial and space localization and self-organization of life activity of ethnic group. Thus, separation of the next circle of relatives (starting from eight generation, which becomes a new ancestral nuclear of a detached patrilineal-genealogic structure) from this patrilineal group and formation on its basis of a new ethnic group with necessary territory allotted to it is realized particularly on the ground of this principle.

Segmentation of relative and clan relations by means of space and territorial localization and organization of segmented group virtually means redistribution of human, material and natural resources of this ethno-ecosystem. Accordingly, the principle of segmentation represents a rather efficient and supraliminal way of maintaining and regulating dynamic equilibrium state of nomadic community from the point of view of harmonic combination of its optimal demographic density with resources of its habitat. Neither zhuz no tribe can be a real subject of property on certain territory since they are potestas-political (lat. “potestas” means “power”, here: archaic or tribal power) entities: tribe is a definite quantity of communities, i.e. associative union of definite number of “seven-generations” exogamic structures; zhuz is an association of tribes. Since ties between these ethno-social entities are lineal they are realized mainly by means of potestas-political and genealogical, i.e. institutional manner.

Social, space and economic organization of a “clan” territory in the form of its season segmentation on jailyau, kuzeu, kystau, kokteu, etc. witnessing a thought-out anthropogenic impact of nomads on ecological environment is realized only at the level of community.

This means of social, economic and space organization of the territory forming alongside with spotty types of knowledge, skills, production methods a specific technology of the economic cycle in the nomadic habitat also testifies to organic involvement of the community into local biocenosis.

norms, forms and principles of relative and clan relations of nomads. Such an effective institute of regulating various levels and types of traditional social relations has functioned in this quality.

As for so-called economic aul (which is considered by a number of researches as a minimal community) it is only an organic part of the community and represents specific seasonal functional status, or way of existing of the latter in cold time of the year, according to V.P. Kabo.⁵

It should be noted that communal relations act as main restricting mechanism of private-ownership aspirations in nomadic ambience. Communal, collective origin is a fundamental principle of life activity of nomadic social phenomenon: community acts as a subject of property in the sphere of landowning and land use; a big family is a main owner of the cattle. If communal way of landowning and land use is a socially, ecologically and economically conventional condition of life activity of a big family ("Bir ata") then the latter, being an organic part of the community acts as socio-culturally and economically organized mechanism of realization of communal relations of property on territory in the form of relations of ownership and relations of use⁷. That is why relations of use in nomadic habitat regulated by norms and principles of genealogically organized communal relations act as main mechanism of realization of relations of ownership on land. That is to say that limitation of monopoly and concentration of property of nomads in social aspect should be explained by limitation of private ownership origin in this type of sociality.

Thus, nomadic society of Kazakhs is an association of communities in which absolute domination of communal origin, communal order in the way of life of nomads acts as basic condition and law of functioning of this social system. Community of nomadic type is not a stadial formation since there are no diachronically and synchronically fixed features of stadiality. Uniqueness of communal organization of nomads consists in the fact that it fully preserved its original structural and functional status, i.e. life activity ability up to final disintegration of this type of sociality. Such "atemporal" functioning of this dominating form of social organization of nomads is evidently conditioned by the fact that it was the main organizational form of social relations and the only possible way of self-organization of nomadic ethnos and its existing.



⁵ See Kabo V.P. *Avstraliiskaya obschina // Proshloye i nastoyashee Avstralii i Okeanii*. M. 1979. P. 139–171.

⁶ "Bir-Ata" is translated from the Kazakh language literally as "common ancestor". It is the self denomination of a big family uniting a group of close relatives within two or three paternally generations.

⁷ On the structure and mechanism of realization of relations of ownership on cattle and land see: Alimbai N. *O mekhanizme realizatsii otnoshenii sobstvennosti v kochevom obschestve // Margulanovskiye chteniya*. 1990. *Sbornik materialov konferentsii*. Moscow, 1992, p. 9–17. Alimbai N. *Obschina kak sotsialnyi mekhanizm zhizneobespecheniya v kochevoi etnoecosisteme...*, p. 39–57; Alimbai N. *Ob iskhodnykh printsipakh izycheniya traditsionnogo kazakhskogo obschestva (kratkii nomadologicheskii diskurs)*. Trudy Tsentralnogo museya. Almaty, 2004, Vyp. I, P. 137–160 (in Kazakh language) and others.

АЛИМБАЙ, Нурсан :

**община как главная организационная форма социальных
отношений у кочевников**

— предварительные заметки —

Автор настоящих строк в ряде своих публикаций, посвященных различным аспектам истории и этнографии кочевничества в Казахстане, обосновал положение о кочевом обществе как об общинном типе социума¹. Такой вывод непосредственно проистекает из объективной логики общественных отношений в кочевой среде. И это делает их отправной точкой размышления о природе кочевого общества казахов, безусловно имеющей «всеобщую силу определения» для всех этнически характерных, географически (экологически) и исторически обусловленных форм кочевничества в Евразии. Тем не менее чувство неудовлетворенности у меня как у автора от проделанных работ осталось. И прежде всего потому, что изначально не совсем был четко обозначен смысл общественных (социальных) отношений (применительно к кочевому обществу, да и не только к нему) как исходного понятия для изучения механизма функционирования кочевничества. А смысл такой экспликации заключается в ясном понимании того, что избранный нами познавательный ракурс полностью исключает давно существующую в историографии (преимущественно в республиках бывшего СССР) методику подхода к этому вопросу, а именно: ставшую уже прочной традицией привычку выделения, точнее, искусственного обособления экономических сторон социума как особого и приоритетного научного направления, а потому, некоей панацеи решения якобы практически любых аспектов нomaдологии. Понятно, что такое видение проблемы обусловлено до сих пор преобладающей, к тому же односторонне понятой в постсоветской науке известной марксистской схемой: «базис > надстройка». В действительности же функционирование социума, в нашем случае кочевого, в сущности означает взаимодействие всех составляющих данного типа социальных отношений. Разумеется, нельзя игнорировать неравнозначную роль тех или иных структурных элементов в реальном функционировании этих отношений. Однако, неравнозначный, точнее, так называемый «преимущественный» характер отдельных составляющих социальных отношений в обществе никак не может послужить причиной приоритетного научного подхода к ним. Сложившаяся еще в советской историографии

¹ См., например: Нурсан Алимбай. Община как социальный механизм жизнеобеспечения в кочевой этноэкосистеме // Алимбай Н., Муканов М.С., Аргынбаев Х. Традиционная культура жизнеобеспечения казахов. Очерки теории и истории. Алматы, 1998. с.10-61; Он же. Евразийское кочевничество как общинный тип социальности (Введения в проблематику) // Urban and Nomadic Societies in Central Asia: History and Challenges. Proceedings of international Conference. Almaty, 2004; Он же. Об исходных принципах изучения традиционного казахского общества (краткий нomaдологический дискурс) (About the initial Principles of Research of Traditional Kazakh Society (a short nomadic discourse) // Труды Центрального музея. Алматы, 2004, Вып., I. С. 137-160 (на каз. яз), и др.

традиция приоритетности изучения экономических вопросов кочевничества в отрыве от других его аспектов (например: культурологических, идеологических, политических и т.д.) привела к образованию обособленного, пока что доминирующего и в постсоветской номадологии направления – экономического детерминизма (в сущности, хозяйственного) советского толка с его замкнутым, «цеховым» и достаточно консервативным характером. Ясно, что «цеховые» рамки такой позиции не позволяют создать более или менее отвечающие современным требованиям исследования даже на производственно-экономическому тему, о чем будет сказано несколько ниже.

Между тем реальное значение и функции любого структурного элемента общественных отношений (в нашем случае - у кочевников) поддаются подлинной научной реконструкции лишь в той мере, в какой каждый из этих элементов рассматривается в взаимозависимых и взаимообусловленных связях с другими составляющими данных отношений. Такое представление о социальных отношениях как о субстанции общественного устройства кочевников собственно и составляет содержание принципиально необходимой общей позиции исследователя в рассматриваемом вопросе. А это и есть **первый** базовый логический уровень подхода к изучению механизма функционирования кочевничества в реальном историческом пространстве и времени.

Второй необходимый логический уровень подхода исследования означает изучение организационной формы социальных отношений у кочевников, то есть собственно общины, понимаемой как главный механизм функционирования кочевых социумов. При этом община рассматривается одновременно и как генерализованный уровень, и как особый тип социальных связей, а функциональном отношении - способ социальной деятельности в кочевой этноэкосистеме.

Эвристическая возможность этих двух уровней последовательно воплощается, конкретизируется и дополняется в процессе реализации **третьего** завершающего логического уровня исследования вопроса. Смысл последнего заключается в изучении этнически характерных, исторически и экологически обусловленных организационных форм общинных отношений в кочевой среде. Если два первых логических уровня являются переходными, но при этом исходными и базовыми, то последний третий – результирующим всей процедуры организации и подачи соответствующего исторического (этнологического) материала. Разумеется, границы между этими уровнями взаимопереходящи и весьма условны.

А теперь конкретно о кочевой общине, традиционно находящейся в фокусе интересов не одного поколения ученых. Надо сказать, роль общины как главного жизнеобеспечивающего общественного института в жизни кочевников и как основной смыслообразующей категории в истории и теории номадизма осознается практически всеми исследователями и постулируется во всех серьезных кочевниковедческих трудах. Существует целая номенклатура терминов, маркирующая сложившуюся сеть категорий и понятий советского и постсоветского кочевниковедения, таких как «пастбищно-кочевая община», «территориально-соседская община», «частнособственнические трудовые скотоводческие крестьянские хозяйства», «расширенная» (читай: «максимальная») и «минимальная» общины, представляющие собой

«кооперацию трудящихся индивидов по поводу всего производственного цикла» и т. п.² Однако сложившиеся в русле «истматовской» традиции эти привнесенные преимущественно из области востоковедения, исторической славистики и африканистики определения достаточно выразительно характеризуют одну весьма примечательную особенность традиционной номадологии - ее ориентированность на изучение только лишь экономических (в сущности, хозяйственных) аспектов вопроса. Как уже говорилось выше, такой способ подачи материала является следствием «истматовского» деления социальной системы у кочевников (да и не только у кочевников) на два искусственно противопоставляемых начала - производственно-экономическое, рассматриваемое как первичное, базовое, и так называемое настроечное, включающее в себя все остальные аспекты социума.

В русле такой логики научного построения считалось и считается, что изучение производственных, хозяйственных вопросов проблемы позволяет раскрыть естественно-историческую и социальную природу кочевничества. Так сложилось в науке «хоздетерминистское» отношение не только к так называемым надстроечным структурам, но и к номадной общине в целом, как некоему вторичному, производному образованию. И не случайно, что вышеотмеченные определения номадной общины на проверку оказались неоперациональными, т. е. далекими от исторической и этнографической реальности произвольными конструкциями. Иначе говоря, весьма ограниченный в своих эвристических возможностях «истматовский» подход оказался не в состоянии объяснить природу кочевой общины как социума. Очевидно, именно поэтому современное кочевниковедение не позволяет системно представить структуру и функции номадной общины, основную организационную форму ее функционирования в реальном историческом пространстве и времени.

Логическим следствием такого подхода является то, что существующие в науке всевозможные определения понятия общины базируются лишь на ее эмпирически фиксируемых внешних признаках (коллективно-корпоративный характер объединений непосредственных производителей, общность цели (прежде всего производственной!), наличие территории, локального этнического самоназвания и самосознания и т. д.). Понятно, что эти признаки, будучи внешними проявлениями сущностных параметров и свойств общинной организации, не могут служить критериями системной идентификации общины. Иными словами, они не позволяют объяснить механизм автономного функционирования общины как социума.

Между тем изучение кочевой общины на уровне новейших достижений социальных наук - ключ к разгадке многих, к сожалению, до сих пор нераскрытых тайн кочевничества, понимаемого и как специфическая форма самоорганизации человеческого коллектива, и как оптимальная

² См.: *Владимирцов Б. Я.* Общественный строй монголов. Монгольский кочевой феодализм // *Работы по истории и этнографии монгольских народов.* М., 2002. С. 295-488; *Шахматов В. Ф.* Казахская пастбищно-кочевая община (Вопросы образования, эволюции и разложения). Алма-Ата, 1964; *Турсунбаев А. Б.* Казахский аул в трех революциях. Алма-Ата, 1967; *Толыбеков С. Е.* Кочевое общество казахов в XVII — начале XX века: политико-экономический анализ. Алма-Ата, 1971; *Марков Г. Е.* Кочевники Азии. Структура хозяйства и общественной организации. М., 1976; *Община в Африке.* Проблемы типологии. М., 1978; *Масанов Н. Э.* Кочевая цивилизация казахов: основы жизнедеятельности номадного общества. Алматы - Москва, 1995; *Курылев В. П.* Скот, земля, община у кочевых и полукочевых казахов (вторая половина XIX - начало XX века). СПб., 1998, и др.

социальная технология и стратегия природопользования в условиях резко континентального климата Центральной Азии. Речь идет о необходимости исследования кочевой общины как главенствующего механизма функционирования номадного общества. Сказанное объясняет актуальность изучения общинной организации в качестве исходного и ключевого аспекта истории и теории центрально-азиатского номадизма, т. е. базовой категории современного кочевниковедения.

В рассматриваемом аспекте следует особо отметить, что общинная структура - прежде всего самовоспроизводящаяся и саморегулирующаяся система, т. е. главенствующий механизм перманентного воспроизводства и социума и личности общинного типа. Данная функциональная характеристика принципиально важна и методологически необходима для выработки оптимального пути теоретического решения вопроса - этносоциологической реконструкции кочевой общины как основной организационной формы социальных отношений у номадов. Иными словами, представление об общине как о самовоспроизводящейся и саморегулирующейся системе, т. е. как системе с автономным режимом функционирования, является основополагающим принципом формирования методологически верного отношения к объекту исследования. Так что типологически выявляемые параметры (структурные элементы, признаки, свойства и т. п.) кочевой общины должны отвечать целям разработки такой теоретической конструкции, которая позволила бы четко представить эту социальную организацию именно как самовоспроизводящуюся и саморегулирующуюся автономную систему. Речь идет о таких общинно-образующих и общинно-идентифицирующих параметрах, которые обладали бы естественно-исторически обусловленными системо- и структурообразующими свойствами. Такими качествами обладают лишь различные типы и уровни социальных отношений в кочевой среде, системная совокупность которых составляет содержание общинных отношений. **Именно, на мой взгляд, представление об общине как о главной организационной форме разнохарактерных типов и уровней социальных отношений у номадов, локализованных (но не локальных) социально-экономически, институционально, территориально, экологически, идеологически, в известном смысле даже социокультурно, является надежным критерием системной идентификации кочевой общины как самовоспроизводящегося и саморегулирующегося организма, т. е. социума.**

Для понимания существа предложенного определения важно отметить, что основными составляющими (структурными элементами) социальных отношений являются не только субъекты, но и объекты, предметы и средства социальной деятельности, рассматриваемые в их естественно-исторически обусловленных многоуровневых взаимозависимых связях. Так что есть все основания утверждать, что социальные отношения в определенном смысле выступают как структура (одновременно и как «технология») социальной деятельности. В свою очередь, последнюю следует рассматривать в качестве функционального состояния общественных отношений.

Из логики данного концепта вытекает очень важное следствие, позволяющее конкретизировать структуру общинных отношений в кочевой среде. Оно заключается в том, что структурными элементами общинных отношений являются не только общинники с их разнонаправленными и разноуровневыми социальными связями, но и практически все общественно значимые объекты,

предметы, средства и нормы человеческой деятельности — скот, территория, локальное этническое самосознание и самоназвание, разнохарактерные ритуалы, обычаи, обряды, система родства, этнические стереотипы и морально-этические нормы поведения, фольклорные традиции и даже кочевые тропы и маршруты (понимаемые как важнейшие элементы производственного процесса) и т. д., функционировавшие и как специфические способы и средства, и как "каналы" реализации социальных отношений.

В контексте сказанного нетрудно убедиться в том, что предложенное определение кочевой общины в ее двух взаимообусловленных аспектах - структурном и функциональном - не исключает, а, наоборот, естественным образом включает в себя вышеотмеченные традиционные общинноидентифицирующие признаки (наличие территории, локального этнического сознания и самоназвания, единство интересов и т. д.) как органические составляющие общинных отношений. При этом следует отметить, что все уровни, типы и структурные элементы общинных отношений находятся в разнохарактерных корреляционных и причинно-следственных взаимозависимых связях. Это обстоятельство представляет собой весьма важный принцип теоретической реконструкции общинных отношений. Сказанное позволяет сделать принципиально важный вывод о кочевой общине как о генерализированном типе (уровне) социальных отношений.

Перейдем теперь к центральному вопросу настоящего сообщения: в какой организационной форме функционировал данный генерализированный тип социальных связей, локализованный в отмеченных выше параметрах органический сплав разнохарактерных типов и уровней общественных отношений — в виде жуза³, племени или рода, т. е. «семипоколенной» экзогамной структуры?

Если исходить из реальной логики кочевого общества, то именно экзогамный тип социального образования, синтезирующий в себе практически все уровни и типы социальных отношений, выступает как механизм саморегуляции и самовоспроизводства социума. Речь идет о так называемой «семипоколенной» экзогамной структуре, объединяющей группы родственников (действительных и мнимых) в пределах семи поколений по отцовской линии и отграниченных от подобных структур экзогамным барьером семейно-брачных отношений. Ее известная демографическая ограниченность во времени и пространстве, территориальная локализованность, а также отграниченность от аналогичных образований экзогамным барьером семейно-брачных отношений получили идеологическое обоснование в принципах и нормах генеалогической традиции — шежире⁴ и обусловлены социально-экономическими, природно-

³ Жуз — название потестарно-политического объединения (или союза) племен со своей территорией и автономной системой самоуправления. Казахи традиционно делились на три жуза: Старший, Средний, Младший. Известный востоковед В.П.Юдин основываясь на сообщении русских «служилых людей Т.Петрова и И.Куницына о поездке в Калмыцкую землю ... в 1616 году», а также на материалы известного сочинения средневекового автора Хафиз Таныша «Шараф-Наме — Ий Шахи» полагал, что к началу XVII-в. «... произошло уже размежевание всех трех жузов» // Материалы по истории казахских ханств XV — XVIII веков. Алма-Ата, 1969, с.243.

⁴ Шежире (по-арабски «шаджара», переводится буквально как «дерево») — особое и наиболее популярное в традиционной среде казахов направление фольклорной историографии, повествующее происхождение (нередко мифологизированное) того или иного рода (племени), даже этноса. Однако такая генеалогическая направленность шежире на самом деле строго подчинена основной «идеологической» цели - регламентации норм, форм и принципов

экологическими и институциональными факторами. Она является фундаментальным принципом не только регулирования семейно-брачных отношений на уровне всего этноса, но и специфическим способом самоорганизации кочевого общества.

Образно говоря, «семипоколенная» структура представляет собой генеалогическое древо, в котором основная системообразующая и регулирующая роль принадлежит кровнородственной группе агнатного типа - своего рода «предковому стволу», имеющему более близкое генеалогическое отношение к общему для всей общины предку. Вследствие этого он характеризуется более плотными и интенсивными гентильными связями. «Предковый ствол» в сложнейшей системе социокультурно, хозяйственно-экономически, экологически обусловленных родственно-родовых отношений осуществляет общую генерализированную организаторско-управленческую функцию. Последняя реализуется в виде генеалогической сегментации родственно-родовых отношений (в сущности, генеалогически организованных социальных связей) в социуме на основе определения «генетического расстояния» ветвей от «предкового ствола». Основные части генеалогического древа – «предковый ствол», нижние, верхние, боковые ветви, в сущности, представляют собой главные институционализированные узлы регулирования различных типов и уровней общественных отношений. Именно в рамках этой структуры воспроизводилась и регулировалась жизнедеятельность и индивида, и семьи, и самой общины.

«Семипоколенная» экзогамная форма семейно-брачных отношений вкупе с патрилинейно-генеалогической системой идентификации и организации родственно-родовых связей детерминирует экзогамно-генеалогический принцип сегментации общественных отношений и в таком качестве является основным способом территориально-пространственной локализации и самоорганизации жизнедеятельности этнического коллектива. Так, например, отделение от данной патрилинейной группы следующего круга родственников (начиная с восьмого поколения, которое становится новым предковым ядром отделившейся патрилинейно-генеалогической структуры) и образование на этой основе нового этнического коллектива с выделением ему необходимой территории осуществляются именно на основании данного принципа.

Сегментация родственно-родовых отношений путем пространственно-территориальной локализации и организации сегментируемой группы, в сущности, означает перераспределение людских, материальных и природных ресурсов данной этноэкосистемы. Принцип сегментации, таким образом, представляет собой весьма эффективный и достаточно осознанный способ сохранения и регулирования динамического равновесного состояния кочевой общины с точки зрения гармоничного сочетания ее оптимальной демографической плотности с ресурсами среды обитания. И реальным субъектом собственности на определенную территорию не могут быть ни жуз, ни племя, поскольку они являются потестарно-политическими образованиями: племя - это определенное множество общин, т. е, ассоциативный союз определенного количества семипоколенных экзогамных структур, жуз, в сущности, - ассоциация племен. Связи между этими этносоциальными величинами линейны, осуществляются они главным образом потестарно-политическим и генеалогическим, т. е. институциональным, способом.

родственно-родовых отношений у кочевников. И в таком качестве функционировал достаточно эффективный институт регулирования различных уровней и типов традиционных социальных отношений.

Социально-пространственная и хозяйственная организация родовой территории в виде ее посезонной сегментации на жайлау (летнее пастбище), кузеу (осеннее пастбище), кыстау (зимнее пастбище), коктеу (весеннее пастбище) и т. п., свидетельствующая о хорошо продуманном антропогенном воздействии кочевника на экосреду, осуществляется только на уровне общины. Отмеченный способ социальной и хозяйственно-пространственной организации территории, образующий вкупе с разнохарактерными видами знаний, навыков, производственных приемов особую технологию организации хозяйственного цикла в кочевой среде, также свидетельствует об органической включенности общины в местный биоценоз.

Что касается так называемого хозяйственного аула (рассматриваемого рядом исследователей в качестве минимальной общины), то он является лишь органической частью общины и представляет собой особое посезонное функциональное состояние или, пользуясь терминологией В. Р. Кабо, способ существования последней в холодное время года⁵.

Следует отметить, что основным ограничивающим механизмом частнособственнических устремлений в кочевой среде выступают общинные отношения. Общинное, коллективное начало, таким образом, является фундаментальным принципом жизнедеятельности номадного социума: в сфере землевладения и землепользования субъектом собственности выступает община, большая семья является основным собственником скота. Если общинный способ землевладения и землепользования социально, экологически, экономически обусловленное условие жизнеспособности большой семьи («**Bip ата**»)⁶, то последняя, будучи органической частью общины, выступает в качестве социокультурно и экономически организованного основного субъекта реализации общинных отношений собственности на территорию в виде отношений пользования⁷. Поэтому отношения пользования в кочевой среде, четко регулируемые нормами и принципами генеалогически организованных общинных отношений, выступают как основной механизм реализации отношений собственности на землю. Так что ограниченность монополии и концентрации собственности у номадов в социальном плане следует объяснять ограниченностью частнособственнического начала в данном типе социальности.

Итак, кочевое общество казахов - это сообщество общин, в котором абсолютное господство общинных начал, общинных порядков в образе жизни номадов выступает основополагающим условием и законом функционирования данной социальной системы. Община кочевого типа – это не стадильное образование, поскольку в ней отсутствуют диахронно и синхронно фиксируемые черты стадильности. Уникальность общинной организации номадов Евразии в том и заключается, что она свое первозданное структурно-функциональное состояние — жиз-

⁵ См.: Кабо В. Р. Австралийская община // Прошлое и настоящее Австралии и Океании. М., 1979. С. 139-171.

⁶ «Bip ата» - переводится с казахского языка буквально как общий предок. Самоназвание большой семьи, объединяющей группу кровных родственников в пределах двух-трех поколений по отцовской линии.

⁷ О структуре и механизме реализации отношений собственности на скот и землю у кочевников более подробно см.: Алимбаев Н. О механизме реализации отношений собственности в кочевом обществе // Маргулановские чтения. 1990. Сборник материалов конференции. Москва, 1992, с.9-17; Он же. Община как социальный механизм жизнеобеспечения в кочевой этноэкосистеме..., с.39-57; Он же. Об исходных принципах изучения традиционного казахского общества (краткий номадологический дискурс)..., с.139, 143, 148-153 (на каз.яз), и др.

необеспечивающую способность - полностью сохранила практически вплоть до окончательного разложения данного типа социальности. Такое «вневременное» функционирование этой гла

венствующей формы социальной организации кочевников, очевидно, обусловлено тем, что она была, пожалуй, главной организационной формой социальных отношений, а потому единственно возможным способом самоорганизации кочевого этноса, способом существования номадов.



ARADI, Éva :

A Brief Introduction of a Great Explorer – Sir Aurel Stein, (1862-1943)

There is a lonely grave in the old cemetery of Kabul where the famous archeologist and geographer *Sir Aurel Stein* rests forever. He died far from his motherland as his compatriot, *Alexander Csoma de Kőrös* whose tomb is also among the Himalayan mountains: in the Christian cemetery of Darjeeling. There was a similarity in the significance of their life work, too.

Stein coming from *Hungary* and *Britain*, scientifically conquered Central Asia in the first half of the twentieth century. He had a quality which is lacking in the modern world – that of the *great man* and the *great explorer*.

The possibilities of his time gave him the opportunity for becoming a person, whose work depended only on his own knowledge, skill and effort, needing no aids, no great financial help. He was one of the greatest explorers in his time, one who followed in the footsteps of Marco Polo, Vasco de Gamma, Sven Hedin – and mainly the footsteps of his countryman: the Hungarian Alexander Csoma de Kőrös.

Aurel Stein was born in Budapest, the capital of Hungary in 1862 from a well-to-do middle class family. He was educated first in the Protestant Gymnasium in Budapest which was one of the best secondary schools in Hungary at that time. Here he became fascinated with the significant historical person: Alexander the Great. At the same time his attention turned to the East as a result of his personal acquaintance with *Ármin Vámbéry*, a noted Hungarian traveller and researcher of Central Asia.

After completing his secondary studies in Budapest Stein spent four years at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig and Tübingen studying Indian and Iranian ancient history. He got his doctorate from Tübingen and he decided to continue his studies in Britain. He knew that in London and Oxford he would find old Iranian and Indian texts and books of reference.

From 1884 he spent four years in Britain studying Indian philosophy and archeology under the great Indologist: Dr. Max Müller. In 1888 he published his first important paper: *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*,¹ and he called the attention of H. Yule and H. Rawlinson. They helped Stein to get employment in India. Soon he became the Registrar of Punjab University and later the Principal of the Oriental College in Lahore (now in Pakistan); he held these posts for the next eleven years. Though these posts required much work, in the summer vacations he could go for archeological explorations. In the first summer he went to *Kashmir*, and he fell in love with its mountains and climate. He set his camp at 11,000 feet high at Mohan Marg, where he stayed every summer for years working on his books. It is interesting to mention that another famous Hungarian Indologist: *Ervin Baktay* visited here Aurel Stein

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, No.17, pp. 89-99.

in 1930. Baktay wrote of the beauty of Stein's camp site and the simple but happy life of the gear hermit.²

In India he read the works of the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim: *Hsüan Tsang* who travelled there in the seventh century. On the basis of his book, Stein took a brief tour in the Punjab in 1890 and discovered the remains of a Jain temple at the site of Simhapura. Studying more ancient Chinese writers his attention turned toward Chinese Turkistan. Moreover the famous archeologist: Sven Hedin's visit to the Tarim basin in 1895 gave Stein a decision to go there for an expedition. But for this journey he had to wait.

He made smaller trips: early 1898 he set out into the *Swat Valley* to the west of the Indus River and he found ruined Buddhist shrines and some traces of Roman and Hellenistic art.³

In 1899 he spent his holidays on an archeological tour in the *South Bihar* district – the ancient *Magadha* – where he identified old caves, roads and stupas with those mentioned by his favourite Chinese Buddhist pilgrims.⁴ This tour was especially important as by this time his scientific method became fully developed.

In the meantime he was waiting for the government approval of his great Chinese Turkistan journey he had planned long ago. Finally in May 1900 he got it, one year special leave and a government grant of £600. He started for Chinese Turkistan and soon reached *Khotan* where he discovered the sites of *Dandan*, *Niya* and *Endere* on the basis of Hsüan Tsang's ancient guidance. These discoveries were very important because it appeared that the culture and history of Central Asia had significant influence on the Indian and Iranian civilizations. He came back in 1902 with valuable finds, among them Kharosthi, Chinese, Sanskrit, Khotanese and Tibetan documents. At that time he wrote his famous publication: *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, T.Fisher Unwin, 1903). He was appointed to Archeological Surveyor and he could use his position to make further surveys in Baluchistan and at the Indo Afghan border (the old-time *Bactria*) in the next two years.

In 1906 he obtained the support of the Indian Government and the British Museum and set out for his second and most significant Central Asian journey. At this tour he explored mainly the *Swat* desert, reaching through the *Lop* basin to the borders of China. Near *Tunhuang* in an oasis he found the most valuable discovery of his journey: over four thousand Buddhist manuscripts hidden in the caves of the *Thousand Buddhas*. In 1907 he returned to Khotan and later he surveyed the *Kun-lun range* but in September the weather became so cold in the mountains that he had to turn back to India.

Apart from the rich archeological and artistic materials brought by him, Stein discovered a lost language: the *Sogdian* (he found in the above mentioned caves nine Sogdian letters of Zoroastrian content from the 4th century A.D.).

After this great journey he went back to Britain in 1908, and he got down to write his monumental works with scientific accuracy. At that time he started his most famous work: *Serindia, Detailed Report of*

² Ervin Baktay: *Magyar utazó Indiában*, 1933. Singer és Wolfner, Budapest, p.69.

³ Detailed Report of an Archeological Tour with Buner Field Force, Ind. Antiquary, 1899, No. 28, pp.14-28, 33-46, 58-64.

⁴ Notes on an Archeological Tour in South Bihar and Hazaribagh, Ind. Antiquary, 1901, pp. 54-63

Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, Carried out and Described Under the Orders of H.M. Indian Government, by Aurel Stein. He could finish these books only in 1920 in India.

By this time he became a member of many scientific associations: The Royal Geographical Society, the Scottish Geographical Society, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, etc. He was a great scholar and the man of action combined. He was a discoverer with scientific thoroughness. He was a combination of a geographer, an archeologist and a historian, perhaps the last among the great polymaths in modern time.

In 1911 he returned to India and started to make preparations for his third great Central Asian journey which lasted from 1913 till 1916 and covered 11,000 miles. He set out from Kashmir, went to Kashgar, the Pamirs, Kan-su, Takla-makan, Dzungaria, Turfan, Persian Baluchistan and the Helmund basin of Sistan. After his long and successful tour he went to Britain again for two years to write up the materials of the expedition. He interrupted his sojourn in England to spend the springs and summers in his beloved Kashmirian mountain camp. He stayed mainly in India in the post war years. In 1926 he went for a shorter tour to the Upper Swat district where he found the site of the mountain fortress of Aornos on the left bank of the Indus; the place what was conquered by his favourite hero: *Alexander the Great*. He wrote about his discovery in a scientific article.⁵

In 1930 he wanted to travel again to the Tarim basin and to make another great journey for the fourth time, adding to it a trip to Inner Mongolia but the political conditions and the changing of the British-Chinese relations hampered this tour. He went for smaller explorations to the Indus valley and Punjab where he identified with his skilled eyes the site of Alexander's crossing the Jhelum and of his battle with the Indian king: *Poros*.⁶

At that time he wanted to continue the discovery of Alexander's battlefields therefore he excavated at the Persian Gulf coast where in 1937 he discovered the site of the battle at *Arbela*.⁷ Then in 1942 he made a trip into the territory on the east side of the Indus River and explored a part of Alexander's ancient route.⁸ As he discovered almost all the places where his hero passed by on his great conquering war, Stein wanted to go to Afghanistan where he hoped to find some additional sites of Alexander's battles. His old American friend, Cornelius Engert who was the USA Ambassador in Afghanistan got official permission for Stein and invited him to Kabul. Stein arrived in Kabul in October 1943 where he got cold what soon developed into bronchitis and within five days he died there, at the age of 81. The life of a successful and remarkable scholar came to an end.

One can ask the question, what was behind Stein's greatness and successes? First of all his personal qualities: accuracy, physical strength, technical knowledge (the synthesis and dialectic employment of topographical, linguistic, historical and anthropological researches), superb courage and great devotion to work.

⁵ Alexander's Campaign on the Northwest Frontier, Geogr. Journ. 1927, No. 70. pp.417-439.

⁶ The Site of Alexander's Passage of the Hydaspes and the Battle of Poros, Geogr. Journ. 1932, No. 8. pp.31-46.

⁷ Notes on Alexander's Crossing of the Tigris and the Battle of Arbela, Geogr. Journ. 1942, No. 100. pp. 155-164.

⁸ On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia, an Archeological Tour into Las Bela, Geogr. Journ. 1943. No. 102. pp. 193-227.

He was a universal scholar, a “European nomad” as the Probate Court in London declared him when several countries claimed his legacy. For this reason he can’t belong to only one nation but to the whole mankind, to the universal civilization.

The Most Important Works of Sir Aurel Stein:

- ❖ SERINDIA, in five volumes, more than 1500 pages, 1920, London.
- ❖ A Journey of Geographical and Archeological Exploration in Chinese Turkistan, 1902, Smithsonian Report, Vol. I, II.
- ❖ Sun-buried Ruins of Khotan, 1908, London.
- ❖ Ancient Khotan. Detailed Report of Archeological Explorations in Chinese Turkistan and Khotan, II. Vols. 1907, Oxford.
- ❖ Ruins of Desert, 1913, London.
- ❖ A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia 1913-1916; with maps, 1916, London.
- ❖ Hatim’s Tales: Kashmirian Stories and Songs, 1923. London.
- ❖ Alexander’s Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier, 1927, London.
- ❖ Innermost Asia. Detailed Report of Central Asia and Eastern Iran, 1928, Oxford.
- ❖ An Archeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan, 1929, Calcutta.
- ❖ An Archeological Tour in Gedrosia, 1930, Calcutta.
- ❖ An Archeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts, 1930, Calcutta.
- ❖ Ancient Road to Asia, 1934, Oxford.
- ❖ An Archeological Tour in the Ancient Persis, 1935. Calcutta.
- ❖ Archeological Reconnaissances in North-West India and South-East Iran, 1937. London.

He translated for the first time the Kashmirian historian: Kalhana’s *Rajatarangini* (The Flow of Kings) from Sanskrit into English, 1900, London. It gives the ancient history of Kashmir and India and it is a great help for the researchers.

Beside these works Stein wrote different articles to scientific journals.



BÉRCZI, Szaniszló :

Ancient Eurasian Heritage Preserved in Japan I.

— Shrines, White Horses and Festivals —

Abstract: Shrines and festivals are centres of cultural heritage in Japan preserving ancient traditions as fragments of old life. We visit Izumo Taisha Shrine and Izumo Museum, Kamigamo Jinja Shrine in Kyoto, and Ana-Hachimangu Shrine in Tokyo to find some characteristic features of these ancient traditions, markers and witnesses of thousands of years survival. Events in the Aoi Festival horseback archery and the autumn ceremonial wrestling in Kyoto can be compared to two episodes on the mural series of the Saint Ladislaus Legend in Hungary and in the Carpathian Basin. The archaeological relics and recent living “fossils” sketch an Eurasian horizon of the common cultural heritage which was distributed during the thousands of years all over the supercontinent.

Introduction

Hungarian visitors find wonderful cultural treasures in Japan. Being an island, the ancient life in Japan is more continuous than in continental crossroads and Eurasian cultural traditions, once arrived and distributed, can survive here thousands of years. Hungarians still preserve many cultural disciples, like as old language, art, dance, music, folk tales and even thinking systems from the far past coming from their own traditions and from the settling migration peoples (Scythians, Sarmatians, Xiongnu-Huns, Avarian-[Heptalite]-Huns, Onogurian-Huns, Cumanians) coming from the Eurasian Steppe belt. Comparable old traditions survived in several centres of Eurasia; therefore they can be compared till today. Comparative archaeology, comparative ethnography has unexhaustable sources in the Eurasian architectural, ornamental, musical arts, technologies, religious traditions, and several other fields of personal and community life.

Architecture of shrines

Izumo Taisha Shrine

Izumo Taisha (出雲大社) Shrine is the oldest Shinto shrine in Japan. It can be found in the North-West seaside part of Japan, in Shimane Prefecture. There is a tradition in Japan that once upon in time Japan was governed from Izumo. Later the other center of organization from the Nara-Kyoto Region fought and defeated Izumo, however, the center of the religious traditions remained in Izumo.

Among the tremendous and rich historical and cultural remnants unearthed by the modern archaeology in Izumo District there is one which is the most outstanding in Eurasian respect. This is the

architecture of the Izumo Shrine, an extraordinary masterpiece of the wooden architecture. Even the name which survived thousands of years can orient us about the origin. The style is called Taisha zukkuri. Only one other building with such Taisha zukkuri style exists in the Matsue town region: Kamosu Jinja Shrine.

According to the oldest charters the building of Izumo Taisha was the tallest building in Japan. It was even taller than the well known Todaiji Temple in Nara with height of 45 meters. The characteristic feature of the Izumo Taisha was a long staircase going up to the shrine. The staircase was placed on the right side of the facade, extending almost 110 meters long, going up to the shrine.

As known, the shrines and temples in Japan are renewed time to time. This activity is necessary, because the woods gradually loss their strength. Restoration means the replacement of some or all wooden elements, but the old shrine survives as a whole. If a building is old enough the written chronicles and descriptions are used in the restoration.

About the architectural assembly of the Izumo Taisha there are several descriptions, even from the 7th and 9th century A.D. These descriptions show the sketches and layouts of the buildings. The central Izumo Tasiha building has a plan which shows the 9 columnar bundles, holding the shrine house building. Each bundle consisted of 3 columns with 1.3 meters diameter. There were architectural excavations in 2000 in the territory of the Izumo Taisha main building. In April the remnants of a truncated columnar bundle roots of an ancient building were found. In the same year, October two others were found, so 3 of the 9 columnar bundles witnessed the descriptions of the ancient chronicles. The diameter of one bundle is 3 meters.

Architects began to reconstruct the ancient Izumo Shrine main building (Mitsuaki Matsuo, 2004): According to the length size scale of the building, a 110 meters long staircase climbed the distance to the holy building up in the height of 50 meters. The 1:10 ratio model of the building was built and exhibited in the regular exhibition of the Izumo Museum. If the visitor knows Eurasian architecture of the past thousands of years, a Mezopotamian zikkurat emerges from his/her memory. This is also triggered by the Taisha-zukkuri style name, too (Fig. 1.).

The recent shrine is not as high as the older ones. However, the main ratios and chronical descriptions still preserved the original character of the building to which historical studies may guide the visitors to understand the roots of this ancient building. Izumo Taisha is a treasure of the Eurasian art and history, and it is worth to study its Mezopotamian connections.

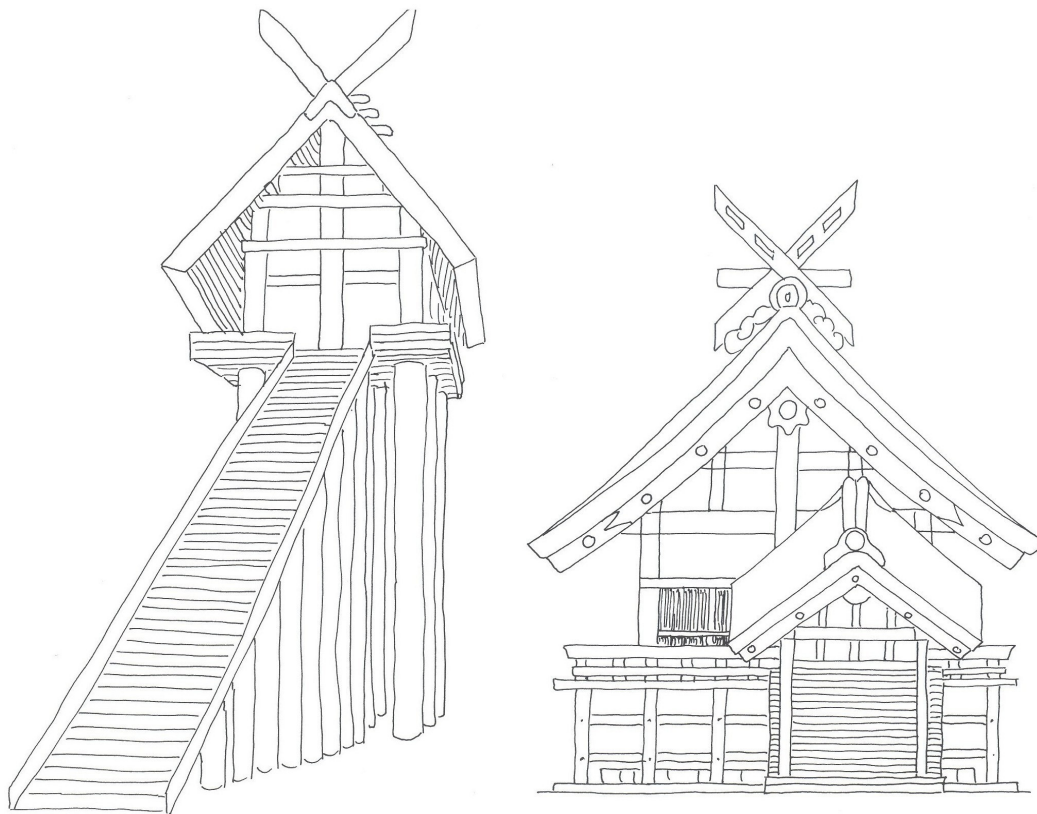


Fig. 1. The ancient (left, reconstruction) and the recent Izumo Taisha Shrine.

Kamigamo Jinja, Kyoto

The Kamigamo Jinja (上賀茂神社) stands in the Northern suburbs of the ancient Japanese capital, Kyoto. As written in the guidebook, it had been built in the 7th century A.D. However, it is also mentioned, that earlier the shrien was in the neighbor mountain. On the top of the Ko'yama, or Mountain of the God, there stand a stone altar.

In Kyoto, on the top of the God Mountain there was celebration to the god. However, this tradition is a well known in the ancient Eurasia. Even Bible (Old Testament) mentions the sacrifices on the stone altars on the top of hills. One is famous on the Mount Tabor, at the boundary of the Israelite tribes of Ishakaar, Zebulon and Naftaali. In the books of Moses it is the place of sacrifice which is loved by God. Later Prophet Elijah fights with the priests of Baal also at an altar on the top of the Mount Carmel. (1 Kings 18:21)

Even in the Carpathian Basin the old sacrifice sites on altars on the top of the hills were collected (Daczó, 2000). Their names, bábakövek (Babba-stones) refer to ancient cultic places. The stone altar on

the Ko'yama, in the Carpathian Basin and in old Izrael shows the ancient Eurasian tradition, which also survived as knowledge in Japan.

Events of festivals

Takato-no-baba (Yabusame)

Kamigamo Jinja, Kyoto

In Kyoto, near to the Kamigamo Jinja shrine, another ancient shrine can be found: the Shimogamo Jinja (下鴨神社) shrine. The traditions of the two shrines are connected, because the same family, the Genera Gamo built both of them. The Shimogamo shrine is also in the northern parts of Kyoto, but nearer to the centre of the city.

One of the common joint festivals between Kamigamo and Shimogamo shrines is the Aoi Festival in spring. Aoi Festival greets the spring in 15th May, in every year. The traditions of the Aoi Festival go back to the 7th century A.D. The Japanese Emperor delegates a personal representative every year to this festival. This personal representative reads the message of the emperor. Before it, a great number of traditionally dressed audience processes through the city (sometimes 1500 people). The second part of the Aoi Festival is: the archery from runing horseback. The name of the horseback archery in Japan: Takata-no-baba (or yabusame). For us a traditional aspect is the color of the horses on which warriors ride. One is on white horse; the other is on black horse. This part of the Aoi Festival can be associated for Hungarian visitors with one of the scenes of the Saint Ladislaus Legend.

Ana Hachimangu, Asakusa Jinja, Tokyo, Tsurugaoka Hachimangu, Kamakura

The horseback archery (yabusame, 流鏑馬) traditions can be found in several places in and around the Tokyo area: in Waseda and Asakusa cities of Tokyo, and in Kamakura. The Ana-Hachimangu (穴八幡宮) Yabusame (Waseda) events are organized on October 10, the Asakusa Yabusame is held in April, the Tsurugaoka-Hachimangu Yabusame (Kamakura) is held in September, every year. (Hachiman god is the protector of bows and arrows in the Japanese Pantheon.) The color of the horses on which warriors ride, one is on white horse, the other is on black horse, (and frequently a third person on brown horse) in these events is also considered.

The ceremonial archery contains traditional details over the colors of the horses. The warriors use asymmetric archs. The upper part is longer, the lower part of the arch is shorter in order to no disturbance for the horse and warrior sitting in the saddle.

Wrestling

Kamigamo Jinja, Kyoto

At the Kamigamo shrine in every September there is a wrestling event for young boys. The event is organized at the two sand peaks standing in front of the main Kamigamo Shrine. Wrestling is a traditional contention in Eurasia. Over Suomo wrestling in Japan the Mongolian wrestling competitions are the best known. However, the two traditions together, that is Takata-no-baba and wrestling trigger interesting association for Hungarian visitors in Japan. We can feel we are witnesses of a very old tradition, surviving in Japan. This is another scene of the the Saint Ladislaus Legend preserved in Hungary.

Eurasian comparison: old mythic epical story: The Saint Ladislaus legend in Hungary

More than 50 old church murals in Hungary and in the Carpathian Basin

In Hungary there is a very ancient mural type painted in old churches in the medieval ages. This is The Saint Ladislaus Legend. Ladislaus I was king of Hungary in the 11th century A.D. He was a chivalrous king; he fought in Transylvania against armies of the Pechenegs and Cumans invading Hungary from the Eurasian steppes. The mural in the churches tells a story which happened several times, but connected this event to the Kerlés battlefield. There Ladislaus observed that a warrior tried to abduct a Hungarian girl. The royal saint pursued and overcame the warrior and liberated the girl, as the story said.

If we follow the sequence of the images in the Saint Ladislaus legend mural the – important to note, that the sequence of the events portrayed is generally similar all over the churches in medieval Hungary – we have the following scenes:

Saint Ladislaus riding his horse in the battlefield catches sight of a pagan warrior holding a Hungarian girl in his saddle.

Saint Ladislaus begins to pursue him.

In the last metres before Saint Ladislaus could reach the pagan to stab him, he could not cartch up to him

Saint Ladislaus shouts to the girl: "Catch hold of the pagan at his belt and jump to the gound!"

The girl does so, and the two warriors, the king and the pagan, begin wrestling.

Saint Ladislaus can not subdue him; therefore the girl helps the king. She cuts the pagan's Achilles tendon.

Saint Ladislaus beheads the pagan with the help of the girl.

In the last scene Saint Ladislaus is resting in the arms of the girl.

This Saint Ladislaus legend occurs in the medieval churches of Hungary, as archaeologist Gyula László collected the documents. More than 50 churches all around the Carpathian Basin has the mural been painted, most of them during the reigns of Charles Robert, his son Louis the Great, and Sigismund of Luxembourg, kings of Hungary in the 14th and early 15th century A.D.

Several scenes of the Saint Ladislaus legend occur in archaeological finds from all over in the Northern part of Eurasia. The best known of them is the mirror symmetric Hun-Scythian belt buckle, which was collected by Peter the Great, Czar of Russia. (Exhibited in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russia.) There the resting scene can be seen. The most frequently occurring scene is the wrestling without arms. It also occurs that the horses of the two warriors also fight against each other. Several belt buckles are with this scene from Ordos, China. The wrestling scene also occurs in the silver plate of Vjatka, Siberia (Fig. 2.) and on Iranian silver plates, too.

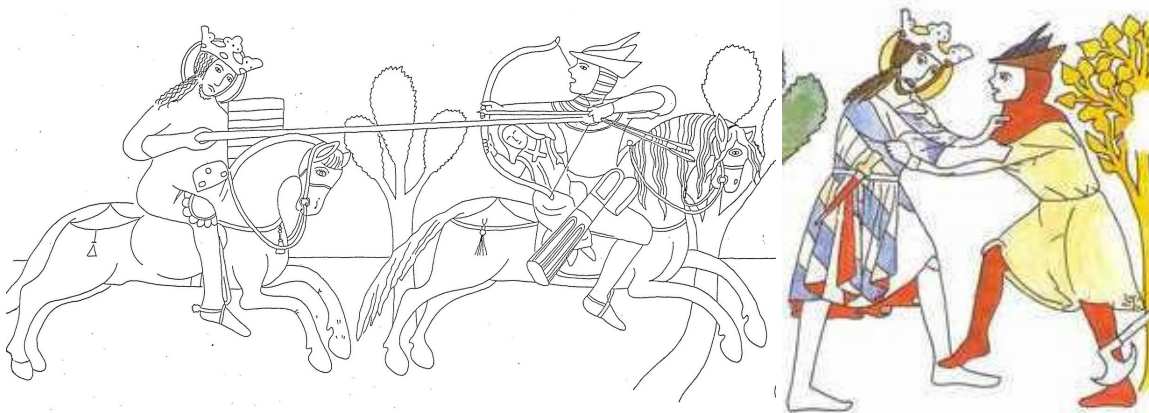


Fig. 2. Two scenes from the Saint Ladislaus legend: the pursue and fight on the back of the horse (left) and the wrestling (right, color). Images are from the church of Kakaslomnic.

The mythological interpretation of the the Saint Ladislaus legend in a wider, Eurasian respect came from the end of the 19th century Hungary. At that time Géza Nagy suggested that an ancient Eurasian myth is behind the Christianized mural painting. The old myth is expressed by the fight between the two heroes representing light and darkness. In the literature the Hungarian ballad of Anna Molnár also is related to the Saint Ladislaus legend. The White king (Saint Ladislaus) and the Dark king (Cumanian warrior) are fighting and wrestling. The White Horse and the Dark Horse are also fighting.

White Horses in the Japanese shrine

Yamaguchi Daijingu, Yamaguchi

During my 15 years of visits in Japan several new impressions were observed and I gradually recognized the ancient Eurasian heritage in Japan. Hungarians could recognize it because of their deep ancient roots of their language, music and art common with great number of Eurasian people.

Among the cca. 80.000 shrines in Japan a great number of shrines have horses. I recognized horses first in Yamaguchi. (Bérczi, 2002). It was Yamaguchi Daijingu (山口大神宮), where two horses (wooden sculptures) stand near to the entrance of the shrine. Later several shrines with horses were found there during my 4 weeks of visit at Yamaguchi University. Best I remember the horse of the Furukuma Jinja. However, it gradually turned out that the great number of horses in shrines in Yamaguchi can be devoted to the Ouchi family. Ouchis arrived from Kogurio (Korea) in the 600 years A. D. They ruled in the city form almost 1000 years (about 40 generations of local Ouchi princeps are found in the chronicles). Even later I could visit other shrines with white horse at: Miyajima Island (Itsukujima Shrine), Nikko (Toshogu Shrine), Kyoto (Kamigamo Jinja). The Toshogu (東照宮) Shrine in Nikko was built by Tokugawa Ieyasu's grandson, the third Tokugawa as shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu. The Tokugawa family also ruled for long time in all Japan as shogun, for more than 250 years.

There was a traditional belief in Japan that the horses are the messengers to the gods. They were used as messengers when people prayed to the gods for rain. But they asked gods also for stopping raining. Sometimes black horse was dedicated as messenger for the rain during a drought, and the white horse was dedicated to stop the prolonged period of rain. Till today there is a custom to offer up votive plates by the people at shrines. On the votive plates there is an image of a white horse called in Japanese: ema. (Regular name of the horse is uma.)

Kashima-Jingu Shrine

Kashima-Jingu (鹿島神宮) shrine gives light to understand depth of this white horse tradition. The legend maintains the origin of this shrine in Ibaraki Prefecture. During the time of the first emperor of Japan, Emperor Jimmu, built the shrine about in the 7th century B.C. (about 2650 years ago). He dedicated the shrine to Takemikazuchi-no-Okami, a martial god. However, the shrine was also the place of the white deer, too. The name kashima means Deer Island. The tradition to hold deers around sacred shrines is also occurs in several places in Japan: I have seen them at Itsukujima Shrine (Miyajima, near Hiroshima), at Nara (Kasuga Jingu) and I know, that they are in Kashima-Jingu Shrine, too.

For the historians overviewing the Eurasian history at a 10.000 years scale the explanation is the following. The first magic animal was the deer. People could use it, and in traditions of Scythians, Huns, and Hungarians today the magic deer is symbol of the sacred animal, symbol of the Sun, at the same time. About 5000-6000 years ago the horse became gradually the most important animal for the steppe people. We can find them, among others, on the stone columns in the Eurasian Hun-Scythian Steppe: in Russia, Kazakhstan, Mongolia and China.

The substitution of the first ranked magic animal happened gradually and several archaeological finds of the Hun-(Xiongnu) and Scythian (sometimes called Hun-Scythian) art show the masking of the horses into deers (see for example at Pazyryk, Rudenko, 1953). Even the new archaeological finds in China (for example Nalingaotu gold horse masked as deer with birds' bill) also witness this transformation of the horse, back to the ancient magic animal, to deer (Fig. 3.). This stratification of the old magic animal: deer, and the new one: horse can be observed in the shrines of Japan (Bérczi, 2008).

There is also a language archaeological find (Czakó, 2008) from the comparison of the Hungarian and the Chinese languages about this replacing stratification (Bérczi, 2008). This gradual transformation can be followed in the meaning of the Hungarian word for the horse: *ló* (at Székely language the pronunciation is *lú*). Like as the case of the mythic animal itself, the older name of the ancient Eurasian Steppe people for deer was *lu*, which original meaning "deer" had been preserved in the Chinese language today. Probable explanation is, that the oldest Hungarian (also Hun and Xiongnu) word was *lu* for the deer, which gradually changed meaning to the "actually used" new animal, the horse. Being in contact with the pre-Hun (pre-Xiongnu) people for thousands of years China preserved the earlier meaning. This change was earlier for Hungarians (Huns, Xiongnu, Scythians), who used the animal and happened passively at the ancient Chinese, who learned and took up the all breeding, horse mount, army and tactic system of battle from the steppe people (Sun Ze, Csornai, 2007, Obrusánszky, 2008). Taking the systems as ready they were Chinese language preserved various meaning from various times. Such transformation of the old word to the new meaning is a regular event in several other languages. The old word gets a new meaning following the new object in the same role (in Greek *crystallos* once meant ice.)



Fig. 3. Horses masked as deer in the Hun-Scythian art. From Pazyryk, Altai-Mountains, Russia (left) and from Nalingaotu, Ordos, China.

Eurasian horizon for the white horse

White horses can be found all over Eurasia from the Japanese Islands on the East to the Irish Island on the West. The Celtic Horse goddess Epona was preserved and introduced into the Roman Pantheon. The most important remnant of this is the famous White Horse of Uffington, in middle England. Archeometric age of it is 1400 years B.C. (3500 years ago, Bronze Age).

In Hungary the chronicles preserved the Blood Agreement ceremony and the Story of the White Horse during conquering the Carpathian basin by Árpád's people in the 9th century A.D. Mongolian, Chinese and Vietnamese shrines with name of the White Horse were preserved till today. In Louyang, the capitol of the Eastern Han Dynasty of China, there was the Beima shrine (White Horse Shrine) remembering the magic animal who bring the holy books of Buddhism from India to China.

Summary

To the enlargement of the Eurasian horizons great number of new data is collecting during the last decades (for example for the Xiongnu (Hun) vessels see Érdy, 2001). They should be summarized with the new discoveries and comparisons of data from new and for long time hidden data collections (Bérczi, 2005) in order to form Data-Horizons of Eurasia.

Although we began only to compare treasures of Japan traditions, we found some of them going back to thousands of years. Eurasian traditions survive in many forms in the recent societies; however, they do not know each other. One of the main programs of the new journal, the Journal of Eurasian Studies is to connect these local knowledges to the horizontal one. This new data horizon is: Eurasia.

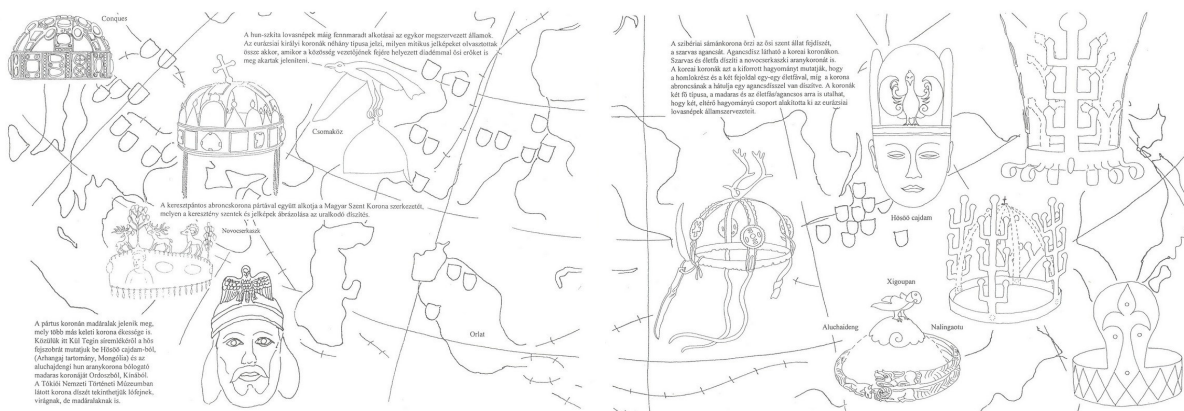


Fig. 4. Eurasian overview of the crown types projected on a map of Eurasia from Italy to Japan. Two main crown types appear: one with tree-of-life crowns, with crossed band caps embraced by a horizontal belt. Crown from Korea (Tokyo, National History Museum), Siberia (Diószegi, 1998), Novocerkask, The Holy Crown of Hungary and the Avarian Treasure in Conques (Csomor, 1996) belong to this group. The second type crowns are adorned with a bird, and the belt crown of a Japanese Princeps (Tokyo, National History Museum), crown of the sculptured head of a hero from Hösöo Cajdam, Mongolia, the Parthian crown of a princeps and the Hun-(Xiongnu) crown of Aluchaideng, China belong to this group (Bérczi, 2008).

Acknowledgments

The author expresses his grateful thanks in helping his work in Eurasian data horizons, making possible travels and visits in Japan, and for discussions about Japanese historical topics to: Keizo Yanai, Hideyasu Kojima, Ninagawa Kiyotaka, Ogawa Tohru, Prince Takahito Mikasa Nomiyama, Takaki Ryuji, Shigeyoshi Miono, Imre Kubovics, Ádám Kiss, Dénes Nagy, Csaba Detre, Előd Both and Arnold Gucsik.

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FARKAS, Flórián : Wolf Totem

Throughout the centuries there were men who took first steps down new roads armed with nothing but their own vision.

Ayn Rand

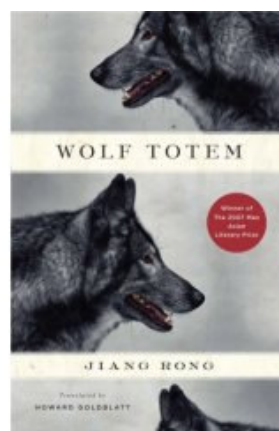


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Wolf Totem

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Translated by: Howard Goldblatt

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In the second half of 2006 I spent a few months in China. There I heard for the first time about the book *Wolf Totem* by Jiang Rong, which at that time already conquered China. My limited knowledge of Chinese did not allow me to enjoy the book in its original version, but I happily learned from the Xinhua news agency that the British Penguin Group purchased the English version publication rights of the book for a record sum of 100,000 US\$.¹ The news around the book intrigued me because my Chinese friends praised it very much; I was also told that the book stirred lot of controversy in the whole country and I suspected that this was not due to the fact that the book was the Chinese version of *The Call of the Wild*... I had to wait a good 1.5 years until the book finally was published in English.

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¹ English version set for 'The Wolf Totem' novel. Xinhua, 2005-09-05.

The novel was originally published in China in 2004 and within few days it became a national bestseller. Up until now more than 20 million copies were sold, including the illegal ones. Only Mao's *Little Red Book* was sold in more copies but the background of that book is rather different. The movie version was set to appear for the Summer Olympic Games of 2008 in Beijing. The book has been serialized on Chinese radio and recast as a children's book. It was translated into 25 languages, and broke all records regarding the copyright fees paid by foreign publishers.²

Next to that the novel won several prizes, the most prestigious being the *Man Asian Literary Prize*, which was established by the Man Group plc in London, UK. This prize is an annual award for an "Asian novel unpublished in English" and its first laureate was Jiang Rong with his novel *Wolf Totem*. The decision was made public on November 10, 2007 in Hong Kong.³

As soon as the English version was released I read it immediately. I was very much impressed by its natural power, the deep civilization message it carries, and by the author's honesty. This novel gave me instantly the impression that we are dealing here with a book that is not only topical but in the same time it is timeless and universal. My Chinese friends mentioned me back in 2006 that in their view many people in the West do not get the message of this book. At that time I found their concern very strange because this book was so obvious for me. After reading several Western critics I came to the conclusion that my Chinese friends were right. The greatest majority of the Western critics is absolutely unable to grasp the depth of this book, most probably because it transmits at such frequencies, which are not receivable by them. This phenomenon is similar to that of the number of musical notes: people in the East use more musical notes than their Western counterparts...

These critics mention that the novel contains long monologues on anthropology, agriculture and civilization, it does not contain sex, the protagonist has long and sharp fangs, and there are no dialogues (this last comment is absolutely untrue). Some of them take such an extreme position as to brand it fascist⁴, although most people, who use this term almost daily, usually do not have a real understanding of the meaning and content of that word.

After this introduction, let us familiarize with the author, whose personality is so closely related to his novel. Jiang Rong is a pseudonym; his real name is Lǚ Jiāmín. He was born in 1946 in Jiangsu, close to Shanghai. Due to his father's work the family moved to Beijing in 1957 and the young Lǚ Jiāmín began his studies in 1967 at the Central Academy of Arts, but history intervened and he volunteered to go to Inner Mongolia. So he did and he lived and worked there among the nomads for the following 11 years. He took with him two cases full with classical literature (mostly works of Western writers in Chinese translation) and he deepened in the study of the Mongolian history, culture and tradition. With increasing interest turned to the mythology surrounding the wolf and this inspired him to learn everything possible about them; for this purpose he even brought up an orphaned wolf cub. In 1978 he

² D. Morrison: *Wolf Totem*, Financial Times, March 14, 2008.
(http://us.ft.com/ftgateway/superpage.ft?news_id=fto031420082122474006)

³ Jiang Rong's *Wolf Totem* Wins the Inaugural Man Asian Literary Prize. (<http://www.manasianliteraryprize.org>)

⁴ Authoritative German sinologist looks at contemporary Chinese literature with a different eye, *Deutsche Welle*, 2006-11-26,
(<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2249278,00.html>)

returned to Beijing where he continued his studies. In 1989, during the events at the Tiananmen Square, he played a prominent role for which he is imprisoned for 1.5 years. Until his pensioning in 2006 he worked in the academic world.



姜戎 (Jiāng Róng)

呂嘉民 (Lǚ Jiāmín)

The Wolf Totem is on one hand an autobiography and on the other hand a work of art that displays his whole personal philosophy and creed. There are only few authors for whom their creation is so profoundly intertwined with themselves. The idea of the novel was born during his Inner Mongolian stay, though the first draft was only ready in 1997; the final version was given to its publisher only at the end of 2003. The story takes place among the nomads of Inner Mongolia during the time of the Cultural Revolution. The protagonist is a Han Chinese, actually the author himself, who is taking part together with the locals in herding, hunting, and everyday life. In the end he falls in love with the ancient way of life of the Mongols. He commences to study their history, customs, mythology, and during this process he realizes that all ways lead to the wolf.

The leitmotif of the book is to provide a mirror to the Chinese society, to contrast the 'sheep-mentality' of Han-culture to the 'wolf-mentality' of the Mongols; the boundedness of a settled, agricultural society to the free spirit of the steppe. This main message is so strong that it can be felt almost on every page. It is no coincidence that this book stirred so much controversy in China, because it forced the Chinese society into soul-searching. The leitmotif is also underlined by the conscious pseudonym choice: 'Rong' is the common name of those Hunnish people, which lived at the North-Northwest borders of ancient China, and among them the 'JiangRong' name was used for the Yandi tribe. This pseudonym is a direct hit, and it definitely did not miss the attention of the intelligent readers.

As the author told recently in two interviews⁵, in the beginning it was necessary to use a pseudonym, because this was the guarantee that the book was published. Within days it topped the bestselling lists and kept that first place for three years. At present it is still holding a fifth place, which is a remarkable deed. The numerous cheap, illegal copies guarantee that a forbidding would not produce results. But that is not likely to happen because the book commands the sympathy of many in the leadership: managers print it on their expense and distribute it among their workers; it is popular among the Army leadership as well, etc. The authorities could identify the identity of the author only after six months of publishing but at that time the book was already on its way of conquering the world...

As I already mentioned, the book points to the main weakness of the Chinese society: to the 'sheep-mentality' of the masses. There are parallels with the novel *'The Call to Arms'* written by Lu Xun in the 1920s. A famous scene of that novel describes how a crowd of Chinese watch passively as a young patriot is led to his execution. Everybody is happy that somebody else is the victim. This is what Lǚ Jiāmín calls 'sheep-mentality' and sharply contrasts it with the free spirit of the Mongols. The Mongols, who are descendants of the Huns, live on the steppe for millennia. The climate and the physical surroundings shaped the development of their special culture. The steppe is namely that type of ecosystem, which although merciless, brings out the best from man and every other living creature that can accommodate to it: "the grassland contains the most extensive primitivism and freedom anywhere (p. 34) At its top we find the Mongolian wolf, which the local people both revered and were afraid of. In any case they learned a lot from it: war strategy, group spirit. Temüjin (Genghis Khan) himself learned from them the basic concepts when building his Mongol Empire: warfare, individualism, unlimited love for freedom and group spirit for those who share these characteristics. Because a group that is not constituted of free individuals is a horde. By no coincidence remarks the author: "In world history nomads have been the only Easterners capable of taking the fight to the Europeans, and the three peoples that really shook the West to its foundations were the Huns, the Turks and the Mongols." (pp. 217-218) And he justly raises the question: "How could a nomadic, uncivilized, backward race of people with no writing system — be such great conquerors? (p. 98)

The wolves, by their character and social organization taught the Mongols and other steppe people not only warfare. "A wolf takes care of the pack and the pack takes care of each wolf. They stick together, which is what makes them such formidable foes. Wolves are more family-oriented than people, and much more united." (p. 246) They realized that the wolves are the key in maintaining the fragile ecological balance: they keep the number of rodents (marmots, mice) and other herbivores (ungulates) at optimum level. Due to their existence the steppe horses became the best horses in the world, because they had to run for their lives. The Mongols and other steppe people recognized the central role of the wolf. This was the reason they created the wolf totem. "Quanrong and Huns created the wolf totem. The wolf totem has a much longer history than Han Confucianism, with greater natural continuity and vitality." (pp. 376-377) And a little bit further: "Wolf totem should be considered one of the truly valuable spiritual heritages of all humanity. The fatal weakness of the grassland race is its backwardness

⁵ Jiang Rong: The hour of the wolf - Features, Books — The Independent, 21 March 2008.
(<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/jiang-rong-the-hour-of-the-wolf-798697.html>).

A Glimpse of the World: Interview with Jiang Rong, author of 'Wolf Totem' — (Antoaneta Bezlova - IPS), June 6, 2008.
(http://www.howardwrench.com/archives/2008/06/06/interview_with_jiang_rong_author_of_wolf_totem/)

in written culture.” (p. 377) One could quote almost endlessly thoughts like these. They are beautifully interwoven with the thrilling story.

Finally, I would like to summarize in a few points why this work is of great importance and what we can expect from it in the future.

First of all, this novel is a brilliant example of the power of the free spirit. One man, even with extremely limited resources like Lǚ Jiāmín can have a great impact on the world. The real power of this book is the fact that it launched a quest for the national identity in China, and this has to reach much deeper than the present or the near past. This is vital nowadays in China because that country’s current economic development is breathtaking and if this type of issues remain unanswered it can hinder the economic development process itself. This is the Achilles heel of the current Chinese development. A people, if suffers from identity crises, even if produces great economic results, sooner or later will hit the wall, because the sole money-making is not the ultimate goal of life.

The book can have a great impact outside China, too. We hold in our hands an artistic creation, which highlights the impotence of the majority of contemporary Western literature. This novel has a message, it is authentic, outright and above all it is highly enjoyable. Nobody can brand it as intellectual onanism, like most of the contemporary Western literature. In my humble opinion, this novel deserves the Nobel Prize in Literature. By this I do not suggest that the Prize itself would grant any value to the novel. On the contrary: the novel would give back the Prize’s original prestige, after a couple of political blunders in recent years.

Globally speaking the novel points to the necessity in today’s world to take example from the wolf. Mankind can only solve the global problems it faces if it can learn from the wolf’s group mentality and strong social cohesion.



MARÁCZ, László :

Objection to the Forceful Finnization of the Ancient History and Language of the Hungarians

Recently* Károly Rédei, Professor Emeritus of the University of Vienna, published the second edition of his book, entitled '*Őstörténetünk kérdései*' ('*Questions in Ancient Hungarian History*'). This book is a criticism of linguistic dilettantism. It was published by the Balassi Publishing House. It is hard to believe that the first edition, in 1998, was so successful that it necessitated a second edition. This book is exceptionally dry and boring and it repeatedly churns out the old Finno-Ugric theory. It is a very difficult book to read. In many instances, it offends good taste and is full of violations of scientific ethics. Rédei simply brands all those who oppose the Finno-Ugric theory, without regard to their position or ability, as representatives of "the intellectual and political underworld". (p. 110)

We also doubt that such propaganda-type material could be successful in increasing the number of people who believe in the Finno-Ugric theory. Ágnes and Gábor Kapitány, in their book: *Magyarország szimbólumok*, (Symbols of Hungary), Budapest, 1999, write, on p. 43. that, of those questioned about the origin of the Hungarians in 1999, only 56.8% believed in the Finno-Ugric origin, down from 67.9% in the 1980's.

Rédei's book can be called strange and bizarre for several reasons. In the Communist Era, the author was appointed to the position of Chair of Finno-Ugric Linguistics at the University of Vienna. (His colleagues were appointed to the same position at the Universities of Göttingen and **Groningen**). From this position, Rédei attacked (and is still attacking) all those who proposed a different theory of the origin of the Hungarians. At the same time, he opposes the professional and amateur proponents of the research of Hungarian ancient history. He does this with the goal of proving that the only scientific theory of the origin of the Hungarians is the Finno-Ugric theory!

It is hard to imagine that, for example, **Stephen Hawking**, the world-famous physicist and professor of space-research, would dispute the research of amateurs who, in recent times, have written fantastic stories of space-research and filled the libraries with them. Hawking, who is the representative of scientific research, would probably just smile at them. But not Rédei, who actually embarks on a vicious campaign against those who are not willing to accept his Finno-Ugric dogma, especially against those who are unwilling to accept the major Finno-Ugric dogma, which is that the Hungarians are of Finno-Ugric origin. How dare they oppose the prestigious Academy of Science? How dare they propose a theory which is not the officially accepted one?

This article originally appeared in the Hungarian monthly magazine *KAPU* vol. XII. 2004. 02.

* *Őstörténetünk kérdései* — a nyelvészeti dilettantizmus kritikája by Károly Rédei. Balassi Kiadó (Budapest), 2003.

The serious intellectual confusion, reflected in their attitude, immediately reveals that they no longer feel that they are firmly established, and even they themselves are not convinced that they are on the right path. This is why any kind of different opinion, whether amateur or professional, causes them to be very aggressive. With ferocious indignation, they attack the theories of the Hungarian-Sumerian, Hungarian-Turkish or Hungarian-Celtic relationship.

Rédei's book is also bizarre **because linguistic dilettantism was created by Finno-Ugric theory itself**. This dogmatic Finno-Ugric doctrine was established a long time ago and the practitioners of this discipline declared that it was an irrefutable truth. This is why, according to them, there is no need to research further the possibility of a different origin of the Hungarian language. However, in recent times, a tremendous amount of new data have surfaced, which have really created a linguistic explosion, caused by modern technical advances. Above all, there is the World Wide Web where, by pressing a button, one can call up the dictionary of any language in the world.

Obviously, for the Hungarian proponents of the Finno-Ugric theory, time has stopped. They have become bogged down in the swamp of the peaceful era of the Kádár goulash-communism. They have not become aware of the very powerful opportunities offered by the new era. They regard the doctrines of Hunfalvy and Budenz as unchangeable and are unwilling to consider any other data or methods or let alone accept them, because they might disturb the surface of the waters of the Finno-Ugric theory. Not even the sober-minded, linguistically uneducated person would find this situation acceptable, because he knows that change is inevitable.

Although Mr. Rédei, on p. 115 of his book, quotes the Greek philosophers: "Panta rei" (Everything flows, changes), he does not apply this to the Finno-Ugric theory. Since the Finno-Ugric dogmas are unable to explain or resolve numerous questions, amateur researchers are looking in new directions and are beginning to research new possibilities. He, who searches, will find! New books are appearing in large numbers. We recognize that they often offer provocative data and unusual theories.

Among the writers of these books, there are many amateurs, but these amateurs are just as expert as was, for example, János Sajnovits, whom the Finno-Ugric theorists glorify, who was an absolute dilettante in the field of linguistics. He was an astronomer who, in 1770, dared to state that the Hungarian and Lapp languages were identical. He found more than one hundred words which appeared identical, when comparing letters and sounds. He used the same methods that Rédei (on p. 120) accuses the amateurs of today of using. Rédei accepted from his Jesuit colleague, Father Miksa Hell, the suggestion that the Hungarians originate from Karjala (**Karelia in Hungarian**), which can be read as the state of Kar-jel. Its meaning in Hungarian is "férfi, erős karral" (man with a strong arm). Sajnovits supports this suggestion with the surprisingly amateurish statement that "on the crest of arms of the King of Karjala, can be seen two arms, one holding a sword, the other holding an arrow." These are the forefathers and the great science of which of which the Finno-Ugric theorists are still so proud!

We should mention Antal Reguly, whom the Finno-Ugric theorists glorify, who, as a student of Law, went to Finland and there, without any linguistic preparation, traveled to the land of the Voguls and Ostyaks. József Eötvös, in 1853, in the course of a lecture, called him a restless soul, a wandering traveler who, without any interest in linguistics and without knowing any of the Finno-Ugric languages, began to write about the Finno-Ugric theory. (Cf. to Péter Domokos: *Szkitiától Lappóniáig*, 1998) (From Scythia to

Lapland) Why did they make a hero of Reguly, who, according to them, proved the relationship between the Hungarian and Finno-Ugric languages? Reguly diligently collected Vogul and Ostyak poems and legends and this was a nice collection but was not relevant to solving the question of the origin of the Hungarian language.

I was also the object of Mr. Rédei's damning criticism. In 1984, I graduated from the University of **Groningen**, with a degree in General Hungarian Linguistics and, in 1989, I defended my doctoral dissertation on the subject of Hungarian sentence structure. The title of my dissertation was: "Asymmetry in the Hungarian Language". I received an official Degree in Linguistics and worked at various American universities as a guest lecturer and researcher. Since 1992, I have been a professor at the Eastern European Institute of the University of Amsterdam. As a professional linguist, in 1985, I was co-author of the "**Nyelvtudományi Közlemények (Linguistic Publications)**", the **Scientific Review** of the Hungarian Academy of Science (Volume 87). My research was conducted in the area of Hungarian postpositional **phrases**. It appeared on pp. 173-187. The other co-authors were László Honti, Tamás Janurik, János Pusztay, and Károly Rédei. The last one was the co-editor of this volume, along with Péter Hajdu. Based on all of this, it is very bizarre that, 18 years later, he places my name and my work among the "amateurs". There could be two explanations for this. Either Mr. Rédei suffers from amnesia which, at his advanced age is a possibility, or simply he does not like what I wrote about the origin of the Hungarian language in my book: "The Hungarian Revival" (Magyar megújulás, Nieuwegein, 1995), or in my articles: "Finnugor elmélet tarthatatlansága" (The Indefensibility of the Finno-Ugric Theory) (*Turán*, 28/1998/5. 11-28), and "Módszertani elméleti irányelvek a magyar nyelv kutatásához" (Methodological Theoretical Principles in the Research of the Hungarian Language) (*Turán*, 29/1999-2000/6;23-35.) In these works I took a stand against the Finno-Ugric theory. I wish to note that when my colleagues, Kornél Bakay and István Erdélyi, resigned as editors of the *Turán* review, the scientific level of this review was no longer secure and, since then, I have not submitted any of my writings to it.

It obviously annoys Károly Rédei that I, a professional linguist, dare to challenge the Finno-Ugric doctrine. His book, which is under discussion, is an excellent proof of how these "scientists" work: They never debate the subject, but rather just brand the research, with which they disagree, as the work of amateurs, which should not be taken seriously. According to Mr. Rédei, not even I can advance a scientific argument. (p. 114) So, he does not wish to have anything to do with my work. In the course of many pages, he repeats over and over the old Finno-Ugric clichés.

Naturally, I perfectly understand Rédei's method and why he does not wish to debate my argument. It is because my statements clearly disprove the Finno-Ugric theory.

For example, it is very difficult to isolate the Finno-Ugric languages from the other Ural-Altaic languages, like Turkish and Sumerian and draw comparisons and vocabulary parallels within the Finno-Ugric group. According to the Lakó-Rédei Finno-Ugric dictionary, the Hungarian word "szem" (eye) belongs to the basic vocabulary of the Finno-Ugric people. At the same time the word "szem" has numerous identical forms in the Sumerian and Ural-Altaic languages: In Sumerian **ši/** see /, Vogul **sām/** eye /, Ostyak **sem/** eye /, Votyak **šin/** eye, face/, Zürjén **šin/** eye, face/, Cseremiss **šindza/** eye, face/, literary Mongolian **sinjile/** to examine/, Kalmük **šindzl/** to observe/, Kún **syneta/** to observe/, Mordvin **šelme/** eye/, Finn **silmä/** eye/, Estonian **silm/eye/**, Kalmük **tšilme/** blink/, Mongolian **silibki/** suddenly

glance/, Turkish **sina**/ face/, Osman **symarla**/ single out/. This kind of basic vocabulary comparison can be expanded according to preference. (Cf. *Turán*, 1998: 12-18)

It is of the utmost importance to note that there are no written documents in the original, hypothetical Finno-Ugric language. Thus, there is no documentation of the basic vocabulary, making it impossible to document the phonetic laws or the later hypothetical language groups such as the Ugor, Volga-Finn etc. Therefore it was necessary to create dozens of theories which have never been proven. It has never been explained why the compound-forming elements of the Finn group of languages are closer to the theoretical ancient language than are the compound-forming elements of the Hungarian language. The question is: Why is the theoretical ancient language not identical to Hungarian?

Even the Finno-Ugric theorists recognize that the so-called phonetic laws have no natural scientific characteristics (cf. L. Honti – A. Gergely – L. Marác: *Magyar fordulat. Magyar tudomány*, 1997/2, 241-243.), so what kind of characteristics do those theoretical phonetic laws have? Tendentious, accidental or conjured up? These questions have never been answered. There may not be any answers. The Finno-Ugric theory can be disputed but cannot be proven.

According to Rédei the voiced plosive consonants were not present in the ancient Finno-Ugric language – *b, d, g*. (p. 32). I ask how it is possible to conclude this, when there are no written documents in the theoretical ancient language. If this were true, then all root words beginning with *b, d*, and *g* would be missing from the Hungarian language and such monosyllabic words and their derivatives as:

| | |
|-------|---|
| gör-, | görbe, görcs, gördül, görnyed, görhes, |
| bel-, | belül, belső, benn, bennső, |
| dar-, | dara, darál, darab etc. would be missing. This almost unbelievable. |

It is also a strange **stipulation** that the shorter Hungarian root-words developed from the theoretical two-syllable Finno-Ugric root-words, and that they are surely closer to the two-syllable Finno-Ugric root-words, e.g. the Hungarian **szem**, the equivalent of the Finn **silmä**: divided into syllables – **sil-mä** or **silm-ä**. This is also surprising because all linguists agree that the Finno-Ugric languages are agglutinative. This means that suffixes may be added to the root-words in order to create new words. If we find root-parallels, then the shorter root is the earlier form and the longer root is the later form, i. e. the derivative. The Hungarian roots are monosyllabic, the Finn equivalents are of two syllables. Then why would the Hungarian roots be derivatives of the Finn words? All this means that the Finno-Ugric theorists did not take into consideration the agglutinative character of the Hungarian language or that our language has monosyllabic root-words. Is it possible to base the origin of a language on such confused omissions?

In the Finno-Ugric studies, it is often stated with certainty, that there are 500–1000 Hungarian words, which are derived from the ancient Finno-Ugric language. (Rédei, p. 115) This statement appears to be scientific but is nothing more than a bluff. The actual number of these words is more like 419. The Finno-Ugric origin of the vocabulary of the Hungarian language cannot be stated with certainty, because the so-called ancient Finno-Ugric language is a hypothetical, reconstructed laboratory model. The reality is that there are some parallels between the vocabulary of the Hungarian language and **the so-called Finno-Ugric languages**. According to László Klima: *Magyar nyelv*, 1991, there are 212 parallels between

the Finn and the Hungarian languages which may be considered certain. This number is just half of Rédei's bluff. Among these parallels, there are some which we find doubtful. For example, the Finn - **kota**, Hungarian - **ház**, or the Finn - **kunta**, Hungarian - **had**. We disregard these "cognates" because they have no connection, either phonetically or logically. The meaning of the Finn - **kota** is "tent" which is not identical to the Hungarian - **ház**, meaning "house". If we disregard these doubtful word connections and take into account not the words, but the root-words, then the Hungarian-Finn word parallels remain well under 212. The Czuczor-Fogarasi Dictionary lists more than 2000 roots and 80 one-syllable affixes. According to this dictionary, the Hungarian language has 2080 basic word elements. The Finn parallels do not amount to even 10% of this number!

There is another explanation for the Hungarian-Finn word parallels, other than the hypothetical ancient relationship between the two languages, proposed by the Finno-Ugric theorists, but the Linguistics Department of the Hungarian Academy of Science has never seriously considered it. In this question, the distorted double-standard operates because, while the Finno-Ugric theorists are not obliged to try to disprove any alternative theory, other researchers have to refute the Finno-Ugric theory point by point. (Rédei p. 120)

Possible explanations of the word parallels:

- ❖ There was an ancient Hungarian-European language, from which those languages, which show parallels with the Hungarian language, broke away. This explanation indicates that Hungarians were the ancient populace of the Carpathian Basin. This theory coincides with the view of the American professor, Grover Krantz, about the geographical development of the European languages. According to Krantz, Hungarians lived in the Carpathian Basin at least 10,000 years ago, and Hungarian is the European ancient language.
- ❖ There could have existed a large Ural-Altaic language family, which was formed in the territory of Eurasia. This is the possibility mentioned by Sajnovits in the foreword of his book: *Demonstratio*, but the Finno-Ugric theorists never mention this possibility.
- ❖ The Hungarian-Finno-Ugric-Turkish and Sumerian linguistic parallels were created by territorial proximity of these peoples. **The Hungarian scholar** Mátyás Bél already proposed this possibility in 1718, in his work: *Tanulmányok a régi hun-szkita irodalomról* (Studies from Ancient Hun-Scythian literature.) According to Mátyás Bél there were several ethnic groups living in Scythia.
- ❖ The Hungarian-Finn word parallels are the result of accidental consonance, because any two languages have mutual phonetic similarities.

The Finno-Ugric theorists have never refuted these possibilities and still do not attempt to refute them, so we can rightly use Rédei's words as a self-characterization of the Finno-Ugric theory: "monomániás fixa ideától vezérelve s ábránd képeket, lázálmokat kergetve gyártott elmélet" (p.7) "monomaniacal theory, driven by a fixed idea, imaginary pictures and feverish dreams". The Finno-Ugric theory "a theory, which attempts to prove a preconceived goal, is a violation of scientific ethics." (p. 59)

After so many doctrines leading to a dead end, we consider it justified that Hungarian Linguistic Science return to the traditions of our great Hungarian predecessors — Ferenc Kresznerics, József Engel, János Nagy, Pál Csató, Gergely Czuczor **and** János Fogarasi. These linguists studied the roots as the central element of the Hungarian vocabulary. These are lexical elements which, without any affixes, have a phonetic and semantic identity. This was the true revolution of the Reform Age of Hungarian Linguistics, “the Quantum leap”, which, after the suppression of the 1848-49 Hungarian Freedom Fight, Hunfalvi and his colleagues successfully sabotaged. Pál Hunfalvi, already in 1851, in the *Akadémia Értesítő* (Academy Report), denied that the Hungarian language even had root words. With this statement, not only did he put the research of the Hungarian language on a side-track but as Rédei’s book witnesses, he led it into a dead-end.

The main purpose of the linguists of the 21st. century must be to bring to light the true inside structure of the Hungarian vocabulary, whose central element is the root. Mr. Rédei’s biased, one-sided attribute is that he regards this urgent scientific duty as a “**language game**”. (p. 115) Until we have completed this work, we can scarcely state anything definite about the origins of the Hungarian language.

What is already sure is that Hungarian ancient history and Hungarian consciousness of self cannot be built on the less than 10% Hungarian-Finn word parallels in the Hungarian vocabulary. Those who, by every possible means, are propagating the Finno-Ugric theory are doing none other than forcefully finnizing the Hungarian language and culture, just as Florián Mátyás stated in 1858.



MARCANTONIO, Angela :**Debate on the Status of the Uralic Theory: Critical Responses****Introduction**

In the last few years the debate¹ on the validity of the traditional Finno-Ugric (FU) /Uralic (U) theory (a debate never totally subsided) has intensified, due to the publications of many books and articles in Hungary and elsewhere in Europe (including my own publications; see also the recent 'round-table' interview, whose moderator is Sturm L. (2009)). These publications, one way or the other, challenge the conventional FU/U model, proposing new models of interpretation. Whatever the rights or wrongs of these new, 'unconventional' (or, as some scholars would say, 'dilettante') models may be, one aspect of this debate certainly deserves full consideration: the growing awareness that the conventional U paradigm is unsatisfactory and might need revisiting.

In the meantime, also a number of reviews to my publications (in particular my books of 2002 (/2006a and 2006c)) have been published, heavily criticizing my sceptical views regarding the status of the U theory, in particular my claim that there is no sufficient evidence to establish the FU/U theory and related language family. In this article I would like to respond to some of the major criticisms in question. For this purpose, I have here compiled a list of the major items of controversy, concentrating on those 'tenets' of the U theory whose validity has been challenged by several scholars, including myself on the one hand, and re-affirmed (overtly or implicitly) by others scholars, on the other hand. Aligning next to one another the views of my critics and my own views may bring about a faithful and factual picture of the current debate. Finally, before going into the core of the debate, let me point out that a theory is a theory (whether in the field of science or humanities), and not an 'eternal truth'. Therefore any attempt to challenge it, to cast doubts onto its founding principles and procedures is always a very proficuous and, I would say, necessary exercise, and should always be welcomed, whatever the results of the debate may turn out to be.

1. The 'Language = Peoples' equation

1.1. First of all, let us discuss the issue of the equation: 'language = people (/ethnic group)', equation that is certainly implied, or even openly embraced, by the early formulations of the methods of historical linguistics. In my book of 2006 (/2006c) I have insisted on the fact that this equation may not be necessarily true in general, and with regard to the early *magyar* tribes in particular, the implication being that, even if the U theory were well founded (which is not, in my opinion), the early *magyar* tribes may not necessarily derive from the assumed proto-U population / ethnic group. Prof. Honti (2007: 22-23) has derided this thought of mine, asserting that "ilyen butaságot a finnugristák bizonyosan nem állítottak".

¹ This article is a shortened and modified version of another article of mine, published in Hungarian, in 2007 (see 'References').

Perhaps Uralists have never openly and formally supported the 'language = peoples' equation; nevertheless, this belief is deeply embedded in their way of thinking, whether openly stated or not. If this were not the case, Uralists would not react so badly and reject a priori those recently proposed models of interpretation for the origin of the U peoples which involve the existence of populations of non-U origin (these populations would have ended up speaking a U language as a result of the well known process of 'language switch'). This is what has been basically proposed, among others, by the Finnish and Estonian scholars (respectively) Wiik (2002) and Künnap (2000). Starting from the observation that the Samoyeds and the Ob-Ugric peoples are basically mongoloid — unlike the FU peoples of Europe — and that the Saami, while being Europoid, still differ from the nearby Finns on several genetic features, these scholars have hypothesized that the above mentioned peoples switched their original, non-U language for a U one. Similarly, an entire generation of Hungarian scholars (for which see Ligeti (1986a & b)) have posed themselves the question of whether the early *magyars* tribes were a population of non-U origin (most likely of Turkic origin), who have then switched their original (Asiatic) language for an U language, while still preserving their nomadic / Asiatic way of life. This alternative model of interpretation of the origin of the Hungarian language and peoples has equally strongly been criticized and rejected by many Hungarian scholars, although (as is well known) all the available sources relating to the early *magyar* tribes refer to them, unambiguously, as 'Turkic peoples'.

Certainly, these issues are not unique to the FU/ U studies. For example, a similar situation is found within the field of Indo-European (IE) studies: just because linguists have established an IE theory /language family (as the result of their own methods of classification of languages), this does not necessarily mean that there really existed, at some point in time and space, a correspondent IE ethnic group, a proto-IE speech community. Indeed, there is no guarantee that the so-called 'realistic' interpretation of language families is correct — even if the language classification itself were correct — although many scholars (linguists, archaeologist, anthropologists etc.), consciously or unconsciously, do adhere to this interpretation. As a matter of fact, a debate similar to that of the origin of Hungarian exists within IE studies too. Since the very beginning of the coming into being of the IE theory there have been several scholars who have called into question the mainstream thesis of the IE (and European) origin of the bearers of the Sanskrit language and culture, claiming that this ancient population and language originated in fact in India, rather than being intrusive in it (see Marcantonio (ed. 2009)). Hence, I re-affirm my claim that the time has come to re-visit the issue of the origin of the Hungarians (as well as of other 'U' peoples), however much trivial this issue may appear at first.

1.2. The issues discussed above offer me the opportunity to point out a major inconsistency embedded in the traditional U paradigm. The denomination '*megeree*' — occurring in the text written by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus — is unanimously interpreted as '*megyer(i)*', that is, the higher quality vowel variant of *magyar*, and therefore as referring to the forefathers of the modern *magyar*-s. The text is here considered to be absolutely reliable. In contrast, this text is considered to be terribly wrong when it comes to accept the fact that the Emperor considers these (contemporary) *megeree* ~ *magyar* tribes plainly and simply as 'Turkic tribes' (let us remember: the famous chapters (48), where the ancestors of the modern Hungarian would be supposedly mentioned by the Emperor, deals exclusively with Turkic tribes, as also evident by its title: "On the nation of the Turks"). It is certainly true that, if a historical

source considers the early *magyar* tribes as Turkic (/Asiatic) peoples, this is not in itself sufficient proof of their Turkic origin, as Bakró-Nagy² (2003: 52) and other critics correctly observe. However, the thesis of the Turkic / Asiatic origin of Hungarian is certainly much more plausible than the thesis of its U origin, since there are other linguistic and extra-linguistic elements, other 'facts' that *consistently* point toward this direction:

1. there are no archaeological, historical and anthropological traces of the assumed U proto-community / ethnic group;
2. the Hungarian language — admittedly — differs radically from the assumed sister languages (including the allegedly closest relatives, Vogul and Ostyak);
3. the Hungarian language is rich of features of Turkic (and other Asiatic languages) origin, whilst, in comparison, the U component is, admittedly, rather weak. On the other hand, the traditional explanation that these 'Asiatic features' are the effect of borrowing (due to the intense and prolonged contacts occurred between *magyar* tribes and Asiatic /nomadic tribes) is an *ad-hoc*, circular explanation. In fact, there is no independent, extra-linguistic evidence in favour of the thesis of the 'long-lasting symbiosis';
4. there is no satisfactory evidence to support either a U language classification, a U language family (as discussed below), or an Altaic language classification / family (as recognised in recent year by several Altaists, such as Unger (1990) and Georg (2006³));
5. the archaeological, anthropological and genetic evidence relating to the Hungarians consistently point toward a Turkic (Asiatic) origin at least of the so-called *honfoglaló magyar-s* (see a recent summary of the state of the art in Sturm (2009)).

Furthermore, Uralists have also been inconsistent in their evaluation of the other ethnonyms referring to the early *magyar-s*. I have been widely criticized for addressing the attention of the reader to the fact that many (if not all) early Hungarian tribes ethnonyms (including perhaps *magyar* itself) are of *undisputed* Turkic (and /or Asiatic origin). I have then argued that this 'fact' too, together with the factors listed above, points toward the Turkic origin of the *magyar-s*. It is true that scholars disagree with regard to the relevance of ethnonyms (and toponyms) in the hard task of assessing the origin of single populations. As a matter of fact, there is no necessary connection between ethnonyms / toponyms and the peoples that bear them. For example, populations may take on, or be given to, names which are totally un-related with their origin, or at least names that are not transparent at all. On the other hand, there is also plenty of evidence to the contrary in history, that is: a population *can* be equated with its ethnonym, as is for example the case of the name *frank*, which, originally, indicated indeed the homonymous Germanic, and Germanic language speaking, population (as pointed out by Simoncsics (2007:103)). Whatever the case, scholars should be consistent when they assess the relevance, or otherwise, of the ethnonyms and toponyms in this context. Since the name *magyar* (traditionally derived

² „Hiszen egy kérdés a nép, a beszélői közösség elnevezése, egy másik az eredete!”.

³ Georg (2006): seminar at the University of Cambridge.

from **magy-ar* and connected with the ethnonym *manysi*), or the name *hungarus* (traditionally connected with the name *jugria*) are unanimously treated by Uralists as relevant evidence in tracing back the origin of the Hungarians to the Ugri (and therefore the FU) peoples, they cannot then conveniently brush under the carpet or minimize the relevance of the Turkic and /or Mongolian origin of the early *magyar* tribes ethnonyms.

2. Has the Uralic language family been established beyond reasonable doubts?

2.1. As stated in the previous paragraph, the establishment of a language family — even of language family ‘proven beyond doubts’ — may be of little help in the hard task of retrieving the origin of peoples. Indeed, as is now recognised by many historical linguists (see for example Harrison (2003)), historical linguistics was never meant to be, and is not, a branch of pre-history.

Bearing this in mind let us now engage in the debate about the validity, or otherwise, of the U theory. In my work I repeatedly claim that the U classification is *not* correct (particularly in its more traditional terms, but also in its various ‘revisionist’ approaches). More precisely, I claim that the U language family has not been really established, let alone ‘been proven beyond doubt’. This claim of mine (the main thrust of my work), not only has been heavily criticised, but it has also aroused outrage among many (but not all) Finno-Ugrists. Let us then see what the basic terms of the controversy are. According to the traditional methods of historical linguistics a language family is typically considered established, and proven beyond doubts, if at least major parts of the phonological structure, of the lexicon and the morphological structure of the assumed proto-language have been (more or less) satisfactorily and consistently reconstructed (whatever ‘satisfactorily’ and ‘consistently’ may mean). According to my analyses, the required satisfactory and consistent reconstructions have, simply, not materialized within U. This is not because of the lack of skill on behalf of the scholars involved in the reconstructions, but because of the lack of sufficiently old records in the field, not to count the great diversity of the languages, even at the typological level (despite the several, shared — but not uniquely shared — features, such as suffixes, vowel harmony, postpositions, etc.; see Marcantonio (2006d)). For example, my book of 2002 (/2006a) dedicates an entire, long, detailed chapter (chapter 4.) to support and justify the thesis of the lack of a sound, satisfactory reconstruction of the U proto-language (the U ‘node’) at the phonological level. It would be therefore very easy for any Finno-Ugrist /historical linguist to refute the data, analyses and argumentations there proposed, in this way proving me wrong. However, I can find no relevant, well-structured, straight-to-the-point counter-arguments or counter-evidence to my chapter 4. in any of the reviews, including the review by Bakró-Nagy (2003), Georg (2003), Saarikivi (2004), Simoncsics (2007) and Veres (2006: 567-9). For example, Bakró-Nagy (2003:51) makes the following statement:

A tény, hogy mindennek ellenére [that is, a chapter thick with data and arguments], a fejezettel nem lehet, illetőleg nem érdemes részletesebben foglalkozni abból adódik, hogy a szerző már-már hihetetlen mértékben érti félre, interpretálja elfogodhatatlanul a tényeket és összefüggéseket

In other words, generally scholars have avoided to criticize in detail my basic arguments and data and have failed to offer alternative, positive evidence in support of U. On the contrary, they have hid themselves behind the (suspicious) pretext that my interpretation of the data — the (supposed) U correspondences and regular sound changes — are so flawed, so out of line with the ‘received wisdom’ that it is not even worth discussing them. I am afraid I am entitled to interpret the lack of appropriate and concrete counter-evidence and counter-arguments to my claims as caused by a totally different fact: the fact that the U node not only has not been satisfactorily and consistently reconstructed, but it has not been reconstructed at all at the phonological level (as I have argued). Therefore, the only chance left open to criticism at this regard is that of passing over the whole of my argumentations in silence. Certainly, there are exceptions to this, since there are scholars that have actually attempted to refute the arguments and data put forward in my chapter 4. in somewhat more details. However, these Authors’ criticisms typically concentrate on minor data and arguments, rather than addressing what I have indicated as the fundamental shortcomings of the (assumed) reconstruction of U, i.e. the pervasive level of irregularity, as well as the lack of reconstruction of the Ugric and therefore FU, and, ultimately, of the U node (as required by the standard family tree model). For example, Aikio (2003: 403-4) challenges my view that the ‘unknown’ and ‘not-specified’ segment */x/ (introduced by Janhunen (1981) to account for otherwise un-accountable correspondences), is an *ad-hoc* devise. Furthermore, the Author⁴ dedicates some pages to prove me wrong when I claim that Janhunen’s (1981) corpus is based on too many sound laws and too few examples (/items of evidence) to support them. In particular, I claim that the sound laws established by Janhunen to account for the vocalism of a total of 94 (‘good’) correspondences number 56, whilst Aikio reckons that this number is down to 30, at the most. Whatever the case, it is self evident that the *ratio* between the number of the sound laws in question (56 or 30) and the number of the etymologies accounted for by these laws (94) is still unsatisfactory, still not good enough to comply with the required ‘cumulative effect’ each sound law should display.

There is nevertheless one criticism raised by these scholars against my analysis which goes down to the heart of the issue under discussion. As is known, there are several, modern reconstructions — or, to be precise, ‘attempts’ at reconstruction — of the “proto-Uralic phonology” (to use Sammallahti’s (1988: 480) words), the most accurate of which are the one proposed by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988) respectively. As a starting point of my whole argumentation against the widely held claim that the phonological structure of proto-U has been satisfactorily reconstructed, I use the reconstruction proposed by Janhunen (1981). This comparative corpus, however much rigorous and based on clearly stated criteria, does not take into account the Ugric node. In other words, despite its nomenclature, the reconstruction in question *cannot* be regarded as a reconstruction of proto-U — if one sticks to the conventional family tree diagram. In fact, this reconstruction is based on the comparison of two branches of U only: proto-Samoyed and proto-Finno-Permian, with just occasional and a-systematic references to the ob-Ugric languages and Hungarian. Obviously, there is a reason for this, a reason well spelled out by Janhunen on several occasions, and, as far as I know, still valid, that is (Janhunen (1998: 461)):

⁴ Similarly, Georg (2003) provides a detailed, informed criticism of the data and arguments reported in chapter 6. of the 2002 (/2006a) book, which deals with the issue of the correlations identified between U and Turkic, Mongolian and Tunguz, but does not comment on my fundamental claim that the U node has not been reconstructed.

... as there still seem to be considerable taxonomic and reconstructional problems to be solved for the eastern branches of Finno-Ugric *a simplified but very useful approximation of proto-Uralic* can be obtained in the meantime by comparing proto-Samoyedic with proto-Baltic-Fennic as these two branches represent opposite geographical extremes of the Uralic language family, *it may be assumed* that any diachronic feature shared by proto-Samoyedic and proto-Baltic-Fennic *is likely to derive from proto-Uralic* [italics are mine]

This choice of mine to use Janhunen's corpus as the basis of my analysis has been criticized by Bakró-Nagy (2003: 51) as follows;

Janunhen e dolgozata kétségtelenül mellőzhetetlen az alapnyelvi rekonstrukciót illetően, bár Marcantonio sehol nem *indokolja választását*. Ami annál is érthetlenebb, mert ha egyszer elmarasztalja Janhunent azért, miért csupán a finn-permi és a szamojéd alapján [...] reconstruálja az urali alapnyelv szavait, miért nem választott más korpuszt? *Sammallahti (1988) például nem mellőzi az ugort*, jóllehet kiindulása Janhunen, az UEW meg végkép nem hagy ki egyetlen "ágat" sem, bár rekonstrukciós metodológiája egyebekben eltér az előbb említettektől [italics are mine]

If this were true, my claim regarding the poor status of the reconstructed U phonology would lie on shaky grounds indeed. However, as it happens, I do motivate my choice, and on several occasions too⁵. In addition, I refer extensively to Sammallahti's reconstructions, suggestions and interpretations throughout the whole chapter 4. (as any accurate reader may easily find out⁶). Actually, this unjustified criticism gives me the welcomed opportunity to reiterate and, if necessary, to clarify and emphasise a 'fact' which is fundamental for the issue under discussion: Sammallahti's U / FU reconstruction⁷ (considered to be one of the best, if not the best, reconstructions available) is heavily based on the 'partial', 'approximate' reconstruction of PU proposed by Janhunen (1981), whose weaknesses therefore it inherits. True, Sammallahti does 'attempt' to reconstruct the FU node /branch, which was missing from the 'U reconstruction' proposed by Janhunen⁸. However, according to my analysis the Author *does not*

⁵ See for example the following statement, made at the beginning of my 2002 book, at p. 11: "I shall examine in detail the reconstructions of P-U and of the rest of the family tree as proposed by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1979 & 1988), because these represent closely researched scientific models with clear criteria that are amenable to quantitative scrutiny". This concept is then reiterated and elaborated further in the phonological chapter.

⁶ The reader is addressed in particular to the following paragraphs in the 2002 book: par. 4.4.3. (p. 91 ff.), titled: "Sammallahti's reconstruction of the Proto-Uralic and Proto-Finno-Ugric node"; par. 4.5.1., titled: "The 'reconstructed' Proto-Uralic consonantism", which also includes a table of reconstructed consonants as proposed by Sammallahti (1988: 482); par. 4.5.2.2., titled: "From Proto-Uralic to Proto-Finno-Ugric according to Sammallahti" (p. 118 ff.), etc.

⁷ Significantly, the Author himself recognises that there is no difference between the assumed, and supposedly different, U node and the assumed, lower level, FU node. The same observation is found in Csúcs (2008), for which see quote below.

⁸ Janhunen cannot reconstruct the FU node because for this purpose one needs to include also the Ugric branch into the reconstruction, according the traditional family tree diagram to which both Janhunen and Sammallahti adhere, as clearly stated in the reported quote.

succeed in his endeavour — and this is exactly where my views are at variance with those of my critics. In fact, Sammallahti (1988: 486) only “sketches” a reconstruction which, according to his own words:

attempts to bridge the gap between the existing reconstructions of Proto-Uralic (Janhunen 1981), Proto-Ob-Ugric (somewhat modified from Honti 1982) and Proto-Finno-Permic (Itkonen 1954). The details are far from settled

The reality is that this ‘gap’ is, simply, ‘un-bridgeable’, that is: there is no way to trace back the above mentioned sub-branches to one single, common source, the assumed U proto-language, due to the well known, numerous “taxonomical and reconstructional problems”. Sammallahti himself observes (1988:484) the following:

There are no generally accepted reconstructions of Proto-Ob-Ugric, Proto-Ugric or Proto-Finno-Ugric sound structure so far, although the questions of reconstruction have been touched upon by many scholars

This being the state of affair, there are two alternative ways forward:

1. to openly acknowledge that there is no actual evidence (at the phonological level) in favour the U theory — or, if one prefers — that the level of counter evidence is much higher than the flimsy level of evidence (just a few correspondences /shared sound changes
2. to ignore this clear lack of supporting evidence and keep the U theory alive at any cost; in this case at the cost of projecting a highly idealized picture of the actual situation. This is indeed achieved by “sketching” an equally idealized ‘end-reconstruction’ through a chain of ‘ad-hoc’, intermediate reconstructions, whose purpose is exactly that of ‘bridging’ the ‘un-bridgeable’, of filling the gaps existing between the idealized reconstructions and the actual data

In other words, since the very purpose of a reconstruction is to achieve ‘regularity’ between the end-forms, with many links in a chain of reconstructions, and without the constraints imposed by checking them against actual data, it is no surprising if matches between the reconstructed forms appear to be (relatively) regular, and therefore appear to support the assumed model. This is exactly what Sammallahti does. Thus, for example, Sammallahti (1988: 487-90) does ‘reconstruct’ a wide number of U / FU “stems” and related meanings, as well as a number of proto-Ugric (from proto-FU) stems (1988: 500-01), but he does not support these reconstructions with, or check them against real data, actual words from the actual U languages. On the contrary, reconstructions are mainly based upon, and compared with, other reconstructions, fact which, despite the best and most honest of the intentions, does not and cannot prove anything. Sammallahti (1988: 487) warns the reader that “the reflexes of these [stems] in the individual Finno-Ugric languages” are to be found in the appendices of his article.

However, the reader who goes and looks for these reflexes, that is, for the actual data, will be disappointed: he will find that Sammallahti traces back the data available (the actual words from the languages under discussion) only to their *immediate node*, without showing how these data and / or immediate nodes (intermediate nodes within the family tree) do relate to each other and how, in turn, they can be traced back to the top, U node. In concrete, the following are the only actual data brought forward by Sammallahti in support of his model:

1. At paragraph. 6.1.3.1. (1988: 513-16) the Author presents some (supposed) correspondences between some reconstructed proto-Ugric forms and actual Hungarian words (to show the vowel reflexes). However, only Hungarian words are reported, so that we don't know how the supposedly corresponding words from the Ob-Ugric languages relate to the Hungarian ones (or to the proposed FU reconstructions), despite the presence of some data from Vogul and Ostyak (in turn derived just from proto-Vogul and proto-Ostyak respectively). Furthermore, as Sammallahti himself points out, "Hungarian vowels and consonants participate in complex morpho-phonemic alternations, which make it difficult to trace the development of different sounds";
2. At paragraph 6.1.3.2. (1988: 515-20) a good number of Hungarian words are reported (to show the consonantal reflexes), derived from proto-Ugric through "more or less regular changes". However, once again, it is difficult to see how these Hungarian words correlate to the very few actual data reported from Vogul and Ostyak, or to the assumed FU reconstructions;
3. The same holds true for the 'reconstruction' of the Finno-Permic branch (1988: 520-34), where, again, hardly any real data, real words from the actual languages are mentioned.

Sammallahti himself somehow admits that there are serious difficulties here, at least with regard to Hungarian, when he states that (1988: 499):

Although this grouping [Ugric] has been questioned frequently, it will be used in this presentation. This is justified by the fact that it is possible to build unitary reconstructions for Proto-Ugric and Proto-Ob-Ugric. This is done mostly on the basis of the Ugric languages: the Hungarian reflexes of the PFU vowels are not clear. *The relationship of Hungarian to the rest of the Ugric languages is therefore rather loose* [italics are mine].

2.2. In this paragraph I would like to briefly address two further issues raised in my books of 2002 and 2006 (2006a), that is: a) the issue of the reconstructed grammar, or better, the 'absence' of it, and: b) the issue of the 'founding fathers' of the FU /U theory.

With regard to the first issue, I can do nothing but to re-affirm my claim that no convincing, no satisfactory reconstruction of U has been achieved at the morphological level. It is an undeniable 'fact' that the reconstructed morphological elements shared by the U languages are a set of very simple formants, consisting of one or two very basic sounds (typically a basic consonant with or without a basic

vowel, of the type *-l(V)*, *-t(V)*, *-r(V)*, *-m(V)*, etc., or just one vowel). Morphemes of this type are much too short and much too general to be meaningful for the purpose of safely identifying and reconstructing morphological endings, patterns and systems in the assumed proto-language. Besides, their distribution within the U area does not at all reflect the traditional subdivision in branches, being on the contrary very messy. Last, but not least, morphemes as simple and basic as these can be identified in many other linguistic areas too, particularly in the Asiatic area. Even if there were scholars satisfied with the quantity and quality of the reconstructed U morphemes, there would still remain the problem that too few out of this set of proto-morphemes are then actually present in the various U languages. For example, in Hungarian the morphemes that go back to proto-Hungarian and from that (arguably) to PU, are only about 4 or 5, as is widely recognised (see for example Kiss & Pusztai (2003:169-170⁹)). In essence, the great majority of (verbal and nominal) morphemes / morphological systems present in the U languages cannot be traced back to a common source; rather, they appear to have formed relatively recently, and independently, during the development of the single languages. As Korhonen (1996:233) puts it: "There are quite a number of young and therefore transparent case forms derived from postpositional constructions in the U languages". These case forms do not appear to be the result of common heritage, or common development, apart from the shared, general process of grammaticalization and agglutination (or exaptation).

Let us now address the issue of the 'founding fathers'. My account of the origin and development of the FU /U theory (including a detailed account of the work by Sajnovics, Gyarmathi, Budenz, Donner and Castrén), has been faced with various types of criticism. For example, it has been observed that it is not appropriate to consider the whole of the U paradigm wrong, just because the founding fathers were not accurate in their analyses, and made mistakes. It goes without saying that these scholars, in their times, could not avail themselves of all those tools, expertise and data that are necessary for a rigorous assessment of the linguistic correlations. In any case — it has been asked by critics — why to attribute so much relevance to the early, rather intuitive analyses of these Authors when there are modern, more than satisfactory accounts of the U theory? Not to count that no model of interpretation, no paradigm can be invalidated on the ground of just a few mistakes or items of counter evidence (see for example Honti (2006: 26) and Simoncsics (2007:102-3)). Well, all these criticisms are really misplaced, for several reasons. First, as we have seen, it is not at all true that there are modern, satisfactory accounts of proto-U; therefore, it was vital to try to trace back the 'how', 'when' and 'why' the idea of a U family first came into being. Second, it is not true that there are only a few, sporadic and irrelevant mistakes in the works of the founding fathers (with all the due respect for their pioneer work). Actually, the opposite is true. For example, the careful reader of Gyarmathi (1799) will realize that he does not even have

⁹ "Öt rágrol tudjuk több-kevesebb bizonyossággal, hogy valamilyen formában megvolt az ősmagyar kor elején. Ezek: a *-t* tárgyrag ...; és négy határozórag: az *-n* lokatívuszrag ...; a *-t* lokatívuszrag...; az *-á* / *-é* latívuszrag [...]; és a *-l* ablatívuszrag". One could argue, as the Authors do, that the 'zero' (-Ø) ending of Nominative has also been inherited from U. It is also important to observe that all the other U languages that have an ending for the Object use a *-m* ending, and not a *-t* ending, the latter representing yet another instance of divergence between Hungarian and its supposedly related languages. As a matter of fact, the Authors recognise that the marking of the Object in Hungarian is somewhat problematic, and postulate that there must have been at some point a 'switch' of endings: "...elemcsere történt: a visszaszoruló alapnyelvi **-m*-et a *-t* váltotta fel, talán már az ősmagyar kor előtt". Obviously, there is no way one can verify this assumption, which is, indeed, a typical example of circular explanation.

enough knowledge to be able to distinguish the singular declension from the plural declension of Finnish (/Saami) nouns, so that he compares, indiscriminately, plural forms of Finnish / Saami nouns with singular forms of Hungarian nouns (see Marcantonio 2006b:84). As to Sajnovics, he adopts really odd criteria (such as 'swaps of letters') to "demonstrate" that there are "correspondences" not only between Hungarian and Finnish (/Saami), but also between Hungarian and Turkic, as well as ... Hungarian and Chinese [sic!]. (See again the detailed account of Sajnovics original work (written in Latin) in Marcantonio (2006b:55-87)). Obviously, these Authors have the great merit of having tried (among the first scholars to do so) to individuate language families on the basis of a concrete, 'empirical comparison' of real data, derived from the languages under investigation (although wrongly assessed and assembled), rather than on the basis of biblical accounts. It is however simply not true and misleading to state that they have 'founded' the FU family on the basis of (mainly) reliable evidence and arguments. In other words, I totally agree with my critics that these (supposed) founding fathers did a very good job for their times, and do not deserve any blame; however, the serious weaknesses of their works, as well as their views should be faithfully reported.

Finally, the issue of the founding fathers offers me the opportunity to re-affirm the correctness of another claim of mine, the claim that there is indeed a process of idealization and minimization of the counter evidence going on within U studies (claim strongly denied by Uralists¹⁰). As a matter of fact, none of my critics spent a word to comment on the 'fact' (pointed out in my work) that all the above mentioned, much revered Authors clearly and deeply believed not in the FU / U family as is now conventionally formulated, but in (one version or the other of) what Budenz calls "the wide Altaic family". This family comprises the FU ('Ugric' according to Budenz) family as just *one* of its several branches. The other branches are: Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tunguz (see Marcantonio, Nummenaho & Salvagni (2001)).

2.3. At this point I would like to reply to those scholars who do not accept my claim of the non-validity of the U theory, although they basically accept the major 'fact' unveiled by my analysis: the fact that the gerat majority of the correspondences established among the U languages are of poor quality and poor quantity. For example, it has been objected to me that the many mismatches and exceptions encountered in the data, the difficulties in establishing reconstructions, etc. are the 'obvious' consequence of the fact that the U family is 'very old'¹¹. In this case — as is known — the 'optimal amount' of evidence (whatever 'optimal amount' means) ideally necessary to establish a language family would have been 'obscured' by the long lapse of time. As to the 'loose' relation of Hungarian to its supposedly closest relatives, the hypothesis has been advanced by Abondolo (1998:6) that Hungarian, Mansi and Khanty can be considered to be "the sole survivors of what is here seen as the core, i.e., the

¹⁰ Another example of idealization is the claim that the FU and the U nodes have been satisfactorily reconstructed, as discussed in par. 2.1.

¹¹ I have been criticised by Bakró-Nagy (2003) for reporting that it is generally assumed that the U family is about 8000/6000/5000 years old (according to interpretations). In her judgment, nobody would be so un-skilled to make such an unfounded claim. However, Uralists make this claim all the time; see for example Honti (2006:23), or the family tree diagram at p. 254 of Csepregi (1998 ed.), to quote only a few Authors. In any case, as discussed in the text, it is not only generally accepted that the U family is very old, but this 'belief' is in turn used a justification of the poor quality and quantity of the conventional U correspondences.

most central and innovative region” of the U linguistic area. This in turn means that it is not surprising to witness rapid changes and even “upheavals” in the “phonological and lexical make up” of these languages. Many scholars appear to agree with this analysis, since it would nicely justify, among other facts, the ‘stand alone’ position of Hungarian within the family. Thus, for example, Simoncsics (2007:105), bearing in mind this statement by Abondolo, states the following whilst criticizing my scepticism on the validity of U:

Másképp fogalmazva: ha nem lett volna latin írásbeliség, a latin alapnyelv rekonstrukciója sokkal nehezebben menne úgy a francia, mint a román [...] alapján.

These are certainly plausible explanations, in principle. However, the problem is that there is no independent evidence that the U family is old at the point that the (supposed) optimal degree of closeness of the (assumed) related languages has been obscured. Equally, there is no independent evidence that the ‘core’ languages have undergone more rapid and radical changes than the peripheral languages (not to count that the concept of the ‘lateral areas’ is a not a proven principle; see Marcantonio & Nummenaho (2000/2001)). In other words, these explanations are *ad-hoc*, and we have here a typical instance of ‘circular arguments’. Actually, the comparison with Latin and the romance languages is quite an appropriate one here, but in a sense different from that intended by Simoncsics (see the quote above). One of the problems faced by the scholars dealing with the Eurasian linguistic area is the lack of sufficiently old records and the lack of sufficient information external to linguistics (as already mentioned). As a consequence, whatever interpretation we might give to the available data, as well as to the ‘absence’ of the expected data, correspondences, reflexes, morphological patterns, etc., it will always remain indeed in the realm of ‘interpretations’, or, worse, ‘speculations’. And, of course, we cannot confuse interpretations and speculations with ‘facts’. This being the case, I feel entitled to reaffirm the basic, major thrust of my work — at least until new, positive evidence comes up in favour of the traditional U theory. The major thrust of my work can be exactly formulated as follows (as I have tried to point out on many occasions, particularly in my book of 2002):

There is ‘no compelling evidence’ in favour of the establishment of the U theory /family (rather than: the U theory is wrong / the U family does not exist).

I think it is appropriate at this point to quote Hock’s words (1993: 218):

Considerations like these [that is: similarities, false matches, not sufficiently massive evidence for relationship, un-successful reconstructions, etc.] do not, strictly speaking, establish that the languages in question are not related, merely that *their relationship has not been successfully demonstrated* (italics are mine)

To conclude this discussion about the validity, or otherwise, of the U theory I believe it is worth quoting the following statement by Csúcs (2008:62):

.... az uráli /finnugor alapnyelv rekonstrukciója megtörtént. Természetesen vannak még fehér foltok, és egyelőre nem tudunk markáns különbségeket kimutatni az uráli és a finnugor alapnyelv között, de rekonstrukciónk így is van olyan megbízható, mint az indoeurópai alapnyelvé. *Az ugor alapnyelv rekonstrukciója még valóban nem készült el, sőt a perimit leszámítva a többi közbeeső (relatív) alapnyelvé sem.* Ez kétségtelen hiányosság, aminek pótlását én a következő évek legfontosabb feladatának tartom. (italics are mine).

Here, the following objection to Prof. Csúcs' statement can easily be raised: how can it be stated that the reconstruction of the U/FU proto-language has been implemented ("az uráli /finnugor alapnyelv rekonstrukciója megtörtént"), if neither the reconstruction of the Ugric node /proto-language ("Az ugor alapnyelv rekonstrukciója még valóban nem készült el"), nor the reconstruction of the other, intermediate nodes / proto-languages (with the exception of Permian) have yet been achieved? Of course, it is possible that this major "hiányosság", this major shortcoming of the conventional paradigm may be overcome one day, in which case I shall be happy to change my views on the matter. Until then, however, my claim that the U theory, as it stands today, is not well founded shall have to be considered correct.

3. Beyond the Uralic linguistic area?

3.1. Having (hopefully) clarified my views on the status of the U theory, I can now clarify my stand on the other, major issue which I raise in my work (particularly in my book of 2002 (/ 2006a), and which has attracted equally strong criticism: the long standing debate of the correlations observed between the U and the Altaic languages, and, in particular, between Hungarian, Turkic and Mongolian¹². The bulk of the criticism can be summarised as follows. On the one hand, I am very sceptical about the correlations identified among the U languages, by dubbing the great majority of them as 'similarities', or by claiming that the (few) shared sound changes (within U) are independent, parallel developments. On the other hand I constantly point out that a good part of the identified U correlations and the unidentified U sound developments are shared with the Altaic languages. This apparently contradictory claim of mine deserves a satisfactory explanation. Bakró-Nagy expresses what she perceives to be my stand in the matter as follows (2003: 53):

Miért van az, hogy egy sor esetben egyes hangváltozások lehetnek egymástól függetlenek, véletlen egyezések [in the case of the U languages], máskor pedig beszédes példái az

¹² According to latest research there are correlations also with the language(s) of the Huns; see for example Ucsiraltu / Obrusánszky (2008). Unfortunately, we do not have direct records of this now extinct language, but only scattered words, preserved mostly in Chinese documents.

összetartazásnak (ti. amikor a magyar és a török, vagy a finnugor és az altáji kapcsolatáról van szó)? Miért van az, hogy egy és ugyanazon jelenség egyszer valami mellett, másszor meg valami ellen szól?

If this were really my argument, Bakró-Nagy's remarks would be correct indeed. However, I was actually trying to address a different and (as far as I know) not yet resolved issue, an issue that can be introduced through a metaphor¹³: to affirm that within the vast Eurasian area one can make a clear-cut distinction between the isoglosses that encompass the U languages only and those that encompass the Altaic languages only is like drawing a circle in the water of the sea and claiming that the water within the circle is 'Uralic water' and that outside the circle is 'Altaic water'. In other words, I am claiming that the traditionally held view according to which the correlations observed within U are of genetic nature, whilst those observed between U and Altaic are only similarities¹⁴ — due to borrowing or chance resemblances — is wrong. This is because the conventional U 'correspondences' are themselves, mostly, 'similarities', whose origin could equally well be due to borrowing or chance resemblances. To be more precise, I claim the following:

- ❖ Both *within* the traditional U area and traditional Altaic area, as well as *across* this traditional linguistic border, one can individuate some correlations (at any level of language) whose nature — inheritance, borrowing, chance resemblances — is difficult to identify. This is because *all* these observed correlations are neither sufficiently wide spread, nor sufficiently consistent or 'regular and systematic' to allow linguists to come up with a safe and unanimous assessment of their nature and relevance. In other words, what one can observe in this Eurasian area is a messy bundle of several lexical, phonological and grammatical isoglosses, with, perhaps, just a few 'correspondences' scattered here and there, as claimed by some scholars (see the quote by Sinor below).

This is a very simple, and, I believe, faithful picture of the linguistic situation under discussion. I intend therefore to re-affirm my stand on this subject, at least until a full and proper reconstruction of the Ugric, FU and therefore of the top U node (as well as of the Altaic node) is achieved. Thus, the general issue I was and still am trying to address is:

- ❖ what are the criteria on the basis of which traditional linguists draw a circle around the 'U similarities', calling them 'correspondences' and telling them apart from the 'Altaic similarities'?

Besides, one must not forget that, as mentioned, some 'correspondences' have been individuated also across the conventional border of the U and Altaic area (according to several scholars at least, experts in both the U and the Altaic languages), and this, of course, complicates the picture even further. For example, one may compare the following, in my opinion paradigmatic quote by Sinor (1975: 251):

¹³ This metaphor has been first proposed by A. Künnap.

¹⁴ As Bakró-Nagy (2003: 53) puts it: "Egy sor esetben megkapjuk mindazokat az adatokat is, amelyeket az altáj nyelvek valamelyikéből említ az UEW, mintegy illusztrálendő a hasonlóság".

I find it hard to believe that a correspondence as *flawless* in form and meaning as that existing between the Uralic and Tunguz forms could be coincidental [...] I would not like to exclude the possibility that the [...] words [...] are *direct borrowings* from Tunguz [*italics are mine*]

This being the case, how can we claim that the U and Tunguz “correspondences” are “direct borrowing” (whose flawlessness is due to the process of sound adaptation, perhaps?), rather than inherited words? As a matter of fact, since the Altaic theory too has by now been called into question by several scholars, it would be fruitful to re-examine the whole area in an un-biased and fresh way, bypassing the strait jacket of the traditional U and Altaic family tree. A possible way forward could be drawing the isoglosses that characterize the Eurasian ‘linguistic area’ (encompassing U, so-called Altaic and possibly Yukagir), without however expecting to be able to individuate and /or reconstruct the end-proto-language(s) and, even, at times, the intermediate proto-languages, since this would be simply impossible. In fact, what we have here is a ‘linguistic area’, a *Sprachbund* where: a) bunches of isoglosses criss-cross each other in a complex and messy way; b) there is a high level of variation in sound shape and meaning within lexicon, morphology and even typology; c) the observed correlations are (mainly) ‘similarities’, whose precise origin in most cases is difficult, if not impossible to ascertain. This fuzzy intermingling of languages and dialect is indeed what one would expect from an area whose population was mainly nomadic.

The picture of a linguistic area where it is very hard to tell apart borrowed from inherited elements, or from false matches is not a rare phenomenon in the world, quite the contrary. To refer again to the IE family, a situation of this sort is found in the ‘South-Asian linguistic area’ as mentioned above (see for example Masica (1979)), where often it is impossible to trace back the origin of the lexical and structural similarities that occur between Sanskrit and the other, non-IE languages of India, mainly Munda and Dravidian languages (for an accurate discussion of the situation see Hock (1993) and (1996)).

3.2. The discussion carried out above about the difficulty of telling apart borrowed *vs* inherited (and chance resemblance) elements gives me the opportunity to reaffirm the existence of a ‘neo-grammarians’ principle which I have critically discussed in my book of 2002, and whose discussion in turn has made several scholars raise their eye-brows. In their opinion, I would have grossly misinterpreted the principle in question (as well as other principles of historical linguistics). It is the principle according to which ‘regular correspondences’ are found (mostly) among inherited words, among cognates, whilst irregularities and similarities are found (mostly) among borrowed words, including borrowing from a close dialect. For example, Bakró-Nagy (2003: 56) states that: “... ilyen nem létezik, némileg is képzett nyelvtörténész illet komolyan soha nem állíthatott”. However, this concept is alive and quite active too, and not only within U studies. For example, it is widely adopted within IE studies to justify otherwise un-justifiable irregularities. One example would suffice to illustrate the situation. Sihler (1995:157), while analyzing a particularly irregular sound developments from IE to Germanic — the sound change $*k^w > f$, as found in Germanic **wulfaz* ‘wolf’ — recognizes that the sound change in question has defied any attempt to find a “condition” under which it could be defined as a “regular Germanic development”. This being the case, the Author concludes: “The probable explanation is that these forms are dialect

borrowings from an otherwise unattested dialect of Germanic". Although neo-grammarians (and in this case Sihler too) focused their attention to irregularities occurring (supposedly) across dialects border, in the everyday practice of reconstruction the concept has then been extended to encompass also borrowing from (supposedly) totally different languages. See also Paul (1960: 72-3) for an explicit formulation of this principle.

To conclude this paragraph, I would like to make one final reply to a criticism that has been raised again by several scholars and that is here reported through the words by Bakró-Nagy (2003: 71):

Marcantonio hozza meg azt a következtetést, hogy politikai nyomás nehezedett mind a magyarokra, mind a finnekre akkor, amikor az altáji rokonság gondolatát a háttérbe kellett szorítaniuk.... *Ma milyen érdekek nyomása érvényesül az uralisztikán?* [italics are mine]

It may well be true that there are no more political influences, no more social / historical pressures on the U studies *per se*, as it was indeed the case at the time of the Hapsburg Empire first, and the Communist regime afterwards. However, there is still, alive and healthy, one type of pressure which has not been lifted at all: the more than natural, more than common, so-called 'peer-review' pressure.

4. Conclusion

Hoping to have replied to the main criticisms advanced against my claims and to have defended them, I would like now to reiterate the main thrust of my research, as summarised in the following points:

1. The U/ FU theory, and therefore the existence of the U language family, has not been proven beyond doubt (at least thus far).
2. The establishment of any language classification is never 100% safe, because of two main reasons: a) the difficult and, I would say, 'slippery' nature of the task; b) the equally slippery nature of the criteria and methods of analysis adopted, which were created about 200 years ago and have ever since remained basically un-changed (despite remarkable progress made by linguistics). Therefore, any attempt at revisiting the very foundations upon which any language family is based should be always welcomed (for example, see Marcantonio (2009 ed.) for a debate on the status of the IE theory).
3. Even if the U theory had been proven beyond doubt, there is still no guarantee at all that a U speaking community had really existed in pre-historical times — there is in fact no compelling evidence for adopting the 'realist' interpretation of the linguistic reconstructions (see Marcantonio 2009a).

This being my stand on the matter, I am looking forward to further, fruitful discussions about the validity *vs* non-validity of the standard U theory.

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OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála :

Tongwancheng, the City of the Southern Huns

ABSTRACT

Tongwancheng is a significant architectural heritage of the Southern Huns. It is the only city in Inner Asia that was built by the Huns. However, another monument, the Hai Ba Ta or great pagoda in Yinchuan city is also connected to the Huns. Helian Bobo, founder of the Da Xia Kingdom, constructed a new capital in the heart of the Ordos region beginning in 413. Because of its strategic position, the city became a commercial and military center in the Inner Asian area: it was a great stop along the Silk Road. The city was inhabited until the Ming dynasty.

Keywords: White City, Tongwancheng, Huns, Inner Asia, building sacrifice.

In 2004 National Geographic Online Hungary has published an article on the capital of the Southern Huns, Tongwancheng. Previously, we did not have any detailed information about this city, as it was hardly mentioned in the international historical literature. Only few monographs recorded the name of the city. In the past few decades only a handful sinologists — Eberhard, Pulleyblank and Boodberg — have dealt with the history of Southern Huns, but without data concerning this significant city, despite of its mentioning in Chinese Chronicles like Jin shu, Wei shu, etc.¹

Various names have been given to the city through different historical periods; it has been known as Tongwancheng, and later as Xia Zhou. Some scholars did not accept the idea that the Huns had survived and lived for centuries in the region what is present-day Northern and Central China, but the Chinese and some Orientalists proved this with archaeological findings and historical sources. According to Professor Hou Yongjian, Xi'an Normal University, the Huns lived in these regions until the 7th or 8th centuries. Chinese archaeological excavations in Outer or Northern China unearthed large tombs that contained significant quantities of objects (saddles, horse furniture, potteries, etc.) associated with the Southern Huns. The territory of these people stretched over much of the land surrounding the Yellow-river, Eastern-Gansu and Qinghai.²

¹ Hou-Cao, 2008. 163.

² Ma, 2005. 343.

Southern Huns

When the Southern Huns became the vassals of the Han-dynasty, they established many cities and capitals in what is now present-day Northern-China. After their separation at the end of the 1st century A.D., Hun nobles established independent states with own center or “ordu”³. Only at the end of the 3rd century did they become united again, under the rule of Liu Yuan. From this time onward, in the areas around the Yellow-river, only a few Hun dynasties such as the Han, Zhao, Da Xia and Northern-Liang are recorded, known to us today by their Chinese appellations. Previously, scientists thought they were Chinese dynasties, but later research into historical sources revealed that they were indeed Huns.

Among these various dynasties the Da Xia, which ruled from 407 to 431, is especially significant. This empire spread out over a vast territory around the Yellow-river, and its capital was for some time Gao Ping, which is known today as Guyuan city in the province of Ningxia. Helian Bobo, the founder of this last great Hun dynasty lived on the right bank of Yellow-river, where he built a 9 storey pagoda.⁴ It can be seen in present day Yinchuan, and this is the oldest Buddhist pagoda in China. Indeed, Helian Bobo planned and constructed many significant architectural sites; Tongwan city in the heart of the Ordos region represents his most striking contribution. According to Chinese scholars’ studies its highest population rate was between 82.000 and 107.000.⁵

The great Hun city, Tongwancheng was recorded in Chapter 130 of the Chinese chronicle, Jin shu, and it was inhabited until the Ming-dynasty. After 1423 the city disappeared from written sources until Chinese and foreign travelers re-discovered it during the 19th century. At first, Chinese scholars working with their own sources, believed that the city was the capital of the Tanguts, but later they realized that it was established by the Southern Hun Da Xia dynasty.⁶ The real scientific research began only in the 1990s, the site was surveyed twice and scholars from Shaanxi province undertook a great project that sought to investigate the history and culture of the Southern Huns, with extensive archaeological research. The professionals found some ruins of towers outside the city walls; it is believed that the function of these structures was to help protect the king when he was outside the wall. They localized sites of tombs near these ruined towers, but these remain unexcavated. The most important findings were the seals of Southern Hun kings and/or officials, which were unearthed near Tongwancheng, in Yulin, and other locations in the Ordos region and Shaanxi province. One was discovered in Loyang, which was once part of the Southern Hun Empire.⁷ These items are significant because they show that while the Southern Huns used Chinese signs, the language of seals was Hun. Uchiraltu, Inner Mongolian expert read the inscriptions and reconstructed some Hun administrative titles, that were recorded in the Chinese chronicles as well.

³ The Chinese chronicles recorded an expression “yu tu” for the centre of the Hun king, and according to Uchiraltu, Inner-Mongolian linguist, that reconstruction is “ordu” or palace. Uchiraltu, 1996. 4. 103.

⁴ The name of the pagoda today is Hai Ba ta, which refers to Helian Bobo. This site is situated on the northern part of the city.

⁵ Hou-Cao, 2008. 164.

⁶ Kang, 2004. 16.

⁷ Ma, 2005. 348.

In researching Tongwancheng, the biggest problem that presents itself is that the Chinese archaeologists have so far only done surveys and no excavations have been carried out.

They believe that a section under the eastern city wall or fortress had previously been erected, but was later ruined entirely.⁸ So, it might be true that previously a wall or fortress was erected, but it was leveled. Other scholars propose that the surroundings were inhabited by Huns, but there was no city there before the 5th century. That proposal proved the Chinese chronicles, which have detailed building procedure from that period onward. According to the Jin shu, Helian (Liu) Bobo (407-425), a direct descendant of the great Mao tun and Liu Yuan shanyu, and the founder of the Hun Da Xia dynasty, planned and built an enormous capital between 413 and 419.⁹ Archaeologists collected some objects from locals, but they could not determine the exact date of their production. The most interesting object discovered was a bowl with seeds. A sculpture of a horse was also found inside the city, presently this object can be seen in the Xi'an Steles of Forest Museum. Supplementing these objects, many varieties of coins were discovered in the city, illustrating the importance of the city throughout the Middle-Ages. We know from Zhou that the well-known Nestorian crosses of Ordos were found by locals in the first half of the 20th century.¹⁰

Our own discoveries of huge broken ceramics, decorations from the interiors of buildings indicate that the city was occupied and laid to waste in later periods. We know of two major sieges: in 786 Tibetan troops and in 1206 Jurchen troops invaded the city.

There is another problem that presents itself to interested archaeologists: according to Jin shu, when the construction of the capital was complete, Helian Bobo erected a stele upon which he listed his deeds. Researchers were hoping to find this object in the southern part of the city, where the chronicle situates that item but at the time of the survey they did not find it. All that they found was a robbed tomb from Tang-period with another stele connected to it. So the matter of Helian Bobo's stele remains unsolved to this very day.¹¹

Description of the city

According to cartographical data, Tongwan city is situated in Shaanxi province, Jinbian county at the central point of the Ordos plateau. It had been a strategic and commercial center for centuries. Historical sources speak of two rivers — Hong Liu and Wu-ding — that flew through this area, nowadays however only the latter remained. In ancient times it could have been a fertile land as Helian Bobo said: "The hill is beautiful, in front of it the plain is wide, and around this there is a lake of pure water. I wandered so

⁸ Deng, 2004. 10. Hereby the author refers to the Shui Jing commentary.

⁹ Jin shu recorded the building process.

¹⁰ Zhou, 2004. 51-54.

¹¹ Wang, 2004. 111-112.

many places, but I have not seen a country, whose beauty can compare with that of this place".¹² Inside the city there had been a big lake, but at some point it had dried up. The city was immense, with outer walls that were 6 km long, 16-30 meters wide, and with watchtowers constructed on each of the four corners.

Sand, soil and water were mixed, yielding a strong building material, which is known as "white earth". Probably, inside the city, wood was another important building material. We can observe traces of beams on the sides of the palace and some watchtowers. The investigations of the Chinese archaeologists revealed that the city had been divided into two main parts: an outer segment and an inner one. Additionally the inner city was further subdivided into western and eastern sections. The western segment contains remnants of a palace, the houses of officers and other leaders, and various governmental offices. South of the palace two ruined towers can be found, one of which was a drum tower, and the other a bell tower. Together these towers performed a very important function: providing information to the habitants. The Chang'an Tower stood in the center of the western section, guarding the road to Chang'an, the ancient Chinese capital, that was once part of the Da Xia Kingdom. The eastern part was the industrial and commercial center and some houses remain in good condition. In some ways, these houses differed from the houses of nobles. While a noble house had two or more rooms, and the "garden" in front of it, the house of an ordinary family had only two rooms and usually no "garden". Considering the more than ten-thousand inhabitants of the city there are only few houses that remained. Hence, it is likely that "temporary" houses such as tents (yurts) or wooden houses existed inside and outside the city. However, the arrangement of the houses was much the same: like the yurts of the nomadic people who moved mainly through Mongolia and Tibet, as Hou stated,¹³ and the typologies that developed in early cities in Mongolia, the central point of these houses was the fireplace. The smoke was led through an aperture in the ceiling, providing a secure and liveable home for the inhabitants.

Hun cities in Inner Asia

It is very important to emphasize that Tongwancheng was not only a Hun city in Inner Asia. Tongwancheng was a city that was built late in the history of the Southern Huns and has remained in relatively good condition, but there are also traces of other cities. Mongolian archaeologists contend that among Inner Asian nomadic people there were certain tendencies towards urban living, and that their way of life was not as simple as has often been reported. According to new archaeological surveys, other cities have been connected to the Hun period (2nd century B.C. — 1st century A.D.), and in Mongolia, traces of encampments dating back to the Bronze and Iron Age were discovered. Working throughout in Mongolia, archaeologists excavated four major cities (Terelj, Gua Dob, Bayanbulag and Boroo) supplementing the 10 Hun cities that were identified by H. Perlee in the 1950s.¹⁴ Next to Lake Baikal, we

¹² Jin shu 116.

¹³ Hou, 2008. 164.

¹⁴ Perlee, 1961.

know of two significant commercial and industrial cities (Ivolga and Derestui). Chinese scientists have identified the site of at least 500 city ruins in Inner Mongolia dating from different periods, but we must wait for the excavation of these sites before we can know whether Hun cities are among them.

Chinese scholars state that the ancient center of the Huns was situated in the Yin-shan and Ordos plateau. As we know, the Ordos region was once an important industrial center; that is why pastoral tribes settled down there. According to Chinese sources, the name of the first Hun capital was Longcheng. Sources suggest that it was the central residence of the Huns around 60 B.C., when two brothers — Huhanye and Chichi — were fighting for the title of shanyu.¹⁵ Chinese records later refer to the city of Guanglu, formerly a Chinese fortress, as being Huhanye's capital.¹⁶

It is true that Chinese chronicles are filled with references to many Hun cities and capitals from the period of Southern Hun rule, but most of these cities were of Chinese origin. Unfortunately, from European literature we only get one sentence of description pertaining to the Southern Huns and their mode of living: "They wander following grass and water, they had no fixed cities". The other Chinese sources point to a major difference between the walled cities of the Chinese and Hun cities that were not surrounded by walls. However, this statement, which has been attributed to Shi Ji, refers to the way of life of the Gobi people, who needed to relocate often due to the scarcity of pastureland. It is known that Mongolian nomads changed their encampment up to 4 times a year; they did not do their wanderings without good reason. Keeping this in mind, we can better understand the varied modes of settlement of the Huns.

As I mentioned above, the Chinese chronicles recorded many Hun cities. Some of these cities were able to move from one place to another, as we can see in the history of Urga, the precursor to modern-day Ulaanbaatar. It was first identified in 1654, but settled down only in 1778. Early Hun capitals such as Longcheng were also mobile, capable of being moved from place to place as Batsaihan maintains. However, the location of the first Hun capital remains still elusive.

Meaning of White cities

According to Chinese scholars, Tongwancheng was known by its Hun name of Bai Cheng or White City. This name is not unique in the vast geography of the Eurasian Steppe; indeed we can find many capitals that are known as "White city" strewn across Eurasia.

The origin of the name may be connected with the Huns, who are known to have used this expression. As we can see from the Inner Asian steppe tradition, white is considered a blessed color, this may indicate that these cities were built not only for civil or military purposes, but that they may have also been regarded as sacred centers. Tongwancheng functioned this way under the Xixia reign (11-13th century).

¹⁵ Han shu. History of Huns. See Uchiraltu, 1996. 4. 113-114.

¹⁶ Csornai, 2007. 307. Hans hu 8.

A Russian travelogue, Potanin, who visited the area in the 1870s, also made references to a White City. He travelled through the Ordos region and he wrote that near Yulin there was a large city known as “Chagan Balgasun”, the Mongolian term for “White City”.¹⁷ This was an important documentation of the late history of Tongwan city. Nowadays, the name of the village next to the ruined city is “Bai Cheng zi”, where the Bai cheng means White city and the “zi” “little” in Northern Chinese dialects.¹⁸ As we know, white was a blessed color, and some scholars think the name of the city was connected to this function. The Huns and their descendants used white horses for sacrifices to Heaven¹⁹, or wore white clothing for certain ceremonies. Other scholars’ think that colors in the city names refer to the compasses, because according to Inner Asian tradition white is equivalent to west.²⁰

The name of White city often occurs in Inner Asia and Eastern Europe, where the Huns brought their special Inner-Asian cultural heritage. The western border of the Hun civilization was the Carpathian-basin, where Attila, the great Hun king established his capital. According to German sources this capital was known as Ezilburg (which can be roughly translated as “Attila’s city”) while in Hungarian historian chronicles it is known as the White City.

The Gesta Hungarorum, an old Hungarian record, notes some interesting data concerning this White City. Árpád, the ruling Hungarian prince of the time, who was himself a descendant of Attila, wanted to find the old capital and make it his own seat of power. When the Hungarians entered the Carpathian basin, they looked for King Attila’s capital in the mountains around the Danube.²¹ When they ultimately found it, they organized a grand feast on the site.²² According to historical records, Attila’s capital was used by the medieval Hungarian kings as their capital for centuries.²³ The medieval Kingdom of Hungary had four ancient cities of significance, and all of them were in some way “White Cities”:²⁴ Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)²⁵ in the east, Nándorfehérvár (Alba Bulgariae) in the south²⁶, and Dnyeszterfehérvár (White City on the Dniester) in the north-eastern part of the kingdom²⁷, and lastly Tengerfehérvár (White city on the sea).²⁸

¹⁷ Potanin, 1875. 107.

¹⁸ Andor Zombori’s information from Chinese scholars.

¹⁹ The Heaven-cult is name as Tengri-cult for Inner Asian people. Also, the Hungarians and Mongolians had white horse sacrifice in the past.

²⁰ Purev, 2002. 46.

²¹ That mountain is Pilis, which is close to Hungary’s present-day capital, Budapest.

²² Gesta Hungarorum, 46. In: Györffy, 1986. 171.

²³ Kézai, 27. In: Györffy, 1986. 189.

²⁴ According to the Czuczor-Fogarasi linguistic dictionary, the Hungarian word “fejér” shows, that is a sacral name, connecting with the Heaven. (fe- up in Hungarian). But they say, that the Hungarian fejér, or white can be compared with the Chinese bei, or white.

²⁵ Nowadays it is in Transylvania, Romania.

²⁶ Nowadays it is in Serbia, near Belgrad. Belgrad also means White city.

²⁷ Nowadays it is in Ukraine.

²⁸ Nowadays it is in Croatia. The first Hungarian-Croatian king, Kálmán was enthroned in 1096.

In addition, the ancient Hun traditions were preserved in the name of Sarkel, the Khazarian fortress, which has the meaning: "White village". Later dynasties used this name as well. For instance, we can find some ruined cities in Northern-China, which preserve this name. Moreover, the old Jurchen capital was Bai-cheng, and then Khubilai khan had four major capitals, one of them was known as Chagan khota, or the White city.²⁹ Later, in the 17th century the famous prince, Tsogtu Tayishi built a city and named it Chagan Baisin³⁰, or White House.

The building sacrifice

On the 130th coil of Jin shu there is a story documenting how the wall in the city was made more resilient: "When Helian Bobo designed Tongwan city, he appointed Chi-gan Ali as the overseer of the construction. Ali was a very skilful architect, but he was also very cruel. The walls of the city were designed to withstand great forces. If a hole could be bored through the wall, the builder of the wall would be killed and his body buried inside the wall."³¹

Similarly, the Shi Ji chronicle notes Meng Jiang nü's story regarding what happened during the construction of the Great Wall at the time of Qin Shi Huang Di.³² Comparable stories are known among Mongolians, both in the Ordos region as well as in Outer-Mongolia and Tibet, and it was spread over via Caucasus up to the Carpathian basin, we can find examples even in the folklore of Southern Europe.

Human sacrifice is very important in the Eastern Hungarian folklore tradition, one that has inspired in Hungary much scholarship and yielded many publications in the past hundred years. The most interesting Hungarian ballad is "Kőműves Kelemenné", which plays out in the castle of Déva as well as other locations.³³ The ballad contains reference to the custom of installing human remains into walls in order to strengthen the architecture of the castle. The Hungarian version contains the following line: "They caught her and put into the fire. Her fragile ashes were mixed into the lime. That was how the high castle of Déva was completed."³⁴ Hungarian ethnographer, Lajos Vargyas compared this ballad with many similar works from Southern European groups (Bulgarians, Romanians, Greeks and Macedonians)³⁵ and concluded that they all derive ultimately from the Hungarian version. Vargyas is of the opinion that the Hungarians brought this practice from the Caucasus, where they had previously

²⁹ Chagan Khota was Khublai khan's capital. The meaning of the word: White city, where the khota can be Hun name for city. We can find kota, káta in Central-Asian and Hungarian place names.

³⁰ That was the center for Tsogtu tayishi in nowadays Mongolia. (Built in the 17th century.)

³¹ Jin shu, 130.

³² Polonyi, 1986. 200.

³³ It is a name of the builder's wife.

³⁴ Ortutay-Kriza, 1976. 11.

³⁵ Vargyas, 1959. 5-73.

lived. Additionally, he argues that the motif is of Inner-Asian origin, however, the examples that he musters are Georgian and Armenian, with no sources deriving from further East.³⁶

According to the new data that has been unearthed regarding the building processes of Tongwan city and the Great Wall, we can say now that Vargyas was right, because this motif is widespread over Inner Asia, among the Huns and their descendants: Turkic, Hungarian, Mongolian and Tibetan people.

The motif which was spread through the Eurasian steppe — with other documentation — shows the similar cultural heritage of the Huns throughout the Eurasian grassland.

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³⁶ Vargyas, 1959. 5-73.

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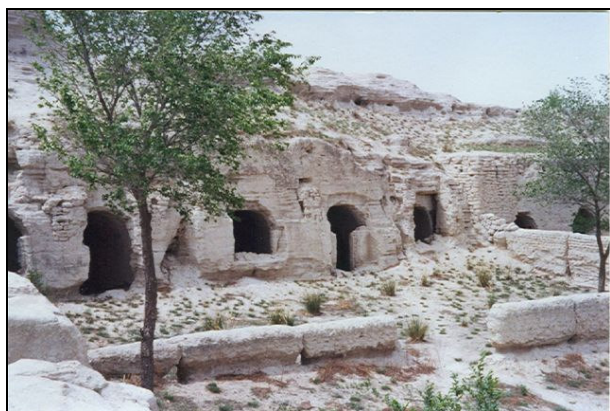
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Hai Bao Ta- The oldest pagoda in China. It was built by Helian Bobo, the great Hun Emperor.



The Ruin of the palace in Tongwancheng.



Houses of nobles and officers in the inner city.



Towers in the outer part of Tongwancheng.



The outer defence system in the city.



Horse sculpture was found in the Hun city.



Ordinary houses in the city.



Inner part of the ordinary house. The central site was the fireplace.

