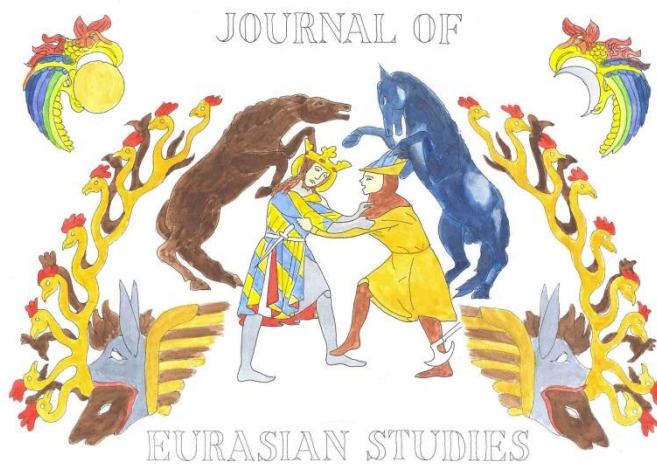


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2. The author(s) must elaborate the theme of the article logically,
3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
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5. The article can be written in any language. In case it is written in a language other than English, an English summary of at least A4 length is required,
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DEAR READER,

ZHUANGZHI'S BUTTERFLY AND THE ULTIMATE URSPRACHE

Certain books need to be written, regardless of popular acceptability. Such a book is *'Youth without Youth'* by Mircea Eliade. Written in 1976, it was first published in Munich in 1978-79 in a journal for Romanian émigré writers as *'Tinerețe fără de tinerețe'*. This intriguing and multi-layered novella from the renowned philosopher and historian of religion deals with time, interior consciousness, memory, love, second chance, history, and quest for the ultimate Ursprache, just to name a few. Topics that we are dealing with in our journal, from the very beginning.

Even more important is to make certain movies that need to be made, regardless of box-office success. Thanks God, there are people who are capable and willing to do just that. Such a person is Francis Ford Coppola, who created a movie based on the novella, acting as producer, director, and screenplay writer. By financing the film completely out of his own pocket he could avoid any commercial pressure that would have jeopardized the quality of the movie; the novella *Youth without Youth* does not allow cheap adaptation. The motion picture bearing the same title as the novella was released in 2007 and is a real jewel. The screenplay, which stays very close to the novella, is brought to life by an excellent cast, highlighted by brilliant photography and exotic music, composed by Osvaldo Golijov. On top of this, the connoisseur is also overwhelmed with a plethora of languages: English, Romanian, German, Russian, Chinese, Armenian, Latin, French, Italian, Sanskrit, Latin, Egyptian, and Babylonian, just to name a few.

It is a privilege that we may enjoy such great artistic creations that next to their aesthetic value highly enlarge our intellectual and spiritual horizons.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, March 31, 2012

HISTORY

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló**Ancient Arts in Japan**Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts¹

Japan is the easternmost great cultural community in Eurasia. The people of Japan speak agglutinate-type languages. In this sense they are far-away relatives for Hungarians. An overview of the history of Japan reveals interesting counterparts in Hungarian history. The society developed a type of feudalism in Japan, from its own power sources. The feudal-like state of Japan shows strong similarities to the European feudal states. After the Tokugawa-era the modern Japan had been organized by the Meiji-reform of 1868. This date is very near to the reconciliation between Hungary and Austria (1867).

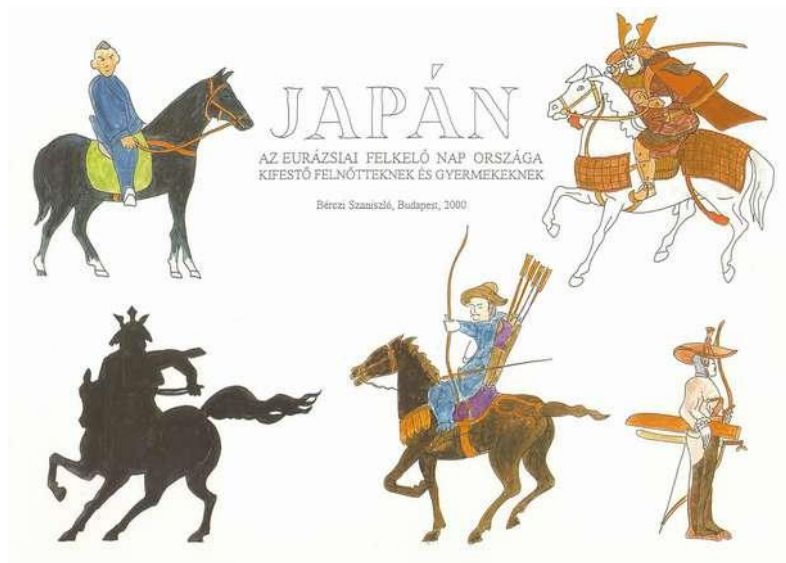


Fig. 1. The Ancient Arts in Japan booklet's front cover displays famous sculptures from Japan with military leaders as follows: upper row left and right — two Ouchi princes from Yamaguchi; lower row: left - Kusunoki Masashige (Tokyo), middle – Yosugimone Tokugawa (Tokyo), right — Ohta Doukan (Tokyo).

Japan has been formed by influences coming from the eastern regions of Asia; therefore the history of Japan can be traced back to interplay between Korea, China and Japan. Because of the extended Eastern-Asian influences that swept over the Eurasian steppes there are several common points between Hungarian and Japanese history. One such point is the Mongolian invasion during the first third of the

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

13th century. Hungarians call it “Tatárjárás” (Tartar Invasion) which resulted in significant destruction in Hungary. The invasion army of the Mongolians met with a great storm which dispersed the fleet and only smaller fights took place at the western shoreline of Japan by the remnants of the army.



Fig. 2. Famous Japanese symbols: the holy Mountain of Fujiyama, with the rising Sun, the main symbol of Japan, and the architecture: the Ise Grand Shrine (Ise Jingu, dedicated to goddess Amaterasu omikami) and a five level pagoda from Yamaguchi.

Let us consider Japanese history and civilization in parallel with Hungarian history. There are beautiful bronze bells comparable to Hun-Scythian bells, although they are larger and on display in the National History Museum of Tokyo. Large ceramic soldiers, horses and other interesting figures of life are known as haniva sculptures, first found in emperor tombs, later in other funeral graves.



Fig. 3. Ancient ceramics and a haniva figures in the National History Museum, Tokyo.

Looking at them we are reminded of the famous terracotta army figures of Chinese Emperor Cs'in Shi-Huang Ti, who had let them prepared for his funeral tomb near Xian, (ancient Changan), Northwest China. The people who arrive to the International Airport Narita, can meet human sized haniva soldiers standing at the entrance. These funeral sculptures were arranged on the large funeral hills of the early Japanese Emperors, around the key-formed mounds recently seen near Osaka. These tombs date back to the 5-7th centuries AD, the Hun and Avar age in the Carpathian Basin, which is called the Kofun period in Japan's history.

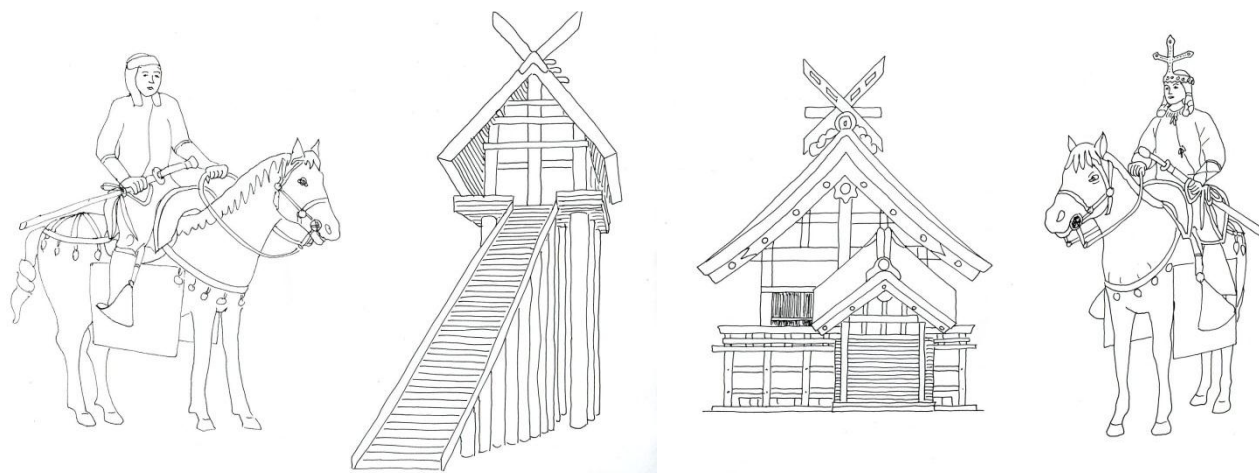


Fig. 4. Ancient Izumo Shrine with a cavalier on horseback in the exhibition in the Izumo Shrine Museum, near Matsue. The old building once had been the tallest architecture in medieval Japan, in the 6th century. Later lower and lower buildings were reconstructed, and in 2000 the roots of the ancient building were excavated. The reconstruction of the Old Izumo Shrine can be seen in left center, the modern shrine to the right of it. The Izumo Princes on horseback is also on display in the Izumo Museum exhibition.

The Kofun period is the era of the organization of the centralized state in Japan. In the central region of Japan, east of the Kyoto-Osaka line, first the Yamato Court had been organized, then the emperor's seat and capital was placed in the Asuka-Valley, then in Nara, and then finally in Kyoto. Kyoto had been the seat of the Japanese Emperor for more than 1000 years, and it remained a symbolic capital even after the Tokugawa shoguns moved the organizing center to Edo (the recent Tokyo) between 1600 and 1868.

It is interesting in the cultural stratification of Japan that the appearance of bronze and iron is almost synchronous in the archaeological findings. Both metals arrived through China and Korea. The head armor of the war horses is also a characteristic feature of the high level of metallurgy from the 6th century AD. Hungarians appreciate specially the beautiful sword blades in the National History Museum of Tokyo. Such blades survived since the 9-10th century and a samurai sword from the Fujivara period (the age of the Árpád House of Hungary) is not considered as rarity. Our Attila-sword could survive only in Vienna, because of the bloody centuries of Turkish wars in the 16-17th centuries in Hungary. The island position of Japan was beneficial for the survival of these treasures over so long a historical period.

Since the 9th century the Fujiwara family gave the empress to the Japanese royal house. This period lasted till the times of Béla III in Hungary. At the end of the 12th century two generals had fought heavily for the emperor's seat in Japan: the Heike and the Genji genera. After three decades of ruling the Heike genera had lost the final battle at Danno Ura in 1185. The Genjis founded the Kamakura Shogunate.



Fig. 5. The Himeji castle from the period of the three military leaders:

Oda Nobunaga, Hideyosi Toyotomi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

At the beginning of Hungarians' wars with the Turks, after the death of King Matthias, in Japan a long period of uncertainty ruled and the endless fights among local warlords weakened the country. In the second half of the 16th century three important shoguns, (the palatinus may be considered a similar position in Hungary) Oda Nobunaga, Hideyosi Toyotomi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu reorganized and strengthened the central government and founded a strong state again. The period of these three military leaders is the famous period of the construction of the Japanese castles. In our booklet the Himeji castle can be seen from this period. The reorganization of Japan can be easily understood by Hungarian readers because it is synchronous in time with the Bocskai Independence War in Hungary (1604-1606), which

strengthened the Transylvanian Principality of Hungary. In Japan, the famous battle at Sekigahara took place in 1600. There it had been decided for a long period who organized and controlled the state in Japan. The battle was won by Tokugawa Ieyasu, and after him the Tokugawa family gave the shogun for almost 300 years. Tokugawa shoguns moved the administrative center to the eastern capital of Edo (Tokyo), although the emperor's seat remained in Kyoto. Later, the Meiji reform moved the emperor's seat to Tokyo, too. Edo fitted better than the ancient Kyoto as the geometric center of Japan.



Robainok. Kifejezettsen néhány díszítőelemet alkotást villant fel a japán művészetből, melyek nagy vonalakban az időseket is próbálják követni. Egyik kimonót japán ruházat a kimonó. A kimonó férfiak és nők viselése is lehet. Lassú, egész testet borító ruha, melyet gaszagon díszítve ünnepi öltözközt is, de egyszerű kárpenterületet is viselnek.

Ünnepi geometrikus mintázat vagy a természeti formákkal gaszagon díszített minták a lélek. Ez az apró lények és a természet közötti kapcsolat, de az apró lények és a természet közötti kapcsolat, de az apró lények és a természet közötti kapcsolat.

Fig. 6. The most well-known characteristic Japanese dress is the kimono. Even today the ladies and the gentlemen wear it at holiday and also at everyday events. On the right a traditional art mantle of the Japanese nationality of Ainu can be seen.

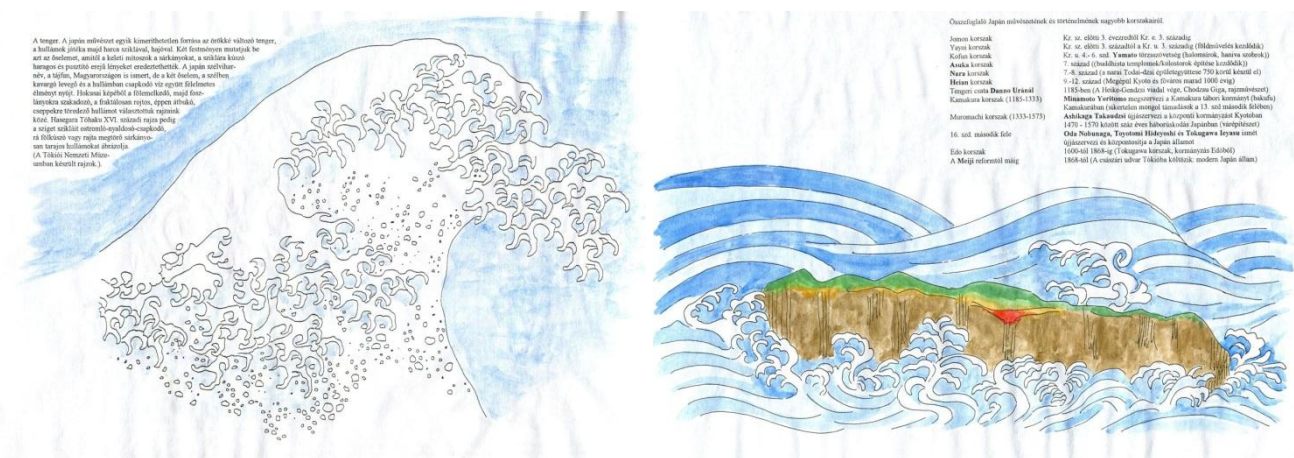


Fig. 7. The modern and ancient picture is also well-known in Europe, too. The weaves of Hokusai and of Hasegara are beautiful representations of the society always living with and suffering from the sea.

Our coloring booklet flashes several artistic products with impressions and experiences from the Japanese art. The figures try to follow the historical sequence. We close our series of artistic forms with the funny and beautiful, and also illuminating animal drawings of the drawing-roll: Choju-Giga. Four rolls survived, although – unfortunately – without text. But we can imagine that the twist of the age had been expressed by the acting animals: frogs, rabbits, monkeys and boars probably show human characters in stories, which were placed in ironic situations.



Fig. 8. Four rolled books of drawing art are named Choju-Giga, which display stories about the human twist of the 12th century. The stories have symbolic actors: frogs, rabbits, monkeys and boars probably showing human characters.



Fig. 9. The back cover of our Japanese art booklet shows royal cavaliers from the medieval emperor's court (top) and the funny story of Choju-Giga, about the singing frog and his rabbit audience (bottom).

Visiting Japan the people we meet are unknown relatives of Hungarians. They are relatives both for their eyes, their ears, and for their souls, too. It is a magic world to which this booklet could contribute by directing the readers' attention. If this is the first guide to the visitor, he/she can be an active fellow author by coloring the drawings. In life we are fellow travellers, from cradle till tomb. If we meet unknown relatives, Hungarians the Japanese, even if only in artistic products, our heart opens and we forget the troubles of the everyday world. We invite to such a travel any art-enthusiast reader and we thank the old masters who made possible the crafting of our tours.

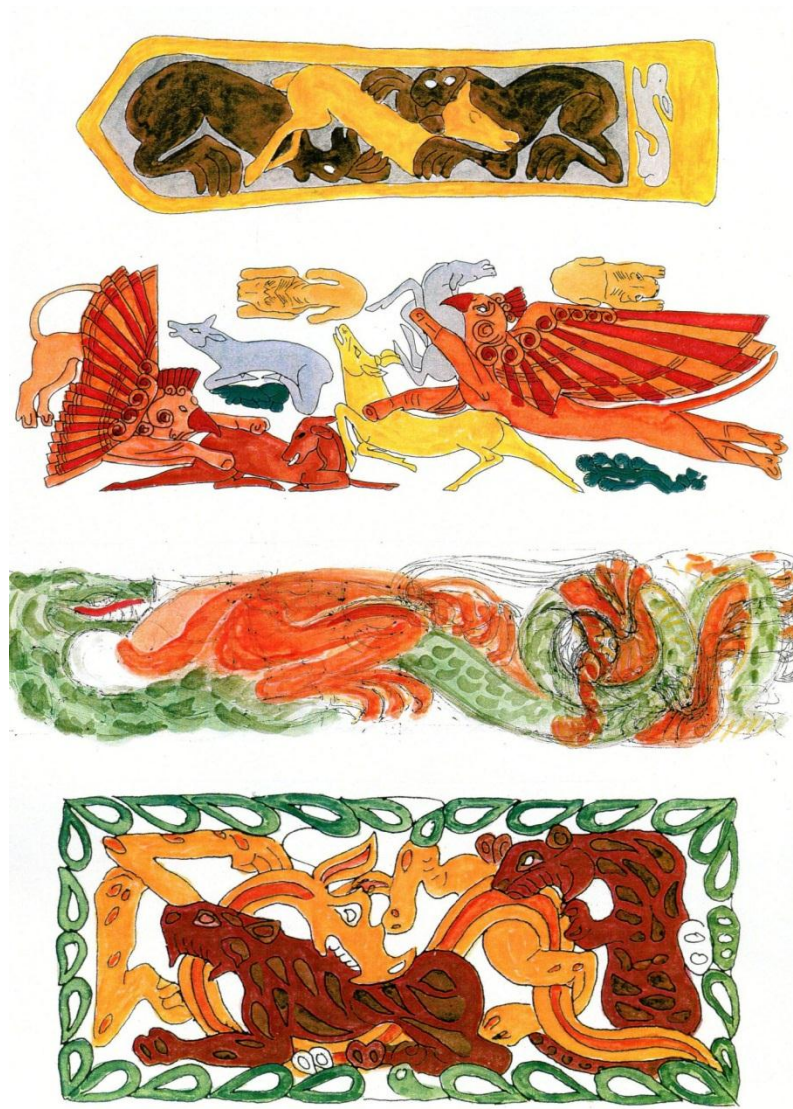


Fig. 10. The extended Eurasian animal fight representation can be found also in Japanese art. In this sequence the Avarian belt-buckle from the Carpathian Basin, the bottle carving from the Ancient Crete, is followed by the saber handle goldsmith work on the Izumo Cavalier (Izumo Museum, Fig. 4.) and finally the Xiongnu-Hun belt buckle. In the first two images the deer is attacked by two predators. The two last images show the fight of the dragon, the characteristic animal fight of Eastern Asia.

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KARATAY, Osman**Eastern References to the White Croats****Abstract**

The White Croats are a medieval people of Slavic stock (in sight), from the north of the Carpathians, who had a kingdom of their own in early medieval. They did not have much influence in regional issues, thus there is no much mention about them in medieval sources. Their relationship with the Balkan Croats and contribution to formation of the latter are the issues increasing historical importance of this people. However, their ethnic affiliation or ethnic origins of their nation-makers seems to be non-Slavic, as intimated by contemporary sources. The century-long debates for the Balkan Croats' Eastern origins are equally crucial for their northern relatives, too. This essay contains some new proposals for some mysterious people (Mrvât, Belye Ugry, etc.) attesting in medieval Islamic and Rus' books, for whom scholarship still looks for certain identities. They are related to the White Ogur realm, an early medieval tribal union of Turkic stock in western Eurasian steppes, from which the (proto) Croats derived. They were assimilated among the surrounding Slavic multitude, by changing their Oguro-Turkic language to Slavic, but by keeping their national name, as in the Danubian Bulgar case.

Keywords: White Croats, Croats, Ogurs, Mrvât, Bulgars, Western Turks, Magyars, Rus', Moravians, Byzantium.

***Povest'* and DAI Passing to Each Other**

The Russian *Primary Chronicle*, known as *Povest'*, completed at the beginning of the XII century by blending the data from contemporary Byzantine histories and local poorly remembered traditions (for the first two centuries of its content, the IX and X), tells that Slavs for a long time lived north of the Carpathians and then started to spread all around, by the way changing their names in accordance with the places they went to. Examples are the Moravians and the Czech. *Povest'* counts also the White Croats, Serbians and Xorutans (Carantanians, ancestors of the Slovene) (*Povest'*: 207).¹ Together with the below mentioned Lech (Polonian) people, these can be accepted then (ca 850 AD) formed Slavic nations. The denomination "White Croat" is of great interest at this point. The *Chronicle* goes on by mentioning the "only" Croats among the Poland-related Slavic tribes (Poljani, Drevljani, Radimiči and Vjatiči), all of

¹ Here is clearly a Balkan context, but the author better knows about Galician White Croats, thus refer to them, and not the Balkanic ones, who never became 'White', but partly 'Red'. On the origins and migrations of these Croats, see Mayorov 2006.

which used to live in peace with each other (Povest': 210), likely in the area between Kiev and Krakow. In 992 these Croats were attacked by Vladimir of Kiev, who was attacked in return home near Perejaslavl' by the Pečenegs (Povest': 283), who used to constantly plunder the White Croats, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DAI: 153).

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (mid X century) also mentions the White Croats in a Slavic context: *"But the Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria, where the Belocroats are now... The rest of the Croats stayed over against Francia, and are now called Belocroats, that is, White Croats, and have their own prince..."* (DAI: 143) *"The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey (Hungary) and next to Francia..."* (DAI: 147). The usage of the Slavic *belo* "white", at first glance, consolidates the so-called Slavic identity claimed for this people, and backs the Russian chronicle.

The Byzantine emperor Constantine goes on telling the story of these same Croats who *"arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius before the Serbs claimed the protection of the same emperor Heraclius... And so, by command of the emperor Heraclius these same Croats defeated and expelled the Avars from those parts, and by mandate of Heraclius the emperor they settled down in that same country of the Avars, where they now dwell."* (DAI: 147, 149) These are the days when Byzantium fought in two fronts with the Avars and Persians. We have greater details of this quarrel, especially in the Persian front with Xosroe II and his famous commander Šahrbaraz in Byzantine sources, especially Nikephoros and Theophanes. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* also seems to relate these happenings. After the Bulgars, who persecuted the Slavs, there came the White Ugors (Belye Ugyr), and inherited domination over the Slavic lands. These White Ugors went to Heraclius, who was at war with the Persian shah Xosroe (Xozdroe) in those days, like the Avars (Obry), who used to disturb both Heraclius and the Slavs (Povest': 210).² This is exactly what the Croats in *DAI* did.

In *Povest'*, the term Ugor is reserved for the Hungarians, hereinafter Magyars, but their coming to the Central Europe in the VII century is out of question. The only newcomers in those days were the Oguric and Bulgaric tribes of Turkic stock, especially in the VI and VII centuries, besides the Avars. The White Croats of *DAI* and White Ugors of *Povest'*, having the same 'colour', do the same things at the same time in the same environment, thus the both sources should be speaking of one and same people. In the IX century, the conquering Magyars and relatively native White Croats were in extremely good relations: They *"intermarry and are friendly with"* each other (DAI: 143).³ (cf. account of *Hudud* below) Although Constantine tells at the end of the Part 31 that the former constantly plundered the latter (DAI: 153), this stress of love should be regarded seriously. Thus, our both sources seem to say about some common roots of the Magyars and Croats, beyond their Pannonian neighbourhood. *Povest'* frankly claims this by calling the Croats as "White Ugors" and the Magyars as "Black Ugors": *"After these Avars, Pečenegs, and then Black Ugors came and passed before Kiev in the days of Oleg."* (Povest': 210). In another entry with exact time (the year 898) it repeats the story of the Magyar march to the Carpathians in more detail, now naming only Ugors without colour (Povest': 217).

² Chronological setting here makes it impossible to estimate an Khazar = White Ogur equality, for instance, offered by Macartney (1930: 175), since the Western steppes were under Bulgar domination for a long time after even Herakleios or Xosroe, and Khazarian westward expansion towards the Slavic lands was out of question before the end of the VII century.

³ Croats of the Drava-Sava mesopotamia cannot be ruled out in this term.

Ugor/Ogurs, Magyars and the Rest

Magyars are called Ugors for their Oguric connection (Róna-Tas 1996: 284).⁴ Their cooperation and coexistence with the Onogurs, a branch of the broader Ogur confederation of Turkic tribes, who migrated to Eastern Europe in 463, brought about calling the Magyars as Onogurs (from which was born today's widespread designation *Hungar/Venger* and resembling forms). So, can we match the Black Ogurs with the Onogurs? This should be done; even there had not been testimony of the Russian *Primary Chronicle*. Priscus, who gives first accounts of the coming of the Ogurs in 463, accounts these tribes: Σαράγουροι, Οὔρωγοι, Ονόγουροι (Priskos: 158). The second one seems to contain a metathesis and is to be corrected as *Ogur*. The other two contains this element and easy to read in Turkic respectively: White Ogurs and Ten Ogurs (Golden 1992: 93). Both of them prove to save the most elementary ways of ethnical denomination particular to Turkic world: (Con)federations are divided into two as 'white' and 'black', or 'inner' and 'outer'; in the second stage, they or their greater parts are called according to number of the member tribes: Three Qarluks, Nine Oguz, Thirty Tatars, etc.

If there is the 'White', then there should be the 'Black', too. This reflects a tradition and method in organizing people and tribal unions among the Turks and other Eurasian people taking state traditions from the Turks. Not geography, but people are essential in administrative organization, since the Eurasian geography is usually monotonous and hardly has physical boundaries within it. There are no 'upper' and 'lower' lands, even directions are not usable because of the very mobility of tribes. Thus, there are 'black' and 'white' (in necessity, also 'red') branches of the same kind of people, as well as 'inner' and 'outer' ones. In almost all cases, the former ones, 'white' and 'inner', refer to the superior/ruling group, whose population was naturally lesser than the common folk = black nation (Turk. *kara budun*, Mong. *xara ulus*). In the cases when political superiority was out of question, *white* was to be the lesser and smaller group. Almost all steppe polities and people of Turkic origin used this appellation: Huns, Bulgars, Khazars, Türgiś, Uigurs, Kumans, Tatars, etc. (Kafesoğlu 2001: 242-245, 271-272).⁵ Thus, the Ogurs living in the form of pure tribal unions also would have this appellation.

⁴ No need, however, to think (in Slavic terms) *Onoguri* > *Ongri* > *Ungri*, and with disappearance of the nasal element > *Ugri*, as offered lastly, among others, by Róna-Tas (1996: 286). Slavs directly took the simple form Ogur/Ugor. The Onogur form is preserved in *Wenger*, *Hungar*, *Ungar*, etc.

⁵ Kafesoğlu also adds the usages 'left' and 'right', but these are political and military appellations; people were hardly called so. In his research on the origin of the name "White Russia", Nicholas P. Vakar fails in producing an all-Eurasian connection, although he was aware of "some of" these kinds of appellations. His problem seems to be with chronology, which does not permit for pre-XIV century usage of the form *Belorus*. He should, at least, have better analyzed the White Croat case, which frankly shows the very consolidation of this tradition of organizing/dividing people from early medieval days on in Eastern Europe. If the Rus' had *qagan* as their rulers from the IX century on, then they would be expected to have black and white, too. Vakar tends to look for the case within the semantic relation of liberty and white, which is not uncommon in Central Asia. For instance, the Bulak tribe was called Alka Bulak ("White Bulak") after it gained independence (Kaşgarlı Mahmut: 379). See also Traian (1994: 147-149) for a good evaluation of the 'colorful' appellations, including in his search Romanians and Albanians, with doubtful results. He, however, in my opinion, fails by reconstructing new White Croatia and Serbia. Peoples took these names after they split off, and not from the very beginning. Besides, the tripartition observed in the region has nothing to do with the natives.

In Priscus, Ogur is common name of the other two: Saragurs and Onogurs. Thus, the Onogurs are obligatorily the Black Ogurs, having ten member tribes within their federation. And these Black and White Ogurs are the same people as the Beli and Černi Ugry of the Russian chronicle. The White Ogurs, who attacked on the Acatziri on the mid-Don region, and then interfered in Caucasian affairs in the south (Priscus: 161), disappear from sources together with the coming of the Avars.⁶ Sources do not tell about their encounter with the Avars, although we now well about the latter's relations with the Alans, Onogurs and Kutrigurs, tribes living in the same region, on the migratory route of the Avars. It seems, the White Ogurs withdrew before the outrageous Avars to the north of the Carpathians, and became core of the future Croats. These northern (white) Croats preserved some Turkic features, at least during the first century, in their new home. This contains personal names of the Croatian elite,⁷ as well as the ethnonym Croat itself.⁸ Thus, the White Ogurs of the Oguric confederacy (not necessarily to be associated with the Bulgaric Turks) were the founder fathers of the Croatian state/nation.⁹

The author of the *Povest'*, bishop Nestor, was unable to connect his current knowledge and old local traditions, plus narrations of Byzantine sources: The first one tells of a purely Slavic people just west to Kiev, and the second one narrates about a nation then non-existing. The second case is, however, full of problems. Nestor, who was much confused even with the chronology of the pre-Svjatoslav era, could hardly know about events of the Heraclius age. In our case, he does not use the Byzantine terminology, which never uses the terms White and Black Ogur, as far as we know, except the carelessly taken Saraguri of Priscus. Besides, Byzantine sources do not seem to be aware of the ethnical structure of the Ogur community. Thus, this knowledge can not be of Byzantine sources, as well as Slavic, since Kievan traditions were not sure of even Oleg and Igor's time, as stated. *Povest'* is, on the other hand, the only source deciphering the Oguric ethnic organization. There should be some 'insider' sources providing Nestor with the necessary data and horizons for those old days, and this or these sources can be Bulgaric with a great possibility. Volga Bulgar is justly candidate for this, as there was a flourishing literature there, and Bolgar, their capital, was a more illuminated cultural centre than Kiev. Close interaction between the two are well known and no need to describe its details, especially in the XII century.

Róna-Tas is quite right by giving chance to the possibility that he established in explaining the name Yugra occurring in medieval sources for a people between the Volga Bulgar and Urals: Bulgars used to

⁶ They are counted only in the list of Zacharias Rhetor (c.555), who in turn received the name likely from Priscus (Czeplédy 1971: 133-148).

⁷ "From them (White Croats) split off a family of five brothers, Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the Avars in possession of that land." (DAI: 143). Mikkola (1927: 158-160), solved these names, which have no any meaning in any language except Turkic, respectively as *Külük*, *Alpel*, *Kösendi*, *Mügel*, *Korvat*, *Tugay* and *Buga*. See also Rásony (1988: 84); Karatay (2003: 92-94).

⁸ "Croats in the Slav tongue means 'those who occupy much territory'." (DAI: 147). Slavic languages do not have such a word, dead or alive. There is a Turkic word occurring, for instance, in the Orxon inscriptions of the beginning of the VIII century, contemporary to those "founding Croats": "*İlgerü, qurıgaru sülep tirmiş qubratmış*" [By sending forces to east, west, he gathered (people around him)]. Kül Tigin Insc. East 12 (Ergin, 1980: 69). I'm not, however, for the idea that the homonym and ethnonym *Khorvat* (> Croat) comes from this Turkish word/verb; instead, *kür* + *bat* "mighty prince" seems more possible, regarding the popularity of -*bat* ending names among the Ogurs and Bulgars, and that the consonant *r* is always before *b/v* in early versions of the name.

⁹ For this theory see Karatay (2002: 555-558); (2003: 65-96).

call the east (Bashkirian) and west (proper) Magyars as Ogri (Róna-Tas 1996: 435). Early medieval Islamic sources might have learned this name, even existence of this people, from the Bulgar Muslims of mid-Volga. The Rus' also did so, as they did not pass beyond the Bulgar khanate in those days, but took accounts about the east and easterners in Bolgar from the Bulgars.

Volga Bulgars were by no means Ogurs or Onogurs, and they were never called so.¹⁰ However, they knew well who the Ogurs were. When the Arabic sources recorded the Yura country, the western Magyars were about to leave their land on the Don (likely Dentümoger). Thus, when they lived there, just west of the Volga Bulgar, habitants of the latter country called them Ogurs by referring to the Onogur component in the Magyar union. This name was later applied to the eastern co-nationals of Magyars, too. The very renowned Hungaro-Bashkirian relation makes this case fate of these people. Magyars are called (western, European) Bashkirs in many medieval sources, and, in turn, Bashkirs are called (eastern) Magyars by another group of sources. This is very normal and very illuminating; Volga Bulgars also did the same, however by calling the both groups only Ogur. But in their case, there was no any oriental essential Ogurs; this is just a Bulgaric invention. Thus we should not search for them in Siberia, as Róna-Tas offers. The Kimek or Irtysh Yigur tribe might be an offspring or diaspora of the wider Uyghuric domain, but they are not necessarily related with the West Uralic Ugra people, whose name was likely only an attribution.

Masudî and Idrisî

Masudî in his *Murûj al-Dhahab*, written in mid-X century, tells about Slavic countries and their rulers in an excerpt likely taken from Jarmî, who wrote exactly one century ago than him. This provides us with the opportunity of learning about the mid-IX century. The date is secured with his reference to Dir as the first Slavic king (Mesudi: 189). He is mentioned, together with his brother Askold, as the first conqueror of Kiev in the name of the Rus' in the mid-IX century (Povest': 215). For Central Europe he defines respectively these people: *Namcins* with their king *Garand*, *Menabins* with their king *Ratimir*, *Serbins*, the *Murave* people, and the *Harvatins* (then the *Sasin*) (Mesudi: 189). The first is the Karantanians (Slovene ancestors) then under Frank (Nemac) rule. Namcin refers to the Franks and Garand to themselves. The third one is clearly warlike Serbs, as defined by the author. Between them we should look for the Balkan Croats. It is easy to see هرابت, a false pronunciation of Hrobat, in the Arabic form منابت. Not a later copier, but the author himself or an earlier copier of the source-book, who was confused with two Croatias, was responsible for this mistake. It is possible also that this mistake was produced from a different spelling then accepted thoroughly: Xrobat for the Dalmatian ones and Xorbat for the Trans-Carpathian ones. Ratimir was the formers' knez between 829-838. After that we find the Moravians, and then the (White) Croats. Their neighbourhood to Saxony consolidates this probability. Unfortunately, there is no more detail about them.

¹⁰ In contrast, the Dabunian Bulgars were called *W.n.n.d.r* (Onogundur) in the widespread Jayhânî tradition of Islamic geography (Zimony 1992: 41, 155).

Idrîsî mentions Galicia, but do not tell anything about the White Croats living there. He does not name also a country in such a name. It is perhaps for they lost their importance as a people in those days (mid-XII century), estimated that their state disappeared on the turn the new millennium. غرمسيه, counted among the Bohemian cities (Idrîsî: 375), can be rightly turned to غرعسيه, reflecting a latinized or Dalmatian form, close to what it is today, and similar to what is reserved for the Balkan Croatia: جراسيه (Idrîsî: 266). قاروقيا of the Outer Bashkirs (Idrîsî: 406, 408) would also be related to the Khorvats.

The Mrvât of *Hudûd al-Âlam*

Anonymous *Hudûd al-Âlam*, written in 982-3 in Afghanistan, regularly records a certain *Mrvât* people in Eastern Europe.¹¹ That he mentions this people four times in various (and every) occasion, and counts among the 51 inhabited lands of the world (Houdud 1937: 83; 1962: 59), displays the very emphasis by the author on this people. After several tests on other possibilities, Minorsky tended to identify them with the Moravians (Houdud 1937: 441). Accounts go such: "(Black Sea's) eastern limit is formed by the confines of the *Alâns*; its northern limit is formed by the places (occupied by) the *Pečenegs*, the *Xazars*, the *Mirvâts* (مروأت), the *Inner Bulgars*, and the *Saqlâbs*, its western limit is the country of the *Burjâns*; on its southern limit lies the country of *Rûm*." (Houdud 1937: 53; 1962: 14).

Part 46 in the discussion of the inhabited lands is reserved for them: "East of it (*Mrvât* land) are some mountains, and some of the *Khazarian Pečenegs*; south of it, some of the *Khazarian Pečenegs* and the *Gurz Sea*; west of it, some parts of the latter, and the *inner Bulgârs*; north of it, some of the latter and the *W.n.n.d.r* mountains. They are Christians and speak two languages: Arabic and *Rûmî* (Byzantine Greek?). They dress like the Arabs. They are on friendly terms with the *Turks* and the *Rûm*. They own tents and felt-huts." (Houdud 1937: 160; 1962: 190).

One may rightly search for some local people along the Don-Volga basin for the *Mrvât*. However the author does not mention the *Burtas*, about whom he knows well and allocated a part in the book, and who lived between the *Khazars* and *Volga Bulgars*, among those living north of the Black Sea. There were no in those days any significant local people apart from the *Burtâs*, as far as we know. Neither is helpful order of these nations in the text. The *Pečenegs* here are the *Khazarian Pečenegs* in the author's terms, so they are west of the *Khazars*. This means the *Magyars* were far off the region.¹² After the *Pečenegs*, westward were the *Kievan Rus'* (represented here by the *Saqlâb*), *White Croatia*, *Hungary*, and *Bulgaria*. The latter is called *Burjân*, a denomination transferred from the Caucasus. *Magyars* are called with their own names and the new *Magyar* lands are well known by the author (for ex. "another river is the *Rûtâ*, which rises from a mountain situated on the frontier between the *Pečenegs*, the *Majgharî*, and the *Rûs*") (Houdud 1937: 76; 1962: 14). Thus, *White Croatia* remains as the unique alternative. *Hudud*

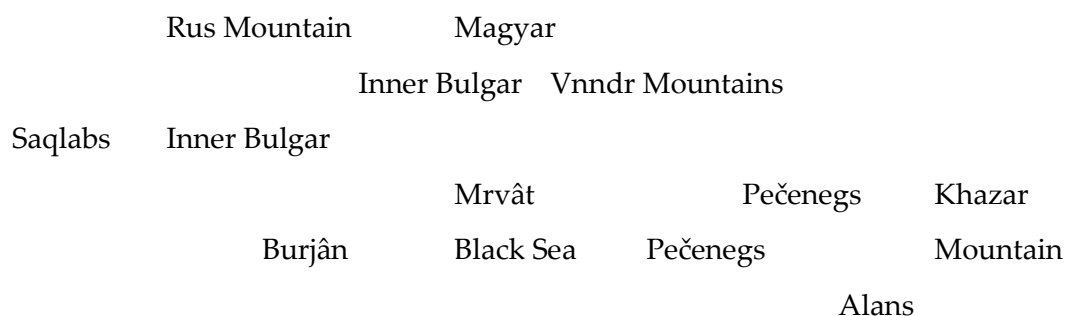
¹¹ According to Minorsky (Houdud 1937: 424, the unnamed author's source was Hârûn b. Yahyâ.

¹² There had passed about one century from the *Magyar* migration from the Don basin to the mid-Danube, when *Hudud* was written, but we have to be sure of the information being updated by medieval authors, since they might tell about very past times.

defines locations of those people according to each other in the parts 45, 46, and 47, dedicated respectively to the Inner Bulgars, Mrvâts and Pečenegs (Hūdud 1937: 160; 1962: 189-190).

The Mrvât people occur also in Gardizî, who says: *"The Magyars can see the N.n.d.r, as they live by a river. There is a huge mountain below the N.n.d.r, by the river. There emerges a river from this mountain. A Christian people live on the skirts of this mountain. They are called Mrvât. There is a distance of one day between them and the N.n.d.r. This is a crowded people. Their clothes are turban, shirt and cloak like Arabs...most of their trade is with Arabs."* (Şeşen 1998: 84). Note dressing like Arabs, common in the both sources.

Thus, we can draw such a scheme (only the Magyars are added according to Gardizî):



Here is only problem with the Inner Bulgar, and the problem is solved if we delete them from the map. It is the Danubian Bulgar. Author of *Hūdud* could not unify the ethnonyms Bulgar and Burjân, and located the former to the north of Danube and the latter to its south.¹³ However there are chronological problems. Moldovan parts of Bulgaria were lost to Magyars and then Pečenegs some 90 years ago. The author does not know this fact. On the other hand, he is aware of a very actual case: Quarrel between the Danubian Bulgars and the Rus'. Compared to actuality of his geographical knowledge, this is very difficult, since the Bulgaro-Rus war means only Svjatoslav's Balkan raid in 968. If the author knew this, then he would know the disappearance of Bulgar or Burjâr from history between the Rus' and Byzantine just three years later. Thus, he has chronologically baseless, but historically important knowledge. There is another possibility: These Bulgars may be those leaving the Malaja Pereščepina findings in the northeast of Ukraine. Róna-Tas' claim that gravity and center of the Great Bulgaria was in the region around where is today Kharkov is not very satisfactory (Róna-Tas 2000), but once a significant Bulgar presence is almost certain in that region. Especially the 'upper' Inner Bulgar in the above scheme well suits to that place. Author of *Hūdud* might have used an old reference to them. In this case, confusion in inner regions of Eastern Europe is very expectable.

Otherwise, we know the very Pečeneg - White Croat quarrel, as refereed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (see above), which means also close neighborhood. What is interesting is that, as before-mentioned, our author repeats the story of Constantine about the love affair between Turks/Magyars and White Croats: *"They are on friendly terms with the Turks and Rûm"* (Hūdud 1937: 160; 1962: 190). We should better understand *Magyars* from his *Turks*, too, as he classify the former among

¹³ By agreeing with the westernmost Islamic geography of the age, Idrîsî (391).

Turkic peoples. Their friendship with the Byzantines is a process began from the Constantine Cyril mission on. Last for *Hrudud*, مروات is easy to turn to هروات (Hrvat) by changing only a letter resembling to the other.

Ibn Rusta, Gardizî, Vernadsky and others

Vernadsky sees “quite likely” that the Svjatopluk dynasty of Moravia was of White Croatian (that is, Alanic in his view) origin (Vernadsky 1945: 258). Above accounts and explanations clearly show who the White Croats were. Vernadsky relies on Hauptman (1935: 325-353), champion of the Iranist école of the Croats, but the latter’s theory is by no means convincing, as he tries to solve the question by settling the proto-Croat case on a Sarmato-Iranic environment that he imaginarily reconstructed, and by not using reliable historical proofs. Zdenko Vinski, another source of Vernadsky, reconstructs ethnical processes in the milieu what he calls ‘Outer Iran’, where was an intensive cultural interaction from Galicia to the Altai, in accordance with his acceptances, and not any proof (Vinski 1940).¹⁴ Iranic origins are not much visible for Croats or any other Central European people.¹⁵ Vernadsky, in evaluating accounts of Ibn Rusta and Gardizi about the White Croats, uses even the word *kumys* “mare’s milk” to claim that Moravian rulers were of nomadic, that is Alanic origin. Nomadism of the Alans is subject to debate, it seems they were migratory, and not nomadic.¹⁶ Alans and nomadism should not necessarily associate with each other, and, the most important, the Alans are not known with their *kumys* drinking costume. After two years Vernadsky published a note on this cited essay: “Note on Zhupan” (vernadsky 1947: 62). In that note he corrects the reading *subanj* (from Xwolson on, to be explained as South Slavic župan, a

¹⁴ Vinski says, for instance, that the Croats were indeed Alans, and the Kasegs were croaticized Circassians; the both groups fled to Visla before the Huns (1940: 21). But, according to which source(s), apart from the so-called “Iranic environment”? What we need in general is an elaborative study on to much degree and to what speed identities changed or exchanged in Eurasia. This is not Gaul; this is Eurasia, which is very strange to the concept ‘native’. Almost everybody is newcomer or returnee in this region. The stereotypical ethnic mechanism in Eurasia is that a tribal or political group X becomes dominant in a tribal union Y and spreads its name to all over the member tribes as a superior identity. The factual process is usually so, and it does not matter what we call the case: A dramatic population growth among the X tribesmen, invasion of the region and people (of the union) by the tribe X, change of self-denomination towards X among the union members, change of identity, change of language, etc. (For a brief and abbreviated definition of these ethnical processes, see Golden (1992: 1-14, 379-382). In these circumstances, not people but little groups, cores or bands used to change their identities in exact sense. This is what we lack in our studies on Eurasian ethnic history.

¹⁵ See a critique of the current theories on Croatian origins in Karatay (2003: 9-18).

¹⁶ This is not suitable place to discuss whether the Alans were nomadic or migratory. I’ll refer only to a pair of sources: Am. Marcellinus and Jordanes. The former depicts the steppe, though his very ‘military intelligence’, in a Herodotian way, including the Alans (who were formerly known as Massagetae), among those living in carts (Alemany 2000: 33, 36). An account of Lucianus informing that the Scythians and Alans had common traits, except some differences like hair length, can also be added to this argument carts (Alemany 2000: 94). Only these two, among about 200 authors mentioning the Alans, define their sight as nomadic. Otherwise, it seems, they were nomads as much as the Goths or Vandals were nomads. Marcellinus’ accounts are very general and speak on all of the Eurasian steppe people, counting all of them together with the professional wanderers. On the other hand, Jordanes, who would naturally best know about the Alans than any of those 200 authors, says that Huns and Alans had only bravery in common, and were greatly different in nature, *lifestyle* and looks (Alemany 2000: 132). Nomad should resemble nomad, but the Alans did not look like the Huns, true nomads...

remnant of the Avar age¹⁷) in Ibn Rusta, and records the true version offered by N. N. Martinovich: *subaj*. He writes down its meaning also as “army chief”, but does not interrogate in which language it means army chief. Thus, he makes a greater mistake while he was apologizing. Because, if the reading *subaj* (< *subaşı* “head of army”, widely used even by the Ottomans) is true, then this contributes to only our knowledge about Turkic origins of the White Croats. Though I’m not inclined to a southerner Moravia centred in the Drava-Sava mesopotamia, as offered by Boba, but a northern one as in general acceptance,¹⁸ I’m not in a position to speak on origins of the Moravian rulers; thus I abstain from any White Croatian connection, too, except unknown possibilities.

Ibn Rusta says: “*Their king is Subanj, to whom they give their allegiance, and from whom they take orders, and his dwelling is in the middle of the country, and the most distinguished man known to them is one who is called king of the kings whom they name Sviat Malik and he is more important than Subanj, and Subanj is his deputy, and the king has riding animals. He does not eat any food except mare’s milk. He has excellent coats of mail, strong and precious, and the city in which he lives is called جرواب*.”¹⁹

Account of Gardizî is that “*their leaders put a crown on his head. All of them obey him and submit. Their grand ruler is called Svît Malik. His deputy is called Sûbenj (سوينج). Their capital city is Jarâvot (جراوت)*” (Gardizî: 276; Şeşen 1998: 86).

We should add Auři of the XIII century to this list with his same content: “*They have a chief, who is accepted as king among them. They call him سويت. And they have also a regent, who is called سونج. And they have a city, which is called حرران*.” (Şeşen 1998: 94).

And Hūdud: “*The Saqlâb king is called S.mût-swyt (or Bsmût-swyt). The food of their king is milk. They dress mostly in linen stuffs... They possess two towns: (1) Vâbnût is the first town on the east of the Saqlâb and some (of its habitants) resemble the Rûs. (2) خرداب, a large town and the seat of the king.*” (Hūdud 1937: 159; 1962: 188).²⁰

¹⁷ Minorsky (1937: 431), offers even the **shûbâng*? Form, again not leaving the župan connection. This title is difficult to set here, firstly, as it referred to a (sub)regional leader likely assigned by the Avar center in the Balkans. According to Klaić (1990: 15-16), župan organization was established as autonomous Slavic administrative units only in the lands, where the Avars were in hegemony. Secondly, we do not know whether this inferior title became a superior one, the highest after the king (associating with the dual kingdoms of the Khazars and Magyars) among the central European Slavs.

¹⁸ Moravia is accepted to be the proto-state of today’s Slovakia. It is west to the traditional White Croatia, thus any interaction between them was always on the agenda. This state is indebted to Rastislav, mid-IX century king, who invited the missionary brothers Constantine Cyril and Methodius to Christianize his own people, for very scholarly interest in historiography. Imre Boba in his *Moravia’s History Reconsidered*, however, relocated this state in what is the ancient Sirmium and what are today Croatia’s eastern provinces. That the Russian *Primary Chronicle* recounts the Moravians and Czech together in one sentence and the other three (-White- Croats, Serbians and Carantanians) in another -Balkan- context, prevent me from thinking of a southern Moravia. But perhaps a Moravian southward expansion was in question in the absence of the Avar power, and Frank annals inspiring Boba and his followers to look for a North Balkan Moravia should be speaking of these regions. See for evaluation of Boba’s theory: Bowlus 1987.

¹⁹ Translation taken from Vernadsky (1945: 258), who copies Macartney (1930: 211), but ignores his reading *Suwayyat Balk*, which would easily go to *Svjatopluk*. Y. Z. Yörükan, *contemporary to Macartney, reads likewise Seviyyet Belk* (2004: 295). Cairo edition of Ibn Rusta reads and corrects it as *Swialpolk* (Ibn Rusteh: 162), which is unnecessary.

²⁰ Minorsky (Hūdud 1937: 430) offers some corrections for the city name.

Cf. Anonymous *Mujmal al-Tawârih* of the XII century: "... Ruler of the Slavs is called سویت and سوينه." (Şeşen 1998: 35).

Ibn Rusta is primary, of course, compared to Gardizi, being half a century earlier than the latter, but, neither Gardizi's forms are negligible. Ibn Rusta might have taken majority of his nordic knowledge from Jarmî, but not name of the Slavic grand ruler, for Svjatopluk was a contemporary of Ibn Rusta, if another one with the same name did not live in the first half of the IX century.²¹ and (2) no source quoting Jarmî gives the ruler's and capital's names, except *Hşudud*'s above quoted parts. The form in *Hudûd* may be a test of writing *Svjatoslav*, whose very fame in the steppe should have gone to the anonymous author, contemporary of the Russian qagan.²² If so, we may confidently say that Jarmî did not have any *Svjato*-; thus Masudî has no him, too; Ibn Rusta added name of the Moravian Svjatopluk, as true Slavic ruler (to separate from the Rus and South Slav kings); Gardizî (followed by Aufî) borrowed from him and repeated the same forms. As for the (capital) city: Place of the letter *alf* would be helpful in analysis.

Ibn Rusta	Gardizî	<i>Hşudud</i>	Aufî
جرواب	جراوت	خرداب	حرران

All of the four consonants in the four forms above resemble to each other in respective order. Aufî's form can be excused for its remoteness from Ibn Rusta and the common source, Jarmî. *Hşudud* makes o good copy with Swyt, milk, dressing, etc., of Ibn Rusta, trying to add its own information, as well as ب at the end. Gardizî's *alf* in the mid reflects his accelerated and condensed style, though estimating a Hrâvat form is plausible (cf. above *Menâbit* of Masudî). On the other hand, Gardizî might have saved the true letter at the end: ت. In any way, we should look for a Horvat here, as the White Croats were significant at the beginning of the tradition, in Jarmî's time. This is the most reasonable and plausible unification of the above four forms, all of whom speak of the same thing, and none of whom agree with each other.

Though Islamic accounts on Eastern Europe were studied in a very satisfactory level, it seems we may find more of them than what is available to us currently. They are likely hidden in very details. Their search might even lead to new inventions or enlightenment of obscure dates and cases in history of the region. For instance, the East Slavic *Λενζανήνοι* tribe mentioned by Constantine (DAI: 59) and never mentioned by any other source²³ is probably لوزانه of Masudî (Mesudî: 75; Şeşen 1998: 49), owing that a later copier changed the second letter ن with و. Thus, we should pay more attention to those accounts.

²¹ This is even possible. See Masudî's data above, reflecting the scene before the mid-IX century, with Dir and Ratimir. But absence of a *Svjato*- in Masudî is troublesome.

²² Montgomery's note that Ibn Rusta and *Hşudud* do not share the same source in terms of the Rus' (Montgomery 2001: 84) can be applied here, too, though I never agree with him on weakness of the former's scientific value (literary value or form is out of our scope here).

²³ Obolensky associates them with Polonians through Hungrain *Lengyel*, Lithuan *Lenkai* "Polonian" (DAI 1962: 34-35). Cf. also *Lav.zâ.âne* of Masudî (Mesudî 2004: 75; Şeşen 1998: 49) and *Lwznuw*, the Khazar's enemy mentioned by the Schechter Docemnt (Schechter 1912: 219; Golb & Pritsak 1982: 121).

An endnote: the two earliest Hungarian chronicles, the Anonymous *Gesta Hungarorum* (ca. 1205) and the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Simon Kézai (ca.1285) gives the name 'Morout' (Hung. pronunciation 'Marót'), as a Morivan king.²⁴ The manuscripts are frank in meaning a personal name, but one may claim here a connection with the concerning nation's name, and thus this form may represent a Latin version of the Arabic 'Mrvât'. This would remain as an association, since there is no any other clue that Marót is linked with the denomination of the Moravians by the early Hungarians.²⁵

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LINGUISTICS

БАТСҮРЭН, Барангас

Мэнгү шивэй, Да шивэй, Улохоу аймгийн тухай

Төв Азийн олон овог, аймгийг хоёр зуугаад жил захирч байсан Жоужаний хаант улс мөхснөөр, тус бүс нутгийн оршин суугчдын угсаа гарвалын түүхийн шинэ үе эхэлсэн билээ. Эртний *түрэг*, *уйгур*уд Төв Азид ээлж дараалан төр улсаа байгуулсан VI-IX зуунд, *монгол* хэлтэн аймгууд ямар нэрээр түүх, сударт тэмдэглэгдэн, хаагуур нутаглаж байсан талаар Монголын судлаачдаас үндсэндээ хоёр чиг, баримжаат санал хэлдэг. Нэгдэх чиглэлийг баримтлагчид, энэ үед *монгол* хэлтэн аймгууд, нангиад сурвалж бичигт *шивэй*, харин Орхон-Сэлэнгийн бичгийн дурсгалд *отуз татар* (*гучин татар*) нэрээр алдаршсан гэж үздэг бол хоёрдахь чиглэлийг баримтлагч судлаачид, *монголчууд* нь *отуз татар*, *токуз татар* (*есөн татар*), эргүнэ хуны *монголчууд* гэсэн нэрээр түүхэнд бичигдсэн хэмээн үзэж эхэлж байна.*

Шивэй бол *монгол* хэлтэн аймаг гэж үздэг монгол судлаачид их төлөв *мэнгү шивэй*, *да шивэй*, *улохоу* зэрэг хэдэн аймагтай VI-IX/X зууны *монголчуудыг* садан сүлбээтэй хэмээн бичдэг. Гэхдээ тухайн саналыг үндэслэгчид нь дорно, өрнийн судлаачид бөгөөд К.Ширатори, П.Пеллио, Ван Говэй, Ту Жи, Л.Л.Викторова нарын бичиж, нийтэлсэн санал, томъёоллыг төлөөлүүлэн толилуулъя.

Мэнгү шивэй. Вэй Шоугийн 544 онд эмхтгэж дуусгасан «Вэй улсын судар, 100, 12b»-д *шивэй* нэрийг анх тэмдэглэсэн бол Лю Сюйгийн 945 оны «Тан улсын хуучин судар, 149B, 10a»-д *мэнгү шивэйг* анх дурджээ.¹

«Вэй улсын сударт» гардаг, Амур, Зоя голын билчирээр төвлөсөн *шивэй* аймаг нь дан *монгол* эсвэл *тунгус* биш харин холимог угсаатан гэж бичсэн Ширатори Куракичи, *мэнгү шивэйг* Шилка гол, Онон мөрний саваар нутаглана, *монголчуудын* өвөг, ер нь Хинганы баруун талын *шивэй*, Ногоон (Нонни) мөрнөөр суудаг *шивэй* нараас угсаа гарвал өөр, эд нар л жинхэнэ *монголчууд* мөн хэмээжээ.²

Шивэй аймагт, бараг *монгол* хэлтэн мөн гэж тооцож болох *мэнгү* буюу *мэнва* аймаг байсныг, Тангийн үеэс эхлэн сурвалж бичгүүд тэмдэглэж эхэлсэн, энэ нь *монгол* нэр анх гарсан хэрэг гэж П.Пеллио 1920 онд бичжээ. Жилийн дараа «Туюухунь ба Супигийн тэмдэглэл» өгүүлэлдээ, «*сяньбийн* асуудал ихээхэн бүрхэг – болохыг онцолсон П.Пеллио – өөрийн зүгээс би, нэр хоч нь Тан, Сүнгийн үе хүрээд *шивэй* хэмээгдэх болсон *сяньбиг* монгол хэлтэн аймаг гэж үзэхийг зөвшөөрнө, тэгээд ч Тангийн үеийн *шивэй* аймагт, Чингис ханы *монголчуудаас* салгаж болохгүй, XII зууны тэргүүн хагасын *мэнгү*, *мэнгүс*, *монгултай* нэг *мэнгү* байсныг мэдэх бөлгөө» хэмээж, *мэнгү* аймгийг *монгол* гэх үзлээ бататгажээ. Эл саналаа 1929 оны өгүүлэлдээ

* Нэгдэх чиглэлийг А.Амар, Х.Пэрлээ, А.Очир, Д.Баяр, Д.Эрдэнэбаатар, У.Эрдэнэбат нарын олон монгол судлаач баримталдаг бол Л.Билэгт нарын цөөн тооны судлаачид хоёр дахь чигийг барьдаг.

¹ Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Damiéville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 228, n. 2; Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. М., 1984. сс. 135, 139

² Ширатори К. Дунху нарын тухай судалгаа. (Токо минъзо куко) VI, Шивэй. Токио, Мэйжигийн 43-р он. т. 224, 502, 504, 505

гүнзгийрүүлж, Тан улсын хоёр сударт анх монголчууд *мэнгү шивэй* нэрээр түүхэнд гарч эхэлснийг бид мэднэ; тэд *шивэй*н нэг салбар, Монгол, Манжуурын хязгаарт Хөлүнбуйр, Эргүнэ мөрний эхээр нутаглаж байсан гээд Тан улсын хуучин судрын *мэнгүгийн* тэр үеийн дуудлага *Mung-nguet юм, *Moŋɣol-ын галиг мөн гэжээ.¹

Төстэй саналыг Ван Говэй 1926 онд хэвлүүлсэн «Ляо, Алтан улсын үеийн Монголын магадлал //Дун бэй фан хуа юэ бао. Боть 5, №9» өгүүлэлд дэвшүүлж, “蒙古亦然蒙兀之名亦見於唐世, монгол гэдэг нэр Тан улсын сударт *мэнгү* нэрээр гарч ирсэн” гэж хэлжээ. «Монголын түүхийн тэмдэглэл» (1934 он) бүтээлдээ Ту Жи (1856-1921 он), “монгол бол *шивэй* лүгээ үүсэл нэгтэй аймаг угсаатан юм. Тан улсын үед олон аймаг болж хуваагджээ. Тэр үеэс *монгол шивэй* нь Ванжянь гол дагуу оршин нутаглаж байлаа. Ванжянь гэгч Ваньшуй гол, даруй одоох Хар мөрөн болно. Монгол гэдэг нэрийг анх эндээс олж үзэв”² хэмээн бичжээ.

Шивэй аймгийн нэг *улохоуе* (VII зууны дунд үеийн) Тэргүүн Ононд (Вань-шуй) нутаглах *урианхай* гэж оноосон Л.Л.Викторова, *түрэгийн* гэрэлт хөшөөний *отуз татарыг* нангнад сурвалжийн *шивэй* аймаг, харин *өмнөд шивэй* бол *токуз татарууд* гэж үздэг.³

Ийм үзэл баримтлалтай судлаачдын жагсаалт нэлээд урт болно. Гэхдээ *шивэй* аймгуудыг судалсан тунгус судлаачид болон монголч эрдэмтдийн судалгааг харьцуулж, тоймлон авч үзсэн доктор Л.Билэгт, *шивэй* хийгээд *мангу-мэнгү* аймаг болон *хамаг монголын* нүүдэлчдийн хоорондын угсаа гарвалын асуудал шийдэгдээгүй, энэ талаарх үзэл баримтлалууд олон янз байдгийг цохон тэмдэглэсэн билээ.⁴

I. Монгол ба *мэнгү шивэйг* нэг гэж үзэгчдийн барьдаг эхний үндэслэл бол нэр, түүний сэргээлт.⁵ Тиймээс *мэнгү шивэй* нэрийн тэр үеийн дуудлагыг судлаачид хэрхэн сэргээж ирснийг хүснэг №1-д үзүүлье.

Хүснэг 1.

			мэнгү (蒙兀 méng-wù)	мэнва (蒙瓦 méng-wǎ)
1.	П.Пеллио	1920 ⁶	*moŋ-nuəḍ	*moŋ-njuə
		1929 ⁷	*mung-nguet	
2.	Б.Карлгрен	1923 ¹	*mung-ṅgʷət	*mung-ṅgʷa:

¹ Pelliot P. À Propos des Comans //Journal Asiatique. Ser. 11, Tome. XV, Paris, 1920. p. 146, n. 1; Pelliot P. Note sur les Tou-yu-houen et les Sou-p'i //T'oung Pao. Vol. XX, Liège, 1921. p. 326; Pelliot P. L'Édition Collective des Œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei //T'oung Pao. Vol. XXVI, Liège, 1929. p. 126, n. 2

² Ван Говэй. Монголын тухай магадлал //Туаньтан хочтоны түүвэр зохиол. Бээжин, Чжунхуа хэвлэл, 1959. 3-р боть, 15-р дэвтэр, т. 687 (хятад хэлээр); tu jiy. mongol-un teiken temdeglel. terigün debter. erdeninobaya orciyulba. öbür mongol-un arad-un keblel-un qoriy-a, 2007. т. 1, 2

³ Викторова Л.Л. К вопросу о расселении монгольских племен на Дальнем Востоке в IV в. до н.э. - XII в. н.э. //Ученые записки ЛГУ. №256, Серия востоковедческих наук, Вып. 7, 1958. сс. 58-62; Викторова Л.Л. Монголы. Происхождение народа и истоки культуры. М., 1980. сс. 156-162

⁴ Билэгт Л. Шивэйцы и Монголии //Studia Ethnologica. Tom. XV, fasc. 4. УБ., 2003. т. 29

⁵ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. М., 1984. сс. 56, 57

⁶ Pelliot P. À Propos des Comans //Journal Asiatique. Ser. 11, Tome. XV, Paris, 1920. p. 146, n. 1

⁷ Pelliot P. L'Édition Collective des Œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei //T'oung Pao. Vol. XXVI, Liège, 1929. p. 126, n. 2

	1957 ²	*mung-nguēt	*mung-ngwa
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Харин эрт, дундад үеийн утга үсгийн дуудлагын талаарх судалгаа XX зууны II хагасаас илүү эрчимжсэнээр одоо Б.Карлгренээс гадна, хэдэн судлаачын сэргээлтийг харьцуулах боломжтой болоод байна. Мэнгү болон мэнва нэрийг тэмдэглэсэн утга үсгийг тэд хэрхэн сэргээснийг хүснэг №2-т харуулья.

Хүснэг 2.

			мэнгү (蒙兀 méng-wù)	мэнва (蒙瓦 méng-wǎ)
1.	Э.Пүллиблэнх ³	EMC	məwŋ-ŋwət	məwŋ-ŋwai ⁴ /ŋwɛ: ⁵ məwŋ-ŋwai ⁶ /ŋwɛ: ⁷
		LMC	məwŋ-ŋut	məwŋ-ŋwa: ⁸ məwŋ-ŋwa: ⁹
2.	С.А.Старостин ⁴	С.кит	<...>-ŋ(h)wēt ; ŋot	<...>- ŋhwā ; ŋwā
3.	У.Бакстер ⁵	MC	muwng-ngwot	muwng-ngwæ ⁶ muwng-ngwæ ⁷

Мэнгү, мэнва нэрийг тэмдэглэсэн утга үсгийн дундад эртний дуудлагыг судлаачид хэдэн янзаар сэргээжээ, харин сэргээлтийн цаадах язгуур үгийн талаар мөн хэдэн судлаач саналаа хэлжээ. П.Пеллиогийн *Moŋɣol-ын жишиг галиг мөн гэж үзснийг Л.Лигети, Л.Амби нарын олон эрдэмтэн дагадаг.⁶ Б.Карлгренний 1923 оны 兀 wù ба 瓦 wǎ-гийн сэргээлтийг барьсан Х.Серрюс, мэнгү, мэнва бол *Mongɣol, *Mongɣa[ɪ]-ийн галиг гэж үзсэн бол, мэнгү-ийн зөв тайлал нь хэрэв *Mongɣut бол, энэ хэлбэр нь *Mongɣul-ын эртний олон тоо байх магадлалтайд би итгэнэ гэж өгүүлсэн И. де Рахевильз, эрт цагт тэмдэглэгдсэн уугал хэлбэрийг *Mongɣul/*Mongɣal байх ёстой гэжээ.⁷

Манай нэрт эрдэмтэн Х.Пэрлээ “нангиад тэмдэглэлийн Мэнг-у ... монгол хэмээх нэрийн бүтсэн үндсэн авьяа „л“-ээс бусад нь бараг дүйж байгааг сонингүй гэж болохгүй”⁸ хэмээсэн байдаг.

¹ Karlgren B. Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese. P., 1923. Nr. 1275, 1290 (Serruys H. Mongɣol: Moyal and Mangɣus: Mayus //Acta Orientalia Hung. Tom. XXXVI, №1-3, 1982. p. 475-аас дам эшлэв)

² Karlgren B. Grammata Serica Recensa //Bulletin the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. №29, Stockholm, 1957 (1972). 1181a, 487a, 20a

³ Pulleyblank E.G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. UBC Press, Vancouver, 1991. pp. 212, 326, 316

⁴ Старостин С.А. Реконструкция древнекитайской фонологической системы. Москва, Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, 1989. с. 691; <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/>

⁵ Baxter W.H. An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters, 2000. pp. 90, 144, 138, 139 (<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~wbaxter/>)

⁶ Лигети Л. Г.Д.Санжеев. Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков //Studia Linguae et Litterarum. Tom. VIII, fasc. 11, УБ., 1970. т. 334; Hambis L. L'Histoire des Mongols avant Gengis-khan d'après les Sources Chinoises et Mongoles, et la Documentation Consevée par Rašidu-d-dīn //Central Asiatic Journal. Vol. XIV, №1-3, Wiesbaden, 1970. pp. 126-127

⁷ Serruys H. Mongɣol: Moyal and Mangɣus: Mayus //Acta Orientalia Hung. Tom. XXXVI, №1-3, 1982. p. 475; de Rachewiltz I. The Name of the Mongols in Asia and Europe: A Reappraisal //Etudes Mongoles et Siberiennes. Vol. 27, 1996. pp. 200-201

⁸ Пэрлээ Х. Гурван мөрний монголчуудын аман түүхийн мөрийг мөшгөсөн нь //Studia Historica. Tom. VIII, fasc. 6, УБ., 1969. т. 91

Тангийн үеийн *шивэй* аймаг *мэнгү* нараас *монгол* нэр гаралтай гэх санал бий, дундад зуунд *мэнгү* нь *ming-nguet* гэх авиазүйн хэлбэртэй байсан нь *Monghol*-ын жишиг болох галиг гэж П.Пеллио таамагласан билээ хэмээсэн П.Рачневский, энэ галиг *-t* төгсгөлийг харуулж байна, гэтэл *монгол* хэлэнд, тэр ч бүү хэл ганц тоон дээр ч гэсэн *-l* нь байнга хэрэглэгддэг төгсгөл болдог¹ гэж өгүүлсэн нь сонирхолтой ч чухам ямар утгатайг ухаж ухаж ойлгоход түвэгтэй юмаа.

Утга үсгийн дуудлагын сэргээлттэй холбогдуулж хэлэхэд нангиад хэлний эртний *-m* төгсгөл нь их төлөв *-r* авиа болж сэргээгддэг гэнэ. Тунгус хэлэнд *-l* ба *-r* авиа сэлгэгдэх боломж нхтэй, мөн *-t* төгсгөлөөр дуудагдах утга үсгээр нангиадууд бас *-n* авиаг тэмдэглэдэг хэмээн Э.В.Шавкунов бичжээ.²

Л.Лигети академичийн судалгаанаас үзвэл, хятад хэлний зүй тогтолын дагуу, утга үсгээр харь үгийг галиглах тусгай тогтолцоотой тэр нь хятад хэлний хөгжлийн үе шат бүрт ялгаатай байдаг учир тухайн цаг үетэй нь холбон авч үзээд сэргээхэд уг үгийн зарим үе (the syllable)-ийг тэрхүү тогтолцооны дагуу хялбархан тэнхрүүлж болдог байна. Тангийн өмнөх үед хятад бус харь үгэнд үе хааж орсон *-n* гийгүүлэгчээр *-r* авиаг, *-t* гийгүүлэгчээр *-l* авиаг тэмдэглэдэг гэж Ц.Шагдарсүрэн гуай өгүүлжээ.³

Үгийн дуудлагын сэргээлтээс харахад, *蒙 méng*-ийг «*мунг*» эсвэл «*моунг*», «*мүвнг*» буюу, *-m* ба *-ng*-ийн дундах эгшигийг дандаа *-y*-аар сэргээжээ. Харин *兀 wù*-г «*нгут*; *нгуот*; *нгуэт*; *нгот*» хэлбэртэй харагдаж байна. Паул Рачневскийн өгүүлсэнчлэн бүгд *-t* төгсгөлтэй аж. Э.В.Шавкунов, Ц.Шагдарсүрэн нарыг баримталвал (зөвхөн *méngwù*-ийн хувьд) *Монгол* эсвэл *Мангол*-оос гадна *-r*, *-l*, *-n* төгсгөлтэй өөр хэдэн ч хувилбараар сэргээж болох мэт. Үүнийг тайлбарлахад, эл сэргээлтүүд *Монголтой* холбогдох эсэхийг ултай шинжлэхэд, хэл шинжлэлийн суурь мэдлэг хэрэгтэй гэдэг нь хэнд ч ойлгомжтой зүйл. Гэхдээ үгийг дуудах байдлыг төсөөлөн сэргээснээс ажиглахад *мэнгү* нь Э.В.Шавкуновын бүтээлд дурдсанчлан,⁴ Амур мөрний хуучин нэр «Манку», *мэнва* нь «Мангбу», «Мангму»-ийн нангиад галигласан үг байх боломж их юм.

Мэнгү~*Манку*; *Мэнва*~*Мангбу*/*Мангму*-тай холбогдуулж хэлэхэд, *монгол* -ын эхний «мон» үе *мохэ-шивэй* нарын *мангү*~*монгү*-тай шууд холбогдоно, гэхдээ *мангү*~*монгү* нь «гол мөрөн» гэсэн утгатай, харин Амур мөрний оноосон нэр биш, мөн *мангү*~*монгү* нь Эргүнэ хуны аймгийн гол салбар *киян* ба *кыяттай* утгын шууд холбоотой гэж Л.Билэгт өгүүлжээ.⁵

II. Тан улсын хоёр судрын *мэнгү*, *мэнваг* хожмын *монголчуудтай* холбодог хоёр дахь үндэслэгээ нь түүний газар зүйн байршилтай холбоотой. *Сяньби* аймгийн хуучин

¹ Ratchnevsky P. Genghis Khan. His Life and Legacy. Translated and Edited by Thomas Nivison Haining. Blackwell, Oxford-Cambridge, 1994. p. 218; Рачневский П. Чингис хаан түүний амьдрал ба өв. Англи хэлнээс орчуулсан Л.Мөнх-Эрдэнэ. Улаанбаатар, 2006. т. 152

² Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. с. 28

³ Шагдарсүрэн Ц. Монгол хэлний хөгжлийн эртний үе, түүнийг судласан тойм. (Эргэцүүлэл) //Монгол судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи. I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр. Эртний Монгол хэлний судлал. Улаанбаатар, 1999. т. 74-75, 92

⁴ Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. сс. 32, 29

⁵ Билэгт Л. О происхождении этнонима "Монгол" //Studia Ethnologica. Tom. XI, fasc. 3. УБ., 1997. т. 32, 33

нутагт *шивэй* нар суудаг, тэдний дунд *мэнгү шивэй* байдаг, ниймээс *мэнгү* эсвэл *шивэй* нар бүхэлдээ *монгол* хэлтэн байх ёстой гэх маягийн томъёолол ихэнх судлаачийн хэлж, ярьж байгаа зүйлд ажиглагддаг. *Мэнгү шивэй*н газар нутгийн байршлын талаарх өмнөх үеийн эрдэмтдийн саналыг, хялбарыг бодож доор нэгтгэж толилуулж байна.

Хүснэг 3.

Эрдэмтэд		Мэнгү шивэй
К.Ширатори	1912 ¹	Мэнгү шивэй Шилка, Онон голын саваар нутаглана.
П.Пеллио	1929 ²	Мэнгү шивэй нь шивэйн нэг салбар, Монгол, Манжуурын хязгаарт Хөлүнбуйр, Эргүнэ мөрний эхээр нутаглаж байсан.
Ту Жи	1934 ³	Монгол шивэй нь Ванжянь гол дагуу оршин нутаглаж байлаа. Ванжянь гэгч Ваньшуй гол, даруй одоох Хар мөрөн болно. Монгол гэдэг нэрийг анх эндээс олж үзэв.
Коман Есиаки	1961 ⁴	Амур, Сунгар мөрний билчирээс баруун, Бага Хинганаас зүүн тийш Амурын өмнөд эрэгт мэнгү шивэй сууна.
Х.Пэрлээ	1959 ⁵	VII-IX дүгээр зууны үед Мэнгү-шивэй аймаг Хөлөн нүүрын хавиар байжээ.
	1969 ⁶	Эргүнэ-кунгаас гарсан аймгуудын нэг хэсэг нь зүүн хойш шилжихийн Их, Бага Хянган уулсыг холбосон Илхури нурууны ард Эргүнэ, Онон хоёр мөрний билчрээс доош Шигянь (Шинкарь, одоо Амур) мөрний өмнөд тохойд монгол нэрээ хадгалан суусан байна. Энэ нь тэдний нэрийг Нангиад үсгээр Мынг-у шивэй гэж хожим тэмдэглэх болсноос мэдэгдэж байна.
П.Рачневский	1966 ⁷	Да шивэйн хэл шивэйн бусад аймгаас ялгаатай. Синь Тан шуд Да шивэй, Мэнгү шивэйг нэг газар, Эргүнэгийн хөндийд нутагладаг гэж бичжээ, тэгээд ч энэ мэдээгээр Мэнгү шивэй нь Да шивэйгийн нэг хэсэг ч байж болох талтай.
L.Ligeti	1970 ⁸	Түүхийн тавцанд VI зуунаас нэр гарах болсон шивэйчүүд Манжуурын баруун хойт хэсэгт сууж байсан. Тэдгээрээс зарим нэгийн нутгийг: Күлүн нуур, Чор, Шилка (Шилкин), Нонни голын орчим гэж нэлээд найдвартай оноож болох юм, тэдний нэг нь Тан улсын үед Mong-wou эсвэл Mongyol нэрийг зүүж байсан.
L.Hambis	1970 ⁹	Эрт, түрүү үеийн сүрвалж бичгийн мэдээ баримтууд нь

¹ Ширатори К. Дунху үндэстний тухай өгүүлэлийн нэр. VI, Шивэй. Токио, Мэйжигийн 43-р он. т. 502

² Pelliot P. L'Édition Collective des Œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei //T'oung Pao. Vol. XXVI, Liège, 1929. p. 126

³ Ван Говэй. Монголын тухай магадлал //Туаньтан хочтоны түүвэр зохиол. Бээжин, Чжунхуа хэвлэл, 1959. 3-р боть, 15-р дэвтэр, т. 687 (хятад хэлээр); tu jiy. mongol-un teiken temdeglel. terigün debter. erdeninobaya orciyulba. öbür mongol-un arad-un keblel-un qoriy-a, 2007. т. 1, 2

⁴ Кычанов Е.И. Монголы в VI-первой половине XII в //История и культура Востока Азии. Дальний Восток и соседние территории в средние века. Новосибирск, 1980. с. 138

⁵ Пэрлээ Х. Хятан нар, тэдний монголчуудтай холбогдсон нь //Studia Historica. Tom. I, fasc. 1, УБ., 1959. т. 13

⁶ Пэрлээ Х. Гурван мөрний монголчуудын аман түүхийн мөрийг мөшгөсөн нь //Studia Historica. Tom. VIII, fasc. 6, УБ., 1969. т. 106

⁷ Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 246

⁸ Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R.Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 269

⁹ Hambis L. L'Histoire des Mongols Avant Gengis-khan D'après les Sources Chinoises et Mongoles, et la Documentation Conservée par Rašidu-d-'dīn //Central Asiatic Journal. Vo. XIV, №1-3, Wiesbaden, 1970. p. 127

		монголчуудыг, Нонни голоос баруун зүгт магадгүй, энэ гол [Нонни] болон Хөлүн нуурын хооронд байдаг, Хар мөрний дээд эх нь болдог Эргүнэ голоос хойш, мөн энэ голоос [Хар мөрнөөс] өмнө зүгт орших газар нутагт байрлуулаад байна.
Tamura Jitsuzō	1971/1973 ¹	Монголчууд энэ цагт (Тангийн үед) нүүдлийн амьдралаар Эргүнэ голоос өмнөх хээр талын бүс нутагт амьдарч байв.
Е.И.Кычанов	1980 ²	Ванцзян эсвэл Шинцзян гэж нэрлэх тэрхүү их мөрний урсгалын хамгийн дорнод хэсэгт нь Мэнью шивэй нутаглана, өмнөд Мохэгийн хөрш, Шивэй аймгуудын тархацын хамгийн зүүн хойд талд нутаглаж байсан.
Хятадын түүхийн атлас	1982/1996 ³	Амур мөрний эрэг дэх Хэйхэ хотын орчим.
Чжэн Индэ	1983/1994 ⁴	Хар мөрөн мужийн Айгунь хошуу.
В.С.Таскин	1984 ⁵	Аргунь мөрний өмнө Мэнью эсвэл Мэнъяа аймаг нутаглана.
Ширайши	2001 ⁶	Шивэй бол Тан улсын үед одоогийн БНХАУ-ын Дунбэй нутгийн хойд биеэс Сибирийн өмнөд этгээд хүртэлх нутаг дэвсгэрт тархан сууж байсан. Мэнгү шивэй нь Аргунь мөрнөөс Амур мөрний өмнөд этгээдэд нутаглаж байсан.
Xu Elina-Qian	2005 ⁷	Мэнгү шивэй нь одоогийн Эмюр (Амуэрхэ) голын хөндийд нутаглаж байсан.
А.Очир	2008 ⁸	Тэр цагт, Мэнью, Мэнъяа аймаг нь Хөлөн нуураас зүүн хойш Эргүнэ болон Шилка голуудын эхэн урсгал хавиар нутаглаж байсан бололтой.

Хүснэгтээс ажиглахад *мэнгү шивэйн* нутгийг эрдэмтэд баттай тогтоосон гэж хэлэх ямар ч үндэслэл алга. Түүнчлэн зарим эрдэмтэнээс *монгол* хэлтэн аймгуудын нутаг дэвсгэрийн тархац мөн Эргүнэ хунг харгалзаж асуудлыг шийдвэрлэх гэж оролдсон нь оновчтой үр дүнд хүргэсэнгүй. VI-X зууны *шивэй* аймгуудын (*мэнгү шивэй*-Б.Б.) нутгийн талаарх судлаачдын саналд илт ажиглагдаж байгаа зөрүү нь тэдний талаарх мэдээ баримт ховор учраас бус харин ч мэдээ баримт элбэг, олон янз агуулгатай, бас цаг хугацаа, орон зайн хамрах хүрээ хэт өргөн, ихээс шалтгаалжээ.⁹

Ер нь тус аймгийн нутгийг тогтооход, *да шивэйгийн* газар нутаг, Ванжянь (Шижань) голыг зөв тогтоох, *лото шивэйн* газар нутгийг харгалзах гэсэн гурван гол зангилааг тайлах нь чухал. Асуудлыг шийдвэрлэхэд түлхэц болох нэг боломж нь сурвалжид

¹ Tamura, Jitsuzō. The Legend of the Origin of the Mongols and Problem Concerning Their Migration //Acta Asiatica. №24, The Tōhō Gakkai, Tokyo, 1973. p. 4

² Кычанов Е.И. Монголы в VI-первой половине XII в //История и культура Востока Азии. Дальний Восток и соседние территории в средние века. Новосибирск, 1980. с. 138

³ The Historical Atlas of China. Vol. V, The Sui Dynasty Period, The Tang Dynasty Period, The five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period. Chief Ed. Prof. Tan Qixiang. CCPH., 1996. pp. 50-51, 3-5

⁴ Чжэн Индэ. Новые исследования географии Шивэй //Медиевистские исследования на Дальнем Востоке России. Дальнаука, Владивосток, 1994. с. 125

⁵ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 56

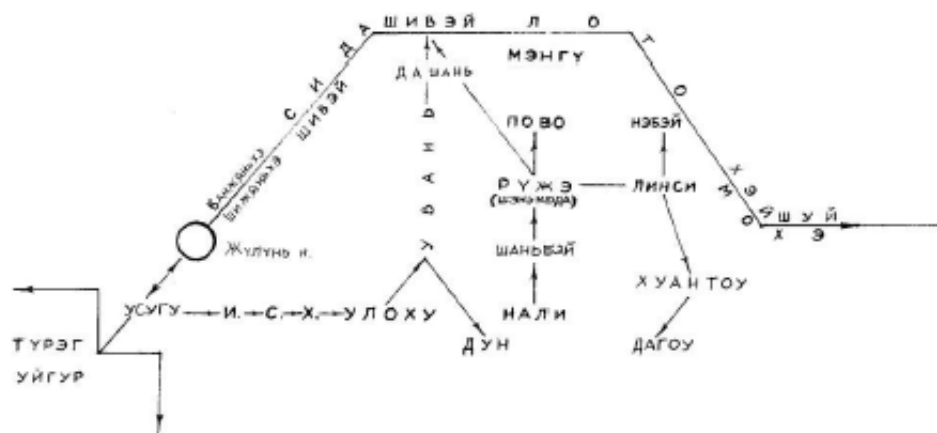
⁶ Ширайши. Чингис ханы археологи. Токно, 2001. т. 5, 7-8

⁷ Xu Elina-Qian. Historical Development of the Pre-dynastic Khitan. Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2005. p. 175

⁸ Очир А. Монголчуудын гарал, нэршил. Улаанбаатар, 2008. т. 112

⁹ Билэгт Л. Раннемонгольские племена. (Этногенетические изыскание на основе устной истории.) Улаанбаатар, 2007. т. 198

дурсан аймгийн байршил, тэдний хөршүүд, хэнээс аль зүгт ямар аймаг оршиж байгааг тодорхойлхуйц загвар гаргаж авах явдал юм. Эл зорилгоор үйлдсэн нэгэн схемийг харуулья.



Схем 1.

(ТОВЧИЛСОН И.-ИСАЙМО, С.-САЙХЭЖИ, Х.-ХЭЖЕ АЙМАГ БОЛНО.)

Схемээр бол *мэнгү шивэй* Амур мөрөн, харин тэр үеийнхээр Ванжянь (Шижянь) голын тохойд буюу Ту Жи (1934), Х.Пэрлээ (1969), Xu Elina-Qian (2005) нарын хэлсэнтлэн, Амур мөрний өмнө цутгал Амуэрхэ голын саваар нутаглаж байжээ. *Лото* буюу *лоцзу* аймгийн байршил ингэж хэлэх боломжийг ихэсгэнэ. Тэдний нутгийн газарзүйн байрлал, *шивэй* нарыг (ө.х. *мэнгү шивэйг*-Б.Б.) X-XIII зууны монгол аймгуудтай шүүд холбоотойг үгүйсгэж байна.¹

III. Мэнгү шивэйгийн угсаа гарлыг шийдвэрлэхэд чухал үүрэг гүйцэтгэх нэг сэжүүр бол тус аймаг шивэй дотроо аль бүлэгт багаж байсан асуудалтай шууд холбоотой. Үүнээс улбаалан угсаатны онцлогыг илтгэж чадах дүр төрхийг сэргээж, зураглах боломж бий болно.

Тэгээд ч сурвалжид *шивэй* нар дотроо хэд хэдэн аймгаас бүрэлдэх, угсаа нийтлэгийн томоохон хоёр, гурван бүлэглэлд хуваагдаж байсныг илтгэсэн, тэдгээр бүлэглэлийг төлөөлсөн маш тодорхой зан үйл, аж ахуй зэрэгтэй холбоотой мэдээг дурсчээ. Мөн бүлэглэл доторх аймаг хоорондын угсаатны шинжийн зөрөөг ч цохон хэлдэг. Тиймээс угсаатны онцлогийг нь үл дурдсан аймгийн угсаатны дүр төрхийг аль бүлэгт багтах аас сурвалжлан сэргээж, зураглах боломжийг «*Вэй улсын судар, Бэй ши, Суй улсын судар, Тан улсын хуучин, шинэ судар*» агуулдаг хэмээн бид үзлээ.

Зүүн Германы эрдэмтэн Паул Рачневский нэлээд ултайгаар: – угсаатны хамаадал, хэл, газар нутаг, уур амьсгал, хөрс ургамал, ан амьтан, нийгэм улс төрийн зохион байгуулалт, ял шийтгэл, гэрлэлт, оршуулга, хувцас хунар, гоёл чимэглэл, үс засалт,

¹ Билэгт Л. О происхождении этнонима "Монгол" // *Studia Ethnologica*. Tom. XI, fasc. 3. УБ., 1997. т. 29

амьдралын хэв маяг, гар урлал, үйлдвэрлэл, ан гөрөө, газар тариалан эрхлэлт, тээврийн хэрэгсэл, нүүдэл суудал, зэр зэвсэг гэсэн сэдвээр Вэй шу, Бэй ши, Суй шу, Тан улсын хоёр судрын мэдээг задалж бичжээ.¹ Үүнтэй их төстэй, 13 сэдвээр ангилсан шинжилгээг өөрөөр хэлбэл, П.Рачневскийн арга барилд тулгуурласан судалгааг Л.Билэгт бас гүйцэтгэсэн билээ.²

Шивэйн тухай судалгаанд аймгуудыг угсаа, нутаг дэвсгэрийн онцлогыг харгалзан бүлэглэх явдал чухал. «Бэй ши, Суй шуд» бичсэнээр *Нань шивэй** 25 бу 部 *bù* буюу угсаа нийтлэг-нийгмийн зохион байгуулалт харгалзсан жижиг нэгжтэй гэсэн бол «Тан улсын хуучин сударт»: *Нань шивэйн бүлэгт*, – *усугу, исаймо, хэжэ, сайхэжи, улохоу, нали, увань, дун шивэй, дагоу* нарын 9 аймгийг багтааж нэрлэжээ.³

Сурвалжид *Нань шивэй*д багтах угсаа-нийтлэгийн нэгжийг ийнхүү 25 эсвэл 9 гэж зөрөөтэй тэмдэглэсэнтэй холбогдуулан дашрамын байдлаар доорх зүйлийг дурдъя. Бидний бодлоор *шивэй*н судалгаанд шийдвэрлэх ёстой бас нэг асуудалд бу 部 *bù*-г юу гэж ойлгох, хэдий хэрийн хүн амтай, угсаа-нийтлэгийн ямар нэгжийг түүгээр илэрхийлж байгааг шийдэх нь чухал. Төв Азийн нүүдэлчид болон бусад ард түмний угсаа-нийтлэгийн тодорхой нэгжийг оноож нэрлэдэг, нангиадын бу 部 *bù*-г Л.И.Думан «группа-бүлэг» гэж, В.С.Таскин «аймаг, кочевье-irgen» хэмээн орчуулжээ.⁴ «Бу» гэж овог, аймаг мэтийн угсаатны нэгдлэгийг хэлээгүй нь маргаангүй. Түүнийг В.С.Таскин «кочевье» (нутаг, нүүдэл) гэж орчуулсан нь үнэнд нилээд дөхсөн байна. Барагцаалбал 3500 орчим хүнтэй бүлэг нүүдэлчид хот ч бус, айл ч бус, харин Чингисийн үеийн «хүрээ» мөн бололтой⁵ хэмээн манай нэрт түүхч Г.Сүхбаатар гуай өгүүлсэн байна. «Тан шинэ судар»-аар бол бага бу 部 *bù* нь мянга хүртэл өрхтэй, том, хүчирхэг нь хэдэн мянгаад өрхтэй. Харин «Тан хуучин сударт» *шивэйчүүдэд*, хэдэн арав өрх, заримдаа зуугаад өрх цуглаж, хамтарч амьдрах заншилтай гэж өгүүлжээ.⁶

Тиймээс сурвалжийн контекстээс шалтгаалж бу-г нэг бол угсаа-нийтлэгийн багавтар нэгжийг эсвэл овог, аймгийг хэлж байна хэмээн ялгаж ойлгох хэрэг гарч байна. Энэ санал дээрээ тулгуурлан бид эхний удаа дурдсан *Нань шивэйгийн* 25 бу-г, хожмын «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» дурдсан *Нань шивэйн* 9 томоохон аймагт багтах арай багавтар угсаа-нийтлэгийн нэгж (нүүдэлчдийн хүрээ маягийн) байсан гэж үзлээ.

¹ Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. pp. 230-245

² Билэгт Л. Роль шивэйских племен в этногенезе монголов //Studia Ethnologica. Tom. XVI, fasc. 8. УБ., 2004. т. 47-54 (харамсалтай нь техникийн шалтгааны улмаас түүний өгүүллийн зарим хэсэг орхигдож хэвлэгджээ.)

³ Табгачийн Умард Вэй улсын үеийн улохоу аймаг мөн гэж зарим судлаач үздэг.

⁴ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. сс. 138-139

⁵ Думан Л.И. Расселение нескитайских племен во внутренних районах Китая и их социальное устройство в III-IV вв. н.э. – Китай: история, культура, и историография. Отв. редактор Н.Ц. Мункуев. М., 1977. с. 55; Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 16

⁶ Сүхбаатар Г. Монголчуудын эртний өвөг. Хүннү нарын аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал, соёл, угсаа гарал (м.э.ө. IV-м.э. II зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1981. т. 45

⁷ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. сс. 140, 138

Харин Табгачийн Умард Вэй улсын (үнэндээ бол Зүүн Вэй улс) үеэс хятад оронтой холбоо тогтоож эхэлсэн *шивэйг** «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» “ярьж хэлцэж байгаачлан, манай Тан улсын үед шивэй нь есөн аймагтай, *линси шивэй, шаньбэй шивэй, хуантоу шивэй, да рүжэ шивэй, сяо рүжэ шивэй, ново шивэй, нэбэй шивэй, лото шивэйг* хэлнэ” гэжээ.¹ Гэвч тус сударт найман аймаг тоочсныг мөн тэдгээрийн дунд *лото шивэйг* хэлж байгааг сайн анзаарна уу.

Да *шивэй, си шивэй, мэнгү шивэй, лоцзу шивэйг* тэдний нутгаар дамжин урсах Ванжяньхэ голтой нь хамт «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» тэмдэглэснээс улбаалж нэг бүлэг гэж үзэх явдал бий, ялангуяа да *шивэй* ба *мэнгү шивэйг* нэг хэлээр ярилцагч, бусад нь тэдний хэлийг үл ойлгоно хэмээн бичсэн тал ч бий.²

Гэхдээ аймаг, бу (хүрээ), овог гэх нэр томъёоны утга илэрхийллийн холилдож хутгалдсан байдал, нийт аймгуудын тооны зөрүүтэй мэдээнээс шалтгаалж бүлэг болгох боломж, аймгууд үржиж хуваагдсан эсвэл нэгдэж нийлснийг тодорхой гаргах боломж хомс байгааг судлаачид цохон тэмдэглэдэг.³

Байдал ийм байгаа ч *шивэй* нэрийг хэдий орчим овог, аймагт зүүлгэж байсныг, бас хэдэн бүлэг болгон хувааж байсныг нягтлах боломж алдагдаагүй. Судлаачид, *Шивэйн* аймгийн тоог байнга ихсэж байснаар ойлгож, бичдэг.⁴ Гэтэл Умард Ци, Суй улсын үеийн таван аймаг *шивэйг*, Тан улсын сударт 3 том бүлэгт хувааж, тухайлбал, *Нань шивэйд*–9 аймаг, *Бэй шивэйд*–9 аймаг* харин *Да шивэйг, Си шивэйтэй* хамтатгаж тэмдэглэжээ. «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» *шивэйд* “толгойлогч байхгүй, харин 17 том ахлагч бий, тэднийг мохэфу хэмээнэ, олон түмнээ тэд захирана, угсаа залгамжилдаг” гэж дурддаг.⁵ Бидний бодлоор энэ нь мөн тэр үеийн нийт *шивэй* аймгийн тоог дөхүүлж дөхүүлж заасан хэрэг. Учир нь тус сурвалжид: *линси, шаньбэй, хуантоу, да рүжэ, сяо рүжэ, ново, нэбэй (нобэйжи), лото (лоцзу, лодань, лотань)* гэсэн хуучны *Бэй шивэй* гэж нэрлэгдэх 8 аймаг; *усугу, исаймо, сайхэжи, хэжэ, улоху, нали, увань, дун шивэй, дагоу* гэх хуучны *Нань шивэй* болох 9 аймаг, одоогийн Эргүнэ, Амур мөрний саваар нутагтай да ба *си шивэй, мэнгү шивэй* нийлээд яг 20 аймгийн нэрийг дурддаг. Эл хорин аймгийг VII зууны эхэн хагасаас 840-өөд он хүртэл тогтвортойгоор *шивэй* нэрээр түүхэнд тэмдэглэдэг аж. «Тан улсын шинэ сударт» овог, аймгийн ахлагчдын тоог нарийн заагаагүй ч урьдахь сурвалжаас нэг давуу мэдээ байдаг нь *шивэй* аймгуудын

* «Бэй ши, Суй шугаар» бол энэ шивэй нь хожмын *Бэй шивэй* мөн ажээ.

¹ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 138

² Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Damiéville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 246; Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 139

³ Воробьев М.В. Маньчжурия и Восточная Внутренняя Монголия (с древнейших времен до IX в. включительно). Дальнаука, Владивосток, 1994. с. 276

⁴ Пэрлээ Х. Гурван мөрний монголчуудын аман түүхийн мөрийг мөшгөсөн нь //Studia Historica. Tom. VIII, fasc. 6, УБ., 1969. т. 115; Крадин Н.Н. Этническая группа шивэй: характеристика организации и социальной структуры //Этническая история народов Южной Сибири и Центральной Азии. Новосибирск, 1993. с. 118

* «Бэй ши, Суй шуд» тусдаа дурдсан *Бо шивэй* нь *Бэй шивэйгийн* – *ново*, харин *Шэньмода шивэй* нь *их, бага рүжэ* аймаг мөн ажээ.

⁵ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 138

бага нь мянга хүртэл өрх, айлтай, хүчирхэг нь хэдэн мянган өрх, айлтай (тухайбал, линси, шаньбэй, хуантоу, сайхэжи мөн ново (хуучны бо шивэй), рүжэ, да шивэй, улохоу зэрэг 8 аймаг болно-Б.Б.) хэмээгээд шивэйг хорь гаруй аймагтай¹ гэж шууд цохон өгүүлсэн нь «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» дурдсан аймгийн нэрийн тоотой давхцдаг, өөрөөр хэлбэл хорь гэсэн тоог улам үнэмшилтэйгээр бататгах аж. Тиймээс 544 онд анх түүх сударт тэмдэглэсэн Шивэй нэрийг 620-нод оноос 840-өөд оныг хүртэл лав хорин аймаг их тогтвортой зүүж иржээ. Мөн тэд, дийлэнх судлаачийн үзсэнчлэн (ялангуяа Рачневский, Воробьев, Xu Elina-Qian нар) угсаатны болоод газар нутгийн шинжийг харгалзсан Да, Нань, Бэй (буюу умард, өмнөд, их гэсэн, эсвэл баруун, өмнөд, зүүн) хэмээх гурван том бүлэглэлд хуваагдаж байв. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, сурвалжийн мэдээнд тулгуурлан зарим судлаач, Нэг, Нань шивэйд:– усугу, исаймо, хэжэ, сайхэжи, улоху, нали, увань (ухуань), дун шивэй, дагоу; Хоёр, Бэй шивэйд:– линси, шаньбэй, хуантоу, да рүжэ, сяо рүжэ, ново, нэбэй, лото; Гурав, Да шивэйн бүлэгт:– да шивэй, си шивэй, мэнеү болон лоцзуг багтааж ойлгодог.²

Сая дурдсан, шивэй аймгуудыг бүлэгт хуваасан судалгаанд, газар нутгийн ойр дөт шинжээр да шивэйн бүлгийг бүрдүүлсэн байхад, бэй шивэй, нань шивэйг бүлэглэхдээ угсаатны шинжийг илүү харгалзаж, сурвалжийн мэдээг тууштай баримталжээ.

Урьдах судалгааны үр дүн ийм байгаа хэдий ч бидний хувьд яг тухайн чиглэлээр арай өөр саналтай байна. Хамгийн гол нь да шивэйн (умард буюу баруун) бүлэгт мэнеү ба лото шивэйг хамруулах нь сурвалжийн мэдээ, агуулгатай зөрчилдөнө. Да шивэйгийн бүлэгт багтаасан лото 駱駝 luòtuó (Тан улсын хуучин судар) буюу лотань 落丹 luòdān (Тан улсын шинэ судар) шивэйг мөнхүү хоёр сурвалжид бас лоцзу/ложе 落姐 luòjiě, эсвэл лотань 落坦 luòtǎn хэмээн нэрлэжээ. Чухам, Тан улсын хуучин сударт лото-ложе гэж харин Тан улсын шинэ сударт лодань-лотань гэж хольж бичжээ.³ Чингэхлээр «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» эхлээд бэй шивэйгийн бүлгийн есөн аймгийн наймын нэрийг дурдахад гарсан лото нь дараахан Ванжяньхэ голын хоёр эргээр нутаглах дөрвөн аймгийн нэрийг дурдахад хэлэгдэх, гэхдээ энэ удаад ложе гэсэн гажсан хувилбараар тэмдэглэжээ. «Тан улсын шинэ сударт» энэ зөрүү бас бий агаад лодань нь лотань (丹 dān 坦 tǎn) болж хувирчээ. Иймээс бэйгийн бүлгийн шивэй нарыг нэрлэхэд тэмдэглэсэн – лото буюу лодань болбоос дараа нь Ванжяньхэ (Тан улсын шинэ сударт-Шижяньхэ) голын хөвөөгөөр нутаглах шивэйг тоочиход хамт хэлэгддэг ложе (лоцзу) буюу лотань нь нэг аймаг мөн. Ийм саналыг мөн Х.Пэрлээ гуай баримталж байв.⁴

¹ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. сс. 140, 141

² Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demeville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 246; Воробьев М.В. Маньчжурция и Восточная Внутренняя Монголия (с древнейших времен до IX в. включительно). Дальнаука, Владивосток, 1994. с. 276; Xu Elina-Qian. Historical Development of the Pre-dynastic Khitan. Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2005. pp. 174, 175

³ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. сс. 138, 139, 141

⁴ Пэрлээ Х. Гурван мөрний монголчуудын аман түүхийн мөрийг мөшгөсөн нь //Studia Historica. Tom. VIII, fasc. 6, УБ., 1969. т. 116, хүснэгтийн 7-р мөр

Лото аймгийн талаар ийнхүү дэлгэрэнгүй дурсах нэг шалтгаан нь тус аймаг «Тан улсын хуучин, шинэ судрын» мэдээгээр *мэнгү шивэйн* нутагтай хөрш байсанд оршино. Жүшү 俱輪 jù/jūshū нуураас эх авсан Ванжяньхэ гол «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» бичснээр бол *да шивэйгийн* нутгаар урсч өнгөрсөн хойно "... *мэнгү шивэйгийн* умраар, *ложе шивэйгийн* өмнүүр урсч" дараа нь дорно зүгт одно. Нөгөө «Тан улсын шинэ сударт» энэ талаар "... Шижяньхэ голын эрэгт *да шивэй* суумой. Гол, Жүлүн 俱倫 jù/jūlún-ээс эх авч, муруйж дорно зүг урсана. Голын урд *мэнва*, харин ард нь *лотань* аймаг бий" гэдэг.¹

Бас Тан улсын хоёр түүхэнд *бэйгийн* бүлгийн шивэйг хэлэхдээ *лото* буюу *лодань* аймгийг ямагт сүүлд, гэхдээ нэбэй *шивэйн* араас залгуулж нэрлэдэг.

Эдгээр шалтгааны улмаас бид: *мэнгү шивэйг*, *Бэй шивэйн* есдэх аймаг гэж тооцож байгаа юм. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, *лото* (*ложе/лодань/лотань*) аймаг нь *мэнгү шивэйтэй* Ванжяньхэ голоор тусгаарлаж, нэг дор нутаглах учраас *мэнгү шивэй* бол *бэй шивэйтэй* их төстэй угсаатны онцлогтой, шинжтэй байсан хэмээн хэлэх гээд байна.

Зүүн Вэй, Умард Ци, Суй, Тан улстай VI зууны II хагасаас эхлэн харилцсаар ирсэн есөн аймаг бүхий *Бэй шивэйн* зан ааль, газар нутаг, амьдрал ахуйн талаар «Бэй ши, Суй шуд» их тодорхой өгүүлдэг.

«Бэй шид» "*Нань шивэйгээс* хойш 11 өдрийн замд *Бэй шивэй* байдаг, есөн аймагтай, Түгэ уулыг хүрээлэн нутагладаг. Аймгийн ахлагчдыг *цинь мохэдо* гэнэ. Аймаг болгонд ахлагчийн туслах гурван *мохэфу* бий. Уур амьсгал тэсгим хүйтэн, морь мал шигдээд далдархуйц гүнзгий их цас унадаг. Өвөл болохоор хүмүүс нь ууланд гарч газар нүхэн гэрт амьдардаг. Хүйтнээс болж цөөнгүй үхэр хөлдөж үхдэг. Гөрөөс, буга элбэг тул тэднийг авлаж амь зуудаг. Ангын мах идэж арьсаар хувцаслана. Мөс цоолж усанд орж, тороор загас, яст мэлхий шүүрддэг. Цас их унаж газрыг дарахаар нүхэнд унахаас сэргийлж хавтгай, нимгэн мод углаж явмуй. Цөм булга агнаж чаддаг. Малгайг үнэг, булгын арьсаар харин хувцасаа загасны арьсаар оёдог. Хойд зүг [*бэй шивэйгээс*] мянган газар, Хубу уулын хажууд *Бо шивэй* бий. Тэдний дунд *бэй шивэй* олон бий, гэвч хэдэн бу [хүрээ-Б.Б.] болох нь үл мэдэгдэнэ. Гэрээ үйсээр хучдаг, бусад нь *бэй шивэйтэй* адил. *Бо шивэйгээс* баруун урагш дөрвөн өдөрчийн газарт голын нэрээр хочлогдсон *Шэньмода шивэй* сууна. Өвөл нь хүйтнээс зайлж нүхэнд амьдардаг. *Бэй шивэй* хааяа алба өргөхөөр элч илгээдэг, харин үлдсэн аймгуудаас элч ирдэггүй"² гэж өгүүлдэг бол «Суй шуд», "*Нань шивэйгээс* хойд зүгт 11 өдрийн зам туулаад, есөн аймагтай *Бэй шивэйгийн* нутагт ирнэ, тэд Тухэшань уулыг тойрон нутагладаг. Аймгийн тэргүүнээ *цинь мохэдо* гэнэ, түүнд тусалдаг гурван *мохэфу* аймаг болгонд бий. Хамгийн тэсгэм хүйтэн газар, морь шигдээд үл харагдахуйц цас унадаг. Өвөл нь *шивэйчүүд* ууланд гарч нүхэн гэрт суудаг. Хүйтнээс болж үхэр ихээр хорогдоно. Гөрөөс, буга элбэг. Ан гөрөөнд нум хэрэглэнэ. Ангын махы нь идэж арьсаар нь хувцаслана. Мөс цоолж тороор загас, яст мэлхий барина. Цас их унахад, нүхэнд унахаас сэргийлж цана углаж явдаг. Булга агнах нь заншил. Малгайг үнэг, нохой зээхийн арьсаар, харин загасны арьсаар хувцас оёдог. Дахиад хойд зүгт 1000 ли явахад

¹ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. сс. 139, 141

² Е. Лун-ли. История государства киданей (Цидань го чжи). Перевод с китайского, введение, комментарий и приложения В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1979. сс. 537-538

Хубу уулын дэргэд суух *бо шивэйд* хүрнэ. Энэ аймаг *бэй шивэйгээс* олон гэх боловч хэдэн бу-тайг [хүрээтэйг-Б.Б.] үл мэднэ. Хусны үйсээр орон гэр барьдаг, бусад нь *бэй шивэйтэй* адил. *Бо шивэйгээс* баруун өмнө дөрвөн өдөр яваад голын нэрээр хочлогдсон *шэньмода шивэйд* ирнэ. Өвлийн саруудад тэднийг хүйтнээс хамгаалдаг нүхэн гэрт суудаг. *Бэй шивэй* хааяа алба өргөж, бэлэг барихаар элч илгээдэг, харин үлдсэн аймгуудаас огт ирж байгаагүй¹ хэмээн бичжээ.

Хэрэв бидний дэвшүүлж байгаа таамаглалыг үндэстэй гэвэл, *Бэй шивэйн* бүлэгт багтаасан *мэнгү шивэйд* тал нутгийн нүүдэлчдийн дүр төрх ажиглагдахаас илүүтэй ойн анчин, гөрөөчин эсвэл ой тайгыг түшиж амьдрах хагас суурьшмал овог, аймгийн дүр зураг харагдаж байна.

Түүнчлэн *бэй шивэйн* аймгуудын урдуур оршиж, *түрэг, уйгур, мохэ, хидантай* нутаг залгаж, хөрш аймаг угсаатны ахуй, соёлын хүрээнд татагдаж, бага сага адуу малтай болсон, гэр тэрэг, эсвэл түрэг гэртэй төстэй орон сууцанд амьдарч, хидантай адил хувцас хэрэглэл, зэр зэвсэг өмсч, зүүж байсан, *бэй шивэй* нартай төрөлсөх, *нань шивэйн* бүлгийн аймгуудад ч хамаарах угсаатны онцлог, эрхлэх аж ахуйн шинж, идээ ундаа нь Манжуурт Сунгар, Уссур, Амур мөрний саваар нутаглах *мохэ* (ө.х. *манж-тунгустэй*) нартай адил байсныг сурвалжууд маш тодорхой өгүүлсэн байдаг.

Тиймээс ч П.Рачневскийн, *нангиад* сурвалж дахь *шивэй* аймгуудын эрхлэх аж ахуйн талаарх мэдээ нь тэднийг нэг талаас их төлөв гахай, үхрийн аж ахуй эрхэлдэг, сул хөгжсөн газар тариалантай хагас суурьшмалууд, нөгөө талаас ойн анчин, гөрөөчид болохыг маш тодорхой харуулж байна. Өмнөд болон зүүн *шивэйн* бүлгийн (зүүн *шивэй* гэдэг нь бидний *Бэй шивэйгийн* бүлэг юм) эрхлэх аж ахуйн шинж нь тэднийг *тунгус* хэлтэн ард түмэнтэй адилтгах боломжийг олгохын дээр *монголчуудын* уламжлалт, түүхэн эрхлэх аж ахуйгаас эрс ялгаатай болохыг харуулж байна гэж үзсэн нь үнэн юм.²

Хятад сурвалжийн мэдээнээс үзэхэд, *шивэйн* эрхлэх аж ахуй, зан үйл, ёс заншил нь *монголчуудынхаас* их ялгаатай, өөр болох нь харагдаж байна. Иймд *шивэй* нар угсаа гарлын хувьд нэгдмэл бус ихэвчлэн *манж-тунгус* хэлтнүүд байсан гэж үзэж болохоор³ хэмээн П.Дэлгэржаргал үзсэн нь бидний зүгээс *мэнгү шивэйг* – нэр, газар нутгийн байршил бас *бэй шивэйн* бүлэгт хамаатуулж эрхлэх аж ахуй, угсаатны онцлогийг нь сэргээж дүрсэлсэн байдлаас урган гарч буй үр дүнг товч илэрхийлсэн хэрэг.

Шивэйн доторх ойн анчин гөрөөчин аймгууд дунд *монгол* хэлтэн аймаг байж болох талаар дурссан П.Рачневский эл үзлийнхээ жишээ болгож «Сударын чуулган» дахь *хойин урянга* (*урианха*) аймгийг дурджээ. Тэрээр *хойин урянга* аймгийг П.Пеллио *монгол* аймаг байх гэж үзснийг эшлээд энэ аймгийн талаар Рашид ад-диний мэдээлж байгаа нь *бэй шивэйн* талаарх *нангиад* сурвалжийн мэдээтэй дүйхийг онцолжээ.⁴ Түүний саналаас ургуулж бодвол *бэй шивэйн* бүлэгт багтаж ойн анчин, гөрөөчин эсвэл хагас суурьшмал аж ахуйг эрхэлж байсан *мэнгү шивэй* нь үндсэндээ *хойин урянга*

¹ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 137

² Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 248

³ Дэлгэржаргал П. Монголчуудын угсаа гарвал. Улаанбаатар, 2005. т. 126

⁴ Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 249

нартай төстэй тул, бас хойин урянка нь монгол эсвэл монголжсон аймаг байсан тул *мэнгү шивэй* нь монгол байх боломжтой гэсэн сэтгэгдэл төрөхөөр байна.

Гэхдээ эл саналыг зөвшөөрөх аргагүй. Учир нь «Сударын чуулганд» тэр үеийн монгол нэр зүүсэн аймгуудыг үндсэнд:-

нэгд. “одоо цагт монгол хэмээн нэрлэгдэж буй ч анхандаа тэдний нэр тийм байгаагүй” аймгууд,

хоёрт. монголчуудтай төстэй ч саяхнаас монгол нэртэй болсон аймаг, улс,

гуравт. дотроо нирун болон дарлекин/дүрлүгин гэх хоёр дэд бүлэгтэй язгуурын монголчууд хэмээн гурав хуваадаг.¹

П.Рачневскийн жишээ болгосон хойин урянка нь энэ гурван бүлгийн нэгдэхэд багтдаг. Мөн хойин урянка болон тэд нартай адил ойн нэр хүлээсэн *орасут*, *талангут*, *кэстими* зэрэг аймгийг монгол хэлтэн ойн аймгаас ялгаж, салгахуйц учгийг «Сударын чуулганд» тэмдэглэжээ. Сая дурдсан ойн аймгууд угаас ой тайгаар нутагласаар ирсэн бол *тайжцут* зэрэг ойн тодотголтой монголчууд нь ой модтой нутагт гэртэй учраас л ойн аймаг гэж нэрлэгдсэнийг онцгойлон цохон тэмдэглэснийг манай судлаачид анзаарч баймаар.²

Эцэст нь тэмдэглэхэд *мэнгү шивэй*н талаар дээр, гурван хэсэг хувааж дурдсан судлаачдын санал болон бидний зүгээс дэвшүүлж буй баримт, саналыг нийлүүлж хэлбэл монгол аймгууд язгуурласан эсвэл монгол хэлтэн мөн хэмээн үзсээр ирсэн *мэнгү шивэй* нь нэрийн хувьд ч, газар нутгийн байршлын утгаар ч тэр, мөн эрхлэх аж ахуй, утсаатны шинжээрээ яагаад ч нүүдэлчин монгол аймаг байх үндэсгүй нь тодорхой боллоо. Түүнчлэн зарим судлаачийн (тухайлбал, П.Рачневский) хэлсэнчлэн *шивэй*н доторх анчин гөрөөчин аймгийн зарим нь монгол хэлтэн байх гэсэн нь таамаглал төдий, түүхэн баримтаар нотлогдохгүй санал болох нь харагдаж байна.

Да шивэй. Энэ аймгийн талаар «Бэй ши», «Суй шу», «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» цухас мэдээ үлджээ. «Бэй шид»: “又西北數千里至大室韋，徑路險阻，言語不通。尤多貂及青鼠。... бас [шэньмода шивэйгээс] баруун хойш хэдэн мянган газарт да шивэйд хүрнэ, зам нь бэрх бартаатай, үг хэл нэвтрэхгүй. Булга, хар хэрэм элбэг”³ гэдэг бол «Тан улсын хуучин сударт»: “其北大山之北有大室韋部落，其部落傍望建河居。其河源出突厥東北界俱輪泊，屈曲東流，經西室韋界，又東經大室韋界，又東經蒙兀室韋之北，落俎室韋之南，又東流與那河，... умардад Их уулын ард да шивэй бий. Эл аймаг Ванжянь голын дэргэд суудаг. Энэ гол Түрэгийн зүүн хойд хилд байдаг Жүшү нуураас эх авч муруйн зүүн тийш урсаж, си шивэйн хязгаараар өнгөрч, бас дахин зүүн

¹ Рашид-ад-дин. Сборник летописей. Том. I, кн. 1, перевод с персидского Л.А.Хетагурова, редакция и прим. проф. А.А.Семенова. М.-Л., 1952. с. 77; Rashiduddin Fazlullah. Jami'ut-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. Vol. I, part 1, English translation & annotation by W.M.Thackston. Harvard University, 1998. p. 25

² Рашид-ад-дин. Сборник летописей. Том. I, кн. 1, перевод с персидского Л.А.Хетагурова, редакция и прим. проф. А.А.Семенова. М.-Л., 1952. сс. 122-123; Rashiduddin Fazlullah. Jami'ut-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. Vol. I, part 1, English translation & annotation by W.M.Thackston. Harvard University, 1998. p. 58

³ 北史. 卷九十四. 室韋. 3131 頁 (<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/>); Е Лун-ли. История государства киданей (Цидань го чжи). Перевод с китайского, введение, комментарий и приложения В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1979. с. 538

тийш да шивэйгийн хязгаарыг дамжиж, бас дахин зүүн тийш, мэнгү шивэйн араар, ложе шивэйн өмнүүр өнгөрч, дахин зүүн зүг урсмой, ...”¹ хэмээн бичжээ.

Да шивэйгийн нутаг, байршил шэньмода аймгийн нутаг, Ванжянь гол одоогийн ямар гол болохоос хамааралтай нь хоёр сурвалжийн мэдээнээс илэрхий байна.

Умард Ци (550-577 он), Суй (581-618 он) улсын үеийн шэньмода шивэйгийн талаар Ширатори өгүүлэхдээ нэр хоч нь голын нэр бөгөөд одоогийн Номин голын эхүүдийн нэг нь мөн хэмээжээ,² өөрөөр хэлбэл, Номин голын саваар байсан гэж тэр үзжээ. Шэньмода шивэй аймгийн нутаглаж байсан газарт хожим, Тан улсын (618-907 он) үед, «Хятадын түүхийн атлас. V боть, Суй, Тан, Таван улс ба Арван төрийн үе» хэмээх профессор Тан Цисян тэргүүлэн эмхтгэсэн газрын зургийн цомогт дүрсэлснээр IX зууны хорь гучаад оныг хүртэл, бэй шивэйн бүлгийн хэдэн мянган өрх бүхий да рүжэ, сяо рүжэ аймаг нутаглаж байжээ.³

Хятадын эрдэмтэн Чжэн Индэгийн судалгаагаар шивэйн, рүжэ аймгийн зүүн хөрш нь увань* аймаг болно.⁴ Харин «Тан улсын хуучин сударт», увань/ухуань аймгийн талаар дурдаж байснаа шууд “тэднээс умардад Их уулын ард да шивэй бий” гэж өгүүлдэг. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, Ар голын балгасын Гасянь агуй орчмын нутгаас хойшоо тун холгүй Их Хинганы салбар (гэхдээ өргөрөг дагуу хэвтээ байрлалтай) Амуэр, Дашишаний бэрх бартаатай уулс байрладаг. Энэ бол Тан улсын судар дахь Их уул (Дашань) юм.

Ванжяньхэ голыг орчин үеийн Эргүнэ мөрөн мөн гэж Ван Говэй, Ширатори нараас оноосныг В.С.Таскин эшлээд “Далай нуураас Ванжяньхэ (Шижяньхэ) гол эх авсан хэмээн сурвалжид өгүүлж байгаа нь үндэслэлгүй зүйл биш болох нь харагдлаа” гэж бичжээ.⁵ Харин Э.В.Шавкунов, Ванжянь голын эртний галиг нь Манкан – энэ нь орчин цагийн нанай, орочи, үдэгэй нарын Манку, Мангму мөн гээд улмаар саяхныг хүртэл Амур мөрнийг – Манку, Мангму, Мангбу гэж нэрлэж байсан талаар дурджээ.⁶ Тан улсын хуучин судрын Ванжянь голын талаар Рачневский тайлбар хэлээгүй (Ratchnevsky, мөн зохиол, 237-р тал, зүүлт 2) хэмээсэн Л.Лигети, голын нэрний эхний үеийн wang бол буруу хэлбэр, түүний зөв нэр нь Тан улсын шинэ судрын ши 室 che юм; Che-kien-ий (Шижянь 室建 shijiàn) эртний дуудлага џiēt-kjōn нь, Шилка голын одоо

¹ 舊唐書。卷一百九十九下。北狄。室韌。5358 頁 (<http://hanchi.iib.sinica.edu.tw/>); Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 139

² Xu Elina-Qian. Historical Development of the Pre-dynastic Khitan. Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2005. p. 173

³ The Historical Atlas of China. Vol. V, The Sui Dynasty Period, The Tang Dynasty Period, The five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period. Chief Ed. Prof. Tan Qixiang. CCPH., 1996. pp. 50-51, 3-4/5

⁴ Тан улсын хуучин сударт энэ аймаг улохулаас зүүн хойно 200 ли (96 км) газарт, Нахэ (Ногоон) голын хойно нутагладаг, эртний ухуаний үлдэгдэл гэжээ. Сурвалжийн эл мэдээ болон Чжэн Индэгийн судалгааг харьцуулбал увань аймаг нь Их Хинганы нурууны гол босоо тэнхлэг дагуух уулархаг нутгаар, одоогийн Цөл гол, Ялхэ голын эхээс хойш Ган мөрөн, одоогийн Ар голын балгас хүртэлх зурвас нутагт сууж байжээ.

⁵ Чжэн Индэ. Новые исследования географии Шивэй //Медиевистские исследования на Дальнем Востоке России. Дальнаука, Владивосток, 1994. с. 125

⁶ Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. сс. 363, 364

⁷ Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. сс. 32, 29

хүртэл хадгалагдаж байгаа хуучин нэр Шилкинийг харуулж байна гэж бичжээ.¹ Чингэхлээр нэг хэсэг эрдэмтэд Ванжянь бол зөвхөн Эргүнэ мөрөн харин нөгөө хэсэг нь Эргүнэ болоод Амур мөрнийг Ванжянь эсвэл Шижянь гэж үзжээ.

Бидний бодлоор хоёрдахь чиглэлийг баримтлагч эрдэмтдийн санал зөв юм. Учир нь сурвалжид Ванжянь гол *ложе шивэй*н нутгаар урсч өнгөрөөд дараа нь “...又東流與那河、忽汗河合，又東經南黑水靺鞨之北，北黑水靺鞨之南，東流注于海。... ахиад зүүнш урсаж Нахэ, Хухань голтой нийлээд, өмнөд хэйшуй мөхэн хойгуур, умард хэйшуй мөхэн өмнүүр урсч өнгөрөөд, дорныг зорин урсч далайд цутгадаг”² гэсэн байдаг. Өөрөөр хэлбэл Нахэ, Хухань голтой нийлэл Ванжянь нэрээ хадгалсаар байна. Тиймээс Ванжянь гол гэдэгт – Эргүнэ мөрнийг Амур мөрөнтэй хамтатгаж ойлгох нь зөв юм. Түүнчлэн Ванжянь голын нэрийн дундад үеийн дуудлагын сэргээлт ч ингэж хэлэх бололцоог олгоно. Ванжянь 望建 wàngjiàn нэрийн тэр цагийн дуудлага нь Б.Карлгреннийхээр бол:– *mīwangkiɛn*,³ Э.Пүллиблэнкийн сэргээснээр бол:– *tuaw^hkian^h*,⁴ харин У.Бакстэрийнхээр:– *mjang^hkjong^h*,⁵ гэж байгаа нь Э.В.Шавкуновын бичиж хэлсэн, хэлсэн, Манкан (Манку, Мангбу, Мангму)–тай ижил байна.

Да шивэйд холбогдох сурвалжийн мэдээ, түүнд дурдсан уул, гол мөрний талаарх дээр дурдсан бяцхан шинжилгээнээс үзвэл да шивэй нь одоогийн Аргунь ба Шилка мөрний билчир хавийн нутгаар төвлөн сууж байжээ.

Да шивэйг, монгол хэлтэн аймгуудтай холбож үзсэн судлаач бол Х.Пэрлээ, П.Рачневский нар.

“VII-IX дүгээр зууны үед ... Шивэй нарын дунд Дай-шивэй гэдэг нэг аймаг хамгийн хойд захад нутаглаж байжээ. Үүнийг Европын нилээд эрдэмтэн монголын Тайчиуд буюу Дайчиуд аймаг мөн байх гэж таамнал гаргасан (Паркер. Татар нарын мянган жил (англи хэлэн дээр) үз) нь «Нууц-товчоо», Рашид-эд-дийн «Судрын чуулган» зэргийн түүхийн мэдээнүүдтэй дүйх төлөвтэй байна. Хятадын түүхчдийн мэдээгээр, Дай-Шивэй бол, бусад Шивэй нараас хэлний талаар ялгавар бүхий гэсэн нь Дайчиудын бүрэлдэхүүн нэг биш, олон уг удамтай байсантай нийлэлцэж байна. Энэ «Дай-шивэй» бол ой модоор нутагтай нэг хэсэг Дайчиуд байсан байж болох юм” гэж нэг зохиолдоо дурдсан Х.Пэрлээ, хожим “Тайжиут аймгийг Да-шивэйтэй адилтгаж үзэх саналыг Паркер анхан XIX зууны үед гаргасан бөгөөд Б.Алтанабагана ч ийм саналд хүрсэн байна. Бид ч «Кидан нар, тэдний монголчуудтай холбогдох нь» гэдэг зохиолдоо

¹ Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R.Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 269, n. 9

² 舊唐書。卷一百九十九下。北狄。室韋。5358 頁 (<http://hanchi.iibp.sinica.edu.tw/>); Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 139

³ Манжуур дахь одоогийн Нон буюу Ногоон гол, Сунгар мөрнийг хамтад ийн нэрлэдэг.

⁴ «Шуйдао тиган» хэмээх зохиолыг үндэслэж Комаи Есиаки, Тангийн үеийн Хухань гол бол Хурха буюу одоогийн Муданьжянь гол гэж оноожээ. [Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1984. с. 364]

⁵ Karlgren B. Grammata Serica Recensa //Bulletin the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. №29, Stockholm, 1957 (1972). 742m, 249a

⁶ Pulleyblank E.G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. UBC Press, Vancouver, 1991. pp. 319, 147

⁷ Baxter W.H. An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters, 2000. pp. 140, 61 (<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~wbaxter/>)

лавтлахыг оролдсон амай. Тайжутын уул нутаг нь мөн л *Да-шивэй*н нутагтай зарим талаар тохирч байгаа бөгөөд тэд олон үйвэр зүйвэр аймгаас бүрэлдсэнийг энд холбогдуулан бодолцох нь зүйтэй” гэж эл үзлийнхээ талаар дахин өгүүлжээ.¹

Бэй ши/Суй шуд өгүүлснээр *да шивэйгийн* хэл ойлгогдохгүй (不通), өөрөөр хэлбэл *шивэй*н бусад аймгаас ялгаатай. Энэ баримт маш сонирхолтой, яагаад гэвэл Синь Тан шуд, *да шивэй*, *мэнгү шивэй*г нэг газар, Эргүнэгийн хөндийд нутагладаг гэж бичжээ, тэгээд ч энэ мэдээгээр бол *мэнгү шивэй* нь *да шивэйгийн* нэг хэсэг ч байж болох талтай. Гэвч энэхүү үл мэдэгдэх хэл нь ямар хэл вэ? *монгол* уу, *түрэг* үү эсвэл *енисей* хэл үү. Энэ асуудалд би лав хариулж зүрхлэхгүй. Харин эсрэгээрээ нэг үнэн байна: юу хэмээвээс *Шивэй*н холбоо гэдэгт янз бүрийн хэлээр ярилцагч ард түмнүүдийг ойлгож байсан нь гарцаагүй хэмээн, П.Рачневский маш болгоомжтойгоор дурджээ.²

Ингэж хэлж байхад нь юунд түүнийг *да шивэй*г *монгол* хэлтэн байсан гэж үздэг судлаачдын эгнээнд багтаасан юм? гэх асуудал, дээрх мөрүүдээс харахад эрхгүй урган гарч ирнэ. П.Рачневский, хэдийгээр *да шивэй*г *монгол*, *түрэг*, *енисей* буюу *тунгус* хэлнээс өөр хэлээр ярилцаж байсан байж болох юм гээд асуудлыг нээлттэй орхисон боловч, тус өгүүлэлдээ тэрээр *мэнгү шивэй*г бараг *монгол* байх, гэхдээ *ойн урианхай* мэтийн аймагтай төстэй гэх сэдлийг агуулсан нэг өгүүлбэр хэлснийг дахин сануулья. Тиймээс *да шивэй* нь *монгол* хэлтэн гэж үзсэн эрдэмтдийн нэгээр түүнийг тооцож болох талтай.

Х.Пэрлээ (1959, 1969), П.Рачневский (1966) нараас дэвшүүлсэн (магадгүй тэд маш болгоомжтой хэлсэн байх) саналын зөв эсэхийг тодруулах хангалттай сурвалжийн мэдээ байхгүйг уншигчдад дахин сануулаад гэхдээ өмнө, *мэнгү шивэйд* хэрэглэсэн аргаар асуудлыг шийдвэрлэж, дутаж байгаа цоорхойг нөхөөд улмаар *да шивэй* үнэхээр *монгол* хэлтэн байсан, эсэхийг тодруулахыг оролдъя.

Сурвалжийн мэдээнд *да шивэй* аймгийн угсаатны онцлогийг зураглаж болохуйц өгүүлбэр байхгүй. Тийм хэдий ч *нангиадын* эртний бичгийн мэргэд *да шивэй*г, *шивэй* аймгуудын нэг гэж үзэж байсныг нь харгалзвал, тэдэнд бусад *шивэй* аймгуудад байсан, ялангуяа *мэнгү*, *ложе* зэрэг *бэй шивэй*н бүлгийн аймгуудтай хаяа хатгаж сууж байсныг нь бодолцвол *бэй шивэйд* ажиглагдах угсаатны болоод аж ахуйн онцлог хэв шинжтэй байсан гэж таамаглаж болох юм. Эл санал, таамаглал маань бодит үнэнд дөхсөн гэж тооцоолбол, *да шивэй* нь: *уур амьсгал тэсгим хүйтэн, их цас унадаг нутагт, суурьшиж амьдарна, зун хотод суудаг, өвөл өвс ус эрэн нүүж суудаг, сууц босгож, арьсаар бүрдэг, заримдаа хэдэн арваас зуу хүртэл өрх, айл хуран цугларч хамтдаа амьдардаг* гэх мэт нийт *шивэйчүүдийн* онцлог шинжийг, эсвэл өвөл нь *хүйтнээс зайлж нүхэнд (нүхэн гэрт) амьдарна, үйс, холтсоор гэр, урц барьж, бүрдэг, гөрөөс, буга авлаж хоол хүнсэндээ хэрэглэж, арьсаар хувцасладаг, эсвэл малгайгаа үнэг, булгын арьсаар, хувцасаа загасны арьсаар оёдог, мөс цоолж тороор загас, яст мэлхий шүүрдэж барин хүнсэндээ хэрэглэдэг, цана чаргатай гэсэн бэй шивэй нарын тухайлсан шинжийг агуулсан ахуй амьдралтай байсан гэж, эсвэл *бог малгүй, адуу бага, харин яг мөхэ нар**

¹ Пэрлээ Х. Хятан нар, тэдний монголчуудтай холбогдсон нь //Studia Historica. Tom. I, fasc. 1, Улаанбаатар, Улсын хэвлэл, 1959. т. 13; Пэрлээ Х. Гурван мөрний монголчуудын аман түүхийн мөрийг мөшгөсөн нь //Studia Historica. Tom. VIII, fasc. 6, Улаанбаатар, ШУАХ, 1969. т. 122

² Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demeville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 246

шиг үхэр, ялангуяа гахай ихтэй байдаг *нань шивэй* аймгуудтай төслөг аж ахуй эрхэлж байсан хэмээн таамаглаж л болох юм. Гэхдээ энэ бол зөвхөн таамаглал.

Дээрх онцлогууд *да шивэйд* байсныг гэрчлэх эсвэл үгүйсгэх, тэдэнд холбогдохуйц археологийн соёл дурсгал, Шилка болон Эргүнэ мөрний билчир хавийн бүс нутагт бий эсэх талаар хэдэн зүйл дурдъя. Тэдэнд холбогдохуйц тийм соёл Шилка голын хөндийд үнэхээр байна, гэхдээ тус бүс нутагт тархсан, «Бурхотуйн соёл» гэж нэрлэдэг ахуй, соёлын нийтлэгийг цөөнгүй судлаач «Бэй ши», «Суй шуд» дурддаг *шэньмода* (*шэньмохын*) *шивэй*, улмаар *монгол* хэлтэн *шивэйчүүд* үлдээсэн гэдэг.¹

Шилка голын хөндийд Шэньмохын шивэй нутаглана гэх Л.Л.Викторовагийн 1958 онд бичсэн өгүүлэлдээ дэвшүүлсэн эл санал² үндэслэл муутай. Харин Шилка мөрний хөндийд хамгийн ойр нутагтай *шивэй* гэвэл *си* болон *да шивэй* нар. Нөгөө талаар Шилка голын хөндийд илэрсэн арван хэдэн хот суурин (давхардсан тоогоор 16 орчим), тэдгээртэй ойролцоо орших томоохон оршуулгийн газрын булшнаас олдсон эд өлгийн дурсгалын зарим шинж, тэмдэг *бэй шивэй*, *нань шивэйн* бүлгийн *шивэйчүүдийн* ахуй, соёлын онцлогтой нэлээд дөхөж байгаа нь Шилка мөрний дунд, доод биеийн нутгаар *да шивэй* нутаглаж байж гэсэн таамаглалд хүргэж байна.

Бурхотуйн соёлын судалгаагаар бараг дагнасан гэж болох, судлаач Е.В.Ковычев, 1989 онд нийтэлсэн нэгэн өгүүлэлдээ, «Бурхотуйн соёлыг» есөн том аймаг бүхий *шивэйчүүдтэй* холбожээ. Хожим тэрбээр Шилка голын саваар VII-IX зууны үед нутаглаж байсан овог, аймгийг *да шивэй* гэж үзэх болжээ.³ Тиймээс Шилка голын хөндийгөөс шинжлэн судалсан соёл, дурсгалын эзэд бол *да шивэйчүүд* юм.

Өвөрбайгалийн зүүн-хойд бүс нутгаас илэрсэн *бурхотуйн* соёлын дурсгалд дараах онцлох шинж нэлээд тогтвортой байдаг гэнэ. Үүнд:

Нэг. Нас барсан хүнээ тэнэгэр байдлаар хэвтүүлж, толгойг ямагт баруун, баруун хойд зүгт чиглүүлдэг онцлогтой оршуулгын түгээмэл зан үйл агуулсан археологийн дурсгал Шилка голын хөндийгөөс илрэх нь элбэг бөгөөд Амур мөрний саваар тархсан соёлтой адил харин Онон, Ингэдээ голын хөндий, Агийн тал хээрээс их төлөв илэрдэг оршуулгын дурсгалаас эрс ялгаатай гэнэ.⁴ Дашрамд өгүүлэхэд, оршуулгын хувьд нийм өөр зан үйлтэй хоёр бүлэг дурсгалыг нэг соёлд, тухайлбал, Бурхотуйн соёлд багтаадаг нь бага зэрэг хачирхалтай бас гайхалтай.

¹ Кириллов И.И. Восточное Забайкалье в древности и средневековье. Иркутск, 1979. сс. 59-65; Ковычев Е.В. К вопросу о древних связях племен Восточного Забайкалья с тюркоязычными соседями в I тыс. н. э. //Археология Северной Азии. Изд-во Наука СО, Новосибирск, 1982. с. 153; Асеев И.В., Кириллов И.И., Ковычев Е.В. Кочевники Забайкалья в эпоху средневековья (по материалам погребений). Изд-во Наука, СО, Новосибирск, 1984. с. 125; Коновалов П.Б. Корреляция средневековых археологических культур Прибайкалья и Забайкалья //Этнокультурные процессы в Юго-Восточной Сибири в средние века. Сборник научных трудов. Наука СО, Новосибирск, 1989. сс. 16, 18

² Викторова Л.Л. К вопросу о расселении монгольских племен на Дальнем Востоке в IV в. до н.э. - XII в. н.э. //Ученые записки ЛГУ. №256, Серия востоковедческих наук, Вып. 7, 1958. с. 55

³ Ковычев Е.В. Этническая история Восточного Забайкалья в эпоху средневековья (по археологическим данным) //Этнокультурные процессы в Юго-Восточной Сибири в средние века. Сборник научных трудов. Наука СО, Новосибирск, 1989. с. 22; Ковычев Е.В. Далекое прошлое Пононы – В кн. История и география Оловянинского района. Чита, 2004. сс. 4-96

⁴ Ковычев Е.В. К вопросу о древних связях племен Восточного Забайкалья с тюркоязычными соседями в I тыс. н. э. //Археология Северной Азии. Изд-во Наука СО, Новосибирск, 1982. с. 154

Өвөрбайгалийн өмнөд хэсгийн тал хээр болон зүүн-хойд зүгийн нутгаар тархсан Бурхотуйн дурсгал, оршуулгын газрын булшны тоогоор хоорондоо бас ялгаатай гэжээ, тухайбал, Чита мужийн Чернышевскийн дүүргийн оршуулгын газрууд 60-100 түүнээс олон булштай бол Онон, Эргүнэ голын тал хээрийн бүсэд их төлөв 10-15-аас хэтрэхгүй булштай оршуулга байх түгээмэл үзэгдэл аж. Үүнийг тохиолдлын хэрэг биш гэж Оросын зарим археологич үздэг. Хоёр бүс нутгийн археологийн дурсгалын хоорондын ялгаа ганцхан булшны тоон үзүүлэлтээр зогсоогүй нь тэдний бичсэн зүйлээс харагддаг. Ийм ялгаа ажиглагдаж байгаа нь тухайн, тухайн бүс нутгийн оршин суугчдын эрхлэх аж ахуйн онцлогийг зааж байна, “Өвөр байгалийн өмнөд хэсгийн оршин суугчид нүүдлийн амьдралын хэв маягтай байхад, хойд, зүүн-хойд зүгийн оршин суугчид нь суурьшмалууд байв”¹ гэж Оросын зарим археологич тайлбарлажээ.

Хоёр, Шилка голын эргийн, хормойдоо нууртай, эгц хадан хясаатай, баргийн авирч үл болом ууланд харьцангуй бага талбай эзлэн оршдог, дөрвөлжин эсвэл тэгш бус хэмтэй олон өнцөгт хэлбэрийн суурингууд нь гадна талаараа далан, гуугаар хүрээлэгдэнэ. Дотроо хааш хаашаа хоёр сажень урттай, хагас аршинаас нэг сажень* хүрэх гүнзгий тэг дөрвөлжин, харилцан адилгүй тоотой нүхтэй, төвийн нэг, хоёр нь бусдаас заавал том хэмжээтэй байдаг. Ийм нүхийн тоо суурин болгонд харилцан адилгүй Шилкинскэд 22, Усть Чернинд 70 орчим байсан гэж П.Орлов, А.Н.Баншиков нар бичиж үлдээжээ. А.П.Окладников 1954 онд шинээр илрүүлсэн Витчик толгойн суурингийн цөөн хэдэн нүхэн гэрийг малтсанд *мохз-гийн* адил ваарны хэлтэрхий, төмөр хутга, төмрийн шавдас, гахай, адууны яс гарчээ.²

Бурхотуйн суурингийн ерөнхий төрхийн талаар “их төлөв хэд хэдэн эгнээ далан, гуугаар хамгаалдаг. Тэг дөрвөлжин хэлбэртэй янз бүрийн хэмжээтэй нүхэн гэрүүдтэй. Томоохон сууцны хэмжээ 8x8 м хүрнэ. Ханьг шургаагаар тогтоож газарт 50 см хүртэл гүн шигтгэн гаднаас нь үйсээр хучна. Дээврийг үйс, хөвд ширгээр хулдана. Сууцны төвд голомт буй. Суурингийн оршин суугчид олуулаа, сууцны тоо 70 хүрдэг ба энэ бүхэн тэднийг суурин амьдардагийг илтгэнэ. Суурингаас олдсон хэрэглэгдэхүүн тэднийг газар тариалан эрхлэгчид байсныг гэрчлэнэ. Гэрийн тэжээвэр амьтан өсгөж үржүүлэх нь суурингийн оршин суугчдын гол хөдөлмөрийн нэг байв. Амьтдын ясан дунд адуу, гахайн яс байхаас гадна голын хавчны яс элбэг байгаа нь түүнийг хүнсэнд хэрэглэж байсныг шууд зааж байна. Гар урлал, төмөрлөг боловсруулах ажил эрхэлж байсныг гэрчлэх эд өлгийн зүйл гардаг”³ гэж дурджээ.

Шивэйн суурин Шилка голын хөндийд: Усть-Онон (хамгийн баруун захын суурин болно), Витчик, Шилжийн Завод, Дээд Куларк, Луженка, Усть-Черная, Покровка, Мощегды, Саблино, Часовой, Нерчинск, Силинская Шилка-д байдаг бөгөөд суурин байдаг газрын ойролцоо томоохон оршуулгын газар байх нь түгээмэл хэмээн бичжээ.⁴

¹ Асеев И.В., Кириллов И.И., Ковычев Е.В. Кочевники Забайкалья в эпоху средневековья (по материалам погребений). Изд-во Наука, СО, Новосибирск, 1984. сс. 125, 22, 125-126

* Нэг сажень нь 2.134 м харин нэг аршин 71.12 см байдаг.

² Асеев И.В., Кириллов И.И., Ковычев Е.В. Кочевники Забайкалья в эпоху средневековья (по материалам погребений). Изд-во Наука, СО, Новосибирск, 1984. сс. 10-11, 18

³ Дашибалов Б.Б. На монголо-тюркском пограничье (Этнокультурные процессы в Юго-Восточной Сибири в средние века). Изд-во БНЦ СО РАН, Улан-Удэ, 2005. сс. 54-55

⁴ Тиваненко А.В. Святилища и культуры в этнической истории кочевых племен группы дунху // Этническая история народов Южной Сибири и Центральной Азии. Новосибирск, 1993. с. 60

Шилка голын дагуух Бурхотуйн соёлын талаарх археологийн судалгаанаас үзвэл *да шивэй* нь монголчуудын уламжлалт нүүдлийнхээс өөр аж ахуй эрхэлдэг төдийгүй угсаатны онцлог өөр монголчуудаас ялгаатай болох нь харагдлаа.

Да шивэйгийн үг хэл нэвтрэхгүй, өөрөөр хэлбэл, бусад шивэйгээс ялгаатай¹ гэх сурвалжийн хамгийн ноцтой мэдээний талаар баттай зүйл хэлэх боломж алга.

«Вэй шуд» шивэйн хэлийг *күмоси*, *хидан*, *доумолоутай* адилхан гэдэг ба энэхүү шивэйг хожмын *нань шивэй* гэж эрдэмтэд үздэг.² Энэ мэдээг «Вэй ши, Суй шуд» яг давтаад, *да шивэй*г өөр хэлтэйг заажээ, харин *да шивэй* ямар хэлээр ярилцаж байсан талаар «Тан улсын хуучин сударт» ямар ч үг дурсдаггүй. Харин «Тан улсын шинэ сударт» шивэйчүүдийн «хэл нь *мохэ* аймгийнх шиг»³ гэсэн цухас мэдээ байдаг ч *да шивэй*д хамаатай эсэхийг тодруулах арга алга. Мөн Тан улсын хоёр сударт, *Шивэйгийн* баруун хөрш нь *түрэгүүд*, зүүн хөрш нь *мохэчууд*, өмнөд хөрш нь *хидан* аймаг гэж өгүүлдэг.

Шивэйн хэлэнд хамаатай баримт ингэсгээд дуусна. Баримт цөөн боловч хангалттай бие биеэ үгүйсгэхүйц. Шивэйн хэлтэй хамаатуулж сурвалжид өгүүлсэн аймгаас *хидан*, *күмоси* нь хоорондоо төрөлсөх бол *доумолоу*, *мохэ* аймгууд нэг хэлтэй байсан гэдэгт эрдэмтэд эргэлздэггүй. Энэ нь шивэйчүүд нэг талаас *хидан*, *күмоси*, нөгөө талаас *мохэ*, *доумолоу* нарын аль алины хэлний онцлог шинжийг агуулсан бараг завсрын гэмээр гэхдээ *тунгус* хэлний шинж давамгайлсан хэлээр хэлцэж байсныг гэрчлэх боломж олгож байна. Харамсалтай нь өөр, өөр цагт бичигдсэн сурвалжийн мэдээг чингэж нэг дор байсан мэтээр хольж хутгах нь эргэлзээтэй үр дүнд хүргэх болов уу. Тэгээд ч «Вэй шу, Вэй ши, Суй шугийн» мэдээгээр шивэйчүүд нэг биш удаа Зүүн Вэй, Умард Ци, Суй улсад айлчилж байсан гэдэг хэдий ч эдгээр мэдээ их эргэлзээтэй, дөвийлгөсөн байж болох талтай. Харин 629 эсвэл 631 оноос хойш Тан улсын ордонд шивэйгээс ирэх элчийн давтамж, хүмүүсийн тоо нэмэгдэж, тогтмолжсон харагддаг. Тиймээс «Тан улсын шинэ судар» дахь «шивэйн хэл, *мохэтэй* адил» гэсэн үг нь элдвийн завсрын мэдээлэлгүйгээр *нангиадын* сурвалжид шууд орж, үлдсэн үг байх магадлал өмнөх сурвалжуудаа бодвол их.

Өөрөөр хэлбэл, шивэй бол *мохэтэй* адил *тунгус* хэлтэн, тэдний үгсийн сан дахь харь, зээлдмэл үгийн зонхилох хэсгийг *хидан*, *күмоси* үг эзэлж байсан гэж үзэх нь сурвалжийн мэдээнд тулгуурласан, бодит үнэнд дөхсөн санал гэдэгт найдаж байна.

Чингэхлээр тэд, ялангуяа ноёлох хэсэг язгууртнууд нь *мохэ*, *доумолоу*, *хидан*, *күмоси* бас *түрэг* хэлийг таньж мэддэг, үүнийг нь ч *нангиадын* бичээчид анзаарсан байх учиртай. Нэгэнт *хидан*, *күмоси* хэлийг гадарлах тул шивэй нарт монгол хэл танил бус, үл ойлгогдох хэл биш болох нь мэдээж. Үүнээс ургуулан бодвол өөрөөр хэлбэл, хасах зарчмыг ашиглавал, *да шивэйгийн* хэл нь лав *түрэг*, *манж-тунгус*, бас *хидантай*

¹ 北史。卷九十四。室韋。3131 頁(<http://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/>); Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demeville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 231; Е. Лун-ли. История государства хиданей (Цидань го чжи). Перевод с китайского, введение, комментарий и приложения В.С.Таскина. Изд-во Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1979. с. 538

² Ширагори К. Дунху үндэстний тухай өгүүлэлийн нэр. VI, Шивэй. Токио, Мэйжигийн 43-р он. т. 501

³ Ratchnevsky P. Les Che-wei étaient-ils des Mongols? //Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demeville. Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Vol. XX, I, Paris, 1966. p. 231

төстэй буюу монгол хэл биш болох нь ойлгомжтой мэт, харин П.Рачневскийн хэлсэнчлэн *енисейн* буюу *палеоазийн* хэл байж болох юм.

Улохоу аймгийн талаар “Вэй шугийн» Улохоу улсын тухай бүлэгт Шицзугийн Чжэнь цзюний 4 дүгээр онд (443 онд) *Улохоугийн* элч Их Вэй улсад нрээд манай улсаас баруун хойш *тобагийн* дээдсийн чулуун байшин буй нь урагшаа 90 алхам, баруун, зүүн тийшээ 40 алхам, өндөр нь 40 чи гэж хэлсэн ... «Вэй шугийн» «Личжи» бүлэгт уг сүм Дай нийслэлээс хойш 4000 гаруй газарт буй”¹ хэмээн өгүүлснээс хойш түүх сударт *улохоу* нэр тогтмол үзэгдэх болжээ. Хожмын сурвалж бичигт *улохоугийн* тухай хэрхэн тэмдэглэн үлдээснээс Иакинф хочит Н.Я.Бичурин болон Н.В.Кюнер нарын орчуулснаар доор толилуулья.

“Улохоу нь *дидэуганиас* умардад, Дай нийслэлээс 4500 ли зайд оршино. Газар шороо нь нойтон чийгтэй. Их төлөв манан будантай, хүйтэн байдаг. Өвөл нь дээвэртэй нүхэн гэрт амьдарна, харин зун нь малаа аглаг ойн цоорхой, уул толгодоор бэлчээдэг. Хоног амуу (шар, хар будаа), улаан буудай иддэг. Ахлагч үгүй. *Мофо* буюу ураг, овгийн ахлагчид бүгд угсаа залгамжилна. Үсээ гөрнө. Арьс, үслэг хувцастай. Сувд эрхэмлэнэ. Эр зоригтойг хүндэлнэ, садар самуун, хулгай дээрэм үгүй. Харваж намнах, урхи саадаг тавих дуртай. Ятга тоглож хөгждөг. Энэ нь есөн утастай арьсаар бүрсэн модон хайрцаг болой. Энэ нутгаас баруун хойшоо Вань-шуй гол бий, зүүн хойш урсч Нань-шуй голд нийлнэ. Бүх цутгал Наньд нийлж дорно зүгт далай руу одно. Дахиад баруун хойшоо 20 едөрчийн газарт Юини хэмээх их уст мөрөн бий, умард тэнгис хэмээмэй”² хэмээн «Бэй ши, 94»-д өгүүлдэг бол «Тан улсын хуучин судар, 199, 23а»-д “*улохунь* бол Умард Вэйн үеийн *улохоу* мөн байхаа, өнөөдөр бас *улохоу* гэдэг. Нийслэлээс зүүн хойш 6300 ли газарт оршино. Дорно зүгт *мохэтэй*, өрнө зүгт *түрэгтэй*, өмнө талдаа *хидантай*, умардад *уваньтай* (*ухуань*) залгадаг. Зан заншил *мохэтэй* адил”³ гэж өгүүлжээ.

Эрдэмтэн Х.Пэрлээ “V зууны үед, *У-ло-хоу* гэж Хятад сударт тэмдэглэж байсан *Монголын Олгонуд* аймаг мөн бололтой”⁴ гэсэн саналыг гаргаад улмаар “энэ аймгийн [*олхунуд*] нэрийг Хятадын үе үеийн түүхэнд V зууны үед *улохоу*, VII зууны үед *улохунь*, X зууны үед *олгу* (*огу*) гэж тус тус тэмдэглэж явжээ”⁵ хэмээн хожим нэмж өгүүлжээ. Улмаар “*улохеу* их Хянган уулын дорнод бэлд Ноон голоос баруун тийш байж, хожим урагшилж Цагаан хэрмийн араар нутагшсан байж болох юм”⁶ гэж нутаг дэвсгэрийг заажээ.

“Тэргүүн Ононд (Вань-шуй) *улохэу* аймаг нутагладаг – гэсэн Л.Л.Викторова цааш нь – *монголчуудын урянхан* гэж нэрлэдэг аймгийн өвөг дээдэс биш гэж үзэх үндэс ер

¹ Сүхбаатар Г. Сяньби нарын угсаа гарал, соёл, аж ахуй, нийгмийн байгуулал. (Нэн эртнээс м.э. IV зуун). ШУАХ, Улаанбаатар, 1971. т. 26

² Бичурин Н.Я. Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древние времена. Том II. Изд-во АН СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1950. сс. 79-80

³ Кюнер Н.В. Китайские известия о народах Южной Сибири, Центральной Азии и Дальнего Востока. Изд-во ВЛ, Москва, 1961. с. 51

⁴ Пэрлээ Х. Хятан нар, тэдний монголчуудтай холбогдсон нь // *Studia Historica*. Tom. I, fasc. 1, УБ., 1959. т. 76

⁵ БНМАУ-ын түүх. Тэргүүн боть. Нэн эртнээс XVII зуун. УХХЭХ, Улаанбаатар, 1966. т. 187

⁶ Пэрлээ Х. Гурван мөрний монголчуудын аман түүхийн мөрийг мөшгөсөн нь // *Studia Historica*. Tom. VIII, fasc. 6, УБ., 1969. т. 110

алга”¹ хэмээн бичснээс үзвэл тэрээр, энэ аймгийг, X зуунд Бодончарт эзлэгдэж захирагдсан, Ононоор нутаглаж байсан *урианхан* гэдэгт итгэж байжээ.

Тэс өөр саналтай судлаачид бий, М.В.Воробьев тэднийг *тунгус* хэлтэнд хамаарна, «Тайпин хуаньюй цзи, 801, ба»-д дурдсанаар гахай өсгөдөг, *мохэтэй* төслөг зан үйлтэй нь угсаа хамаадал хэнтэй нэг болохыг илтгэнэ гэж үзжээ.² Харин, Умард Вэй улсын үеийн *шивэй* ба *улохоу* нь үндсэндээ нэг аймаг ч «Вэй шуд» тус тусдаа тэмдэглэгдсэн, Умард Ци, Суй улсын үеийн *нань шивэй* бол Умард Вэй үеийн *улохоу* юм гэж Ху Elina-Qian үзжээ.³

Үүнээс гадна эртний *улохоу*г орчин цагийн тодорхой угсаатантай шууд холбож үзсэн судалгаа бий. Анх IV-V зуунд түүхэнд нэр нь гарч эхэлсэн жижиг аймгийн олонх нь өнөөдрийн *тунгус-манж* угсаатны өвөг дээдэс гэж бичсэн Э.В.Шавкунов, жишээ нь *улохоу* эсвэл *улохунь* нь эртний нангиадаар «*ороку*», «*орокон*» гэж дуудагдах нь орчин үеийн *ороки*, *орочи*, *орочон* хэмээх ард түмэнтэй маш ойрхон сонсогдож байна. Дашрамд дурсахад *орочонууд* одоо ч гэсэн эртний *улохуний* адилаар Их Хинганы уулсаар нутагласаар байгаа гэжээ.⁴

Эрдэмтдийн өгүүлснийг базвал, *улохоу* бол *урианхат* (1958), *олхунуд* (1959), эсвэл *орочон/орочи/ороки* (1968), эсвэл *тунгус* хэлтэн (1994), эсвэл *нань шивэй* (2005) гэсэн хэдэн үзэл байна. Эдгээрийн сүүлийн гурвыг нэг гэж болох л юм.

Талын нүүдэлчид түүний дотор *монгол* хэлтэн нүүдэлчин аймгийг хэв шинжийг *олхунуд*, *монгол-урианхад* аймаг бүрэн илэрхийлнэ. Харин энэ хоёр аймагтай удам гарвалын холбоотой гэж буй *улохоу*д ийм онцлог бий эсэх нь дээр дурдсан сурвалжийн мэдээг баримталвал их эргэлзээтэй байна. Сурвалжид бичигдсэн текстэд:

- Газар шороо нь нойтон чийгтэй. Их төлөв манан будантай, хүйтэн байдаг.
- Өвөл нь дээвэртэй нүхэн гэрт амьдарна, харин зун нь малаа аглаг ойн цоорхой, уул толгодоор бэлчээдэг.
- Хоног амуу (шар, хар будаа), улаан буудай иддэг.
- Үсээ сүлждэг.
- Арьс, үслэг хувцастай. Сувд эрхэмлэнэ.
- Харваж намнах, урхи саадаг тавих дуртай.
- Зан заншил *мохэтэй* адил гэсэн зүйл бий.

Анх ажиглахад нүүдэлчидтэй төстэй хэдэн шинж байгаа мэт харагдах ч газар нутаг нь их чийглэг, нойтон, өвөл нь дээвэртэй нүхэн гэрт амьдардаг, зун нь малаа ойн цоорхойд, ууланд бэлчээдэг, хамгийн гол нь тэдний зан заншил *мохэтэй* адил гэсэн хэдэн ноцтой, зөрүүтэй онцлог ажиглагдаж байна.

Харин доор толилуулж буй хүснэгтээс харвал *улохоу* нарын угсаатны хамаадал Э.В.Шавкунов, М.В.Воробьев, Ху Elina-Qian нарын хэлсэнчлэн *шивэй*, улмаар *тунгус* хэлтэн аймгуудтай холбогдох магадлал илүү байна.

¹ Викторова Л.Л. К вопросу о расселении монгольских племен на Дальнем Востоке в IV в. до н.э. - XII в. н.э. //Ученые записки ЛГУ. №256, Серия востоковедческих наук, Вып. 7, 1958. сс. 58, 59

² Воробьев М.В. Маньчжурия и Восточная Внутренняя Монголия (с древнейших времен до IX в. включительно). Дальнаука, Владивосток, 1994. сс. 28-29

³ Xu Elina-Qian. Historical Development of the Pre-dynastic Khitan. Academic Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2005. pp. 172, 173

⁴ Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. с. 26

Хүснэг 4.

	Улохоу (Бэй ши)	Шивэй (Вэй шу, Бэй ши, Суй шу)	Нань шивэй (Бэй ши, Суй шу)
Газар нутаг	Дидзуганий умардад, Дай нийслэлээс 4500 ли [эсвэл] нийслэлээс зүүн хойш 6300 ли зайтай.	Уцзигаас хойш 1000 ли, Ло(ян)-аас 6000 ли зайтай.	Нань шивэй Хиданаас умардад 3000 лид бий.
Уур амьсгал	Газар шороо нь нойтон чийгтэй. Их төлөв манан будантай, хүйтэн байдаг.	Газар шороо нойтон чийгтэй.	Газар шороо нойтон чийгтэй, агаар хүйтэн.
Аж төрөх хэв маяг	Өвөл нь дээвэртэй нүхэн гэрт амьдарна, харин зун нь малаа аглаг ойн цоорхой, уул толгодоор бэлчээдэг.	Зун нь ойн цоорхой, уулаар нүүнэ.	Зундаа баруун хойш Дайбо, Цяньдүй ууланд нүүж очдог.
Орон сууц	Дээвэртэй нүхэн гэртэй.	Том биш сууц босгож арьсаар бүрнэ. [Тан улсын судар]	Түрэгтэй адил чийрсэн гэртэй, баглаан, гэр тэрэгтэй. Зун модны үүрэнд амьдардаг.
Мал аж ахуй	Зун малаа аглаг ойн цоорхой, уул толгодоор бэлчээдэг.	Гахай, үхэр их, адуу бага, хонь, ямаагүй.	Адуу бага, харин мөхө нар шиг үхэр, гахай ихтэй.
Газар тариалан	Хоног амуу (шар, хар будаа), улаан буудай	Нарингу буудай, монгол амуу элбэг.	Агаар хүйтэн тул тариа жуу ургадаг.
Хоол хүнс	Хоног амуу (шар, хар будаа), улаан буудай иддэг.	Гахай, загас иднэ.	Идээ ундаа яг мөхө нар шиг. [Тан улсын судар]
Хувцас	Арьс, үслэг хувцастай.	Эр эмгүй богино дээл, цагаан бутын улсан өмд өмсөнө. Гахайн арьсан хувцастай.	Хувцас хидантай адил.
Үс гээг	Үсээ сүлэжиж гөрдөг.	Эрчүүд үсээ сүлэжинэ, эмэгтэйчүүд эвхэнэ. Үсээ задгай орхино.	Эрчүүд үсээ задгайлж, эмэгтэйчүүд үсээрээ толгойгоо орооно.
Зэр зэвсэг	Харваж намнадаг тул нум сумтай.	Эврэн нумтай, ху модны урт сумтай.	Зэр зэвсэг яг хиданых шиг.

Хүснэгтээс харвал, улохоу аймгийн аж ахуй, зан заншлын зарим зүйл шивэйтэй (нань шивэй) их адил байна. Тэгээд ч нань шивэйд багтдаг аймгийн тоонд улохоу нар өөрсдөө ч багтдагийг дахин сануулья.

Бас улохоу аймгийн нэрийн дундад эртний үеийн нангиад дуудлагыг харах боломж бидэнд бий. Тухайлбал, 烏羅護 wūluóhù, 烏洛候 wūluóhòu, 烏羅渾 wūluóhún нэрийг 'uo-lâ-yuo, 'uo-lâk-yəu, 'uo-lâ-yəun¹ гэж Б.Карлгрен, ʔɔ-lâ-γɔ^h, ʔɔ-lâk-γəw^h, ʔɔ-lâ-γwəp² гэж Э.Пүллиблэнк, харин У.Х.Бакстер, ʔu-lâ-hu^h, ʔu-lâk-huw^h, ʔu-lâ-hwəp³ гэж сэргээсэн

¹ Karlgren B. Grammata Serica Recensa //Bulletin the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. №29, Stockholm, 1957 (1972). 61a-c, 6a, 784k, 113e, 766k-m, 458b

² Pulleyblank E.G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. UBC Press, Vancouver, 1991. pp. 325, 203, 128, 125, 135

³ Baxter W.H. An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters, 2000. pp. 143, 81, 86, 56, 50, 54 (<http://www-personal.umich.edu/~wbaxter/>)

бол 烏洛候 wūluòhòu-г, С.А.Старостин, ᠣᠪ-ᠯᠠᠭ-ᠭᠠᠯᠠᠭ¹ хэмээн хоёр янз сэргээжээ.

Эдгээр сэргээлтийн -l-ийг эс тооцвол, XX зууны жараад онд «ороку», «орокон» гэж Э.В.Шавкуновын дэвшүүлсэнтэй бараг адил байгаа нь улохоу бол олхунуд эсвэл урианхад биш харин шивэйн аймгийн нэг гэсэн дүгнэлтэд хүргэж байна. Дашрамд тэмдэглэхэд улохоу нараас холгүй нутаглаж байсан ухуань буюу увань (烏桓 wūhuán, 烏丸 wūwán)-ийг эртний нангиадаар ован, овен гэнэ, орчин цагийн эвен нар гэж мөнөөх Э.В.Шавкунов хэлжээ.² Гэхдээ тэрээр энэхүү ухуань, увань гэдэгтээ эртний дунху аймгаас салбарласан ухуанийг ойлгож байсныг анхаарахыг хүсч байна, өөрөөр хэлбэл, ижил нэртэй хоёр өөр ард түмнийг тэр хольсон бололтой.

Шивэй гэсэн ерөнхий нэрээр тэмдэглэгдсэн мэнгү, да шивэй болон V зууны дөчөөд оноос түүхэнд бичигдсэн улохоу аймгийн талаар өгүүлсэн зүйлээ дүгнэвэл, нэгд, өмнө нь шивэй нарыг монгол, тунгус холимог хэлтэн гэж үзэж байсан нь алдаатай үзэл байна, хоёрт, мэнгү шивэй бол монгол бус харин шивэйн доторх нэлээд хүчирхэг холбоо болох бэй шивэйн есөн аймгийн нэг анчин гөрөөчин, хагас суурьшмал ахуйтан болох нь харагдлаа, зуравт, мэнгү, мэнва нэр монгол гэх үгийг илэрхийлэхээс илүү, нэлээд төстэй дуудлагатай, нутгийн уугуулуудын, гол усыг заасан «Манку», «Мангбу», «Мангму» гэсэн нэр болох нь мадагтай болж таарч байна, дөрөвт, да шивэй болон Шилка голын саваар тархсан бурхотуйн соёлын эзэд нэг, мөн да шивэйгээс хожмын монголчуудын аль нэг салбар, аймаг үүссэн гэх нь томоохон төөрөгдөл, ингэж хэлэх гол үндэслэлийг, археологийн шинжилгээгээр, Шилка голын саваас илэрсэн бурхотуйн соёлтнуудын эрхлэх аж ахуй, оршуулгын төлөв, суурьшмал амьдралын хэв маяг олгож байна, тавд, улохоу бол Монголын олхунуд эсвэл монгол-урианхад биш харин шивэйн томоохон салбар аймаг болох нь бичгийн сурвалжийн мэдээгээр үндсэндээ нотлогдов.

Бүхэлд нь базаж хэлбэл, мэнгү, да шивэй болон улохоу гэсэн энэхүү шивэйн гурван аймаг монгол угсаатантай ямарч хамааралгүй болох нь илрэв.

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¹ С.А.Старостиний сэргээлтийг (<http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/>) сайтаас ашиглав.

² Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. с. 25

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ХАВСРАЛТ 1.

ШИВЭЙ ДОГОРХ БҮЛГИЙН ЗАН ҮЙЛ, АЖ АХУЙН ЯЛГАА

	Шивэй	Нань шивэй	Бэй шивэй	Да шивэй
Угсаа хамгаалал	Хиланы салбар, (2, 3) туслаа салбар, дингийн улам байгаа. (4, 5)			
Хэл	кумси, хидан, доумолоу, (1-3) мөхэ-тэй ашиг. (5)			буслаас ялгаатай. (2, 3)
Аймгийн тоо, нэр	5 аймгайтай, нань, бэй, бо, шэньмола, да шивэй. (2, 3) 20 аймгайтай. (5)	25 бу-тэй (2, 3); усуту, исаймо, сайхэжи, хэжэ, улоху, нэли, ухуана, дун, даоу. (4)	9 аймгайтай, линси, шаньбэй, хуантоу, ларужэ, сяоружэ, пово, нэбэй, лото. (4)	Да шивэй, Си шивэй (4)
Газар нутаг	Улигдас хойш 1000 ли. Ло(ан)-аас 6000 ли зайтай. (1-5); Дунхутгийн зах, Хуанлуны ар Наюэз голын хойно, нийслэлээс зүүн хойш 7000 ли. (4, 5)	Нань шивэй Хиланаас умардд 3000 лид бий. (2, 3)	Нань шивэйгээс хойш 11 өдөрхийн замд бий (2, 3) Дөм Лютэньээс зүүн хойш, ойр нь 3000 ли, хол нь 6000 ли зайтай нутагладаг. (4, 5)	Баруун хойш хэзэн манган ли газарт суудаг. (2, 3) Хойш Их уулын ард нутаглана. Ванжэньхэ голоор суудаг. (4)
Уур амьсгал	Газар шороо нойтон чийгтэй. Зун манан бороо их, өвөл цас их. (1-5)	Газар шороо нойтон чийгтэй, агаар хүйтэн. (2, 3)	Хамгийн хүйтэн газар, морь дандархуйц нас унадаг. (2, 3)	
Амьтан ургамал		Өмс мод өтгөн сахлаг, арагтан, янгүүртэн элбэг, алаа шүмүүлтэй.	Гөрөөс, бутга, булга, үнэг, нохой эзэхтэй. (2, 3)	Булга, хар хэрэм маш их. (2, 3)
Аж төрөх хэв маяг	Зун нь ойн цоорхой, уулаар нүүнэ. (1-3) Суурьшиж амьдардаг. (4, 5)	Зундаа баруун хойш Дайбо, Цяньдүй ууланд нүүж очдог. (2, 3)	Өвөл ууланд гарч нүүхэн гэрт суудаг. (2, 3)	
Орон сууц	Том биш сууц босгож арасаар бүрнэ. (4, 5)	Түрэгтэй ажил чийрсэн гэртэй, баглан, гэр тэргэгтэй. Зун модны үүрэнд амьдардаг. (2, 3)	Нүүхэн гэр, үйсэн урттай. Бас агуйд суудаг. (2, 3)	
Ая гөрөө			Гөрөөс, бутга, булга авлана, Мөс шоолж тороор загас, яст мэхний шүүрдэнэ. (2, 3)	
Мал аж ахуй	Гахай, үсэр их, адуу бага, хонь, ямаагүй (1, 5)	Адуу бага, харин мөхэ нэр шинг үсэр, гахай ихтэй. (2, 3)	Хүйтнээс болж үсэр их үлдэг. (2, 3)	
Газар тариалан	Нариму буудай, монгол амуу элбэг. Буудай муу ургадаг. (1-3)			
Хоол хүнс	Гахай, загас илнэ. (1-5)	Илээ ундаа яг мөхэ нэр шинг. (2, 3)	Ангын мах илнэ. (2, 3)	
Хувцас	Эр эмтүй богино дээд, цагаан бутан улсан өмд өмсөнө. (1-3)	Хувцас Хилантай ашиг. (2, 3)	Ангын арасаар хувцаслана. Малгайг үнэг, булга, нохой зэххийн арасаар, хувцасыг загасны арасаар өйдөг.	
Үс гээг	Гахайн арасан хувцастай (5)	Эртүүд үсээ залгайж, эмэгтэйтүүд эвхэнэ. (1-3) Үсээ залгай орхино. (5)	Эртүүд үсээ залгайж, эмэгтэйтүүд үсээрээ толгойгоо орооно.	
Зэр зэвсэг	Эвэрэн нумтай, ху модны урт сумтай.	Зэр зэвсэг яг Хиланых шинг.	Нум сумтай.	
Гэрлэлт	Хүрэн 3 жил халмаждаа ажиллаад, өмчөө, эмээ авч, харина. (4, 5)	Тохирсон ёсоор хүүхнээ хулгайлж, сүйд мал өгч гэрт нь бушаана. Жирэмсэлнэл гэртээ авчирна. Бэлэсэн эм дэхиж гэрлэхгүй.		
Оршуулга	Эцэг эх нь үхсээс үр хүүхэд нь гурван жил гашуудаж, шарилыг модонд өгдөг. Бу болгон үхсээсдээ тавьдаг өөрийн балгаантай, гурван жил гашуудана.	Үхсэн хүний хүүрийг, балгаанд халгаж, гурван жил гашуудаж, дөрөв дэх жилээ уй гашуу үйлдэнэ.		

ТАЙЛАБ: 1 нь вэй шү, 2 нь бэй ши, 3 нь сүй шү, 4 нь тан улсын хуучин судар, 5 нь тан улсын шинэ судрын мэдээ болно.

ХАВСРАЛТ 2.

ШИВЭЙ АЙМГИЙН НЭР ТЭМДЭГЛЭСЭН УТГА ҮСГИЙН
ДУНДАД ЭРТНИЙ ҮГИЙН ДУУДЛАГЫН СЭРГЭЭЛТ
(харьдуулсан хүснэг)

А. 544-618 ОНЫ ШИВЭЙ АЙМАГ:

Аймгийн нэр 1	Карлгрен, 1957 2	Цуллиблэнк, 1991 3	Старостин, 1998 4	Бакстэр, 2000 5	Язгуур үг 6
室韋 shiwéi	ṣiēw-wēi (413j; 571a)	ṣit-wuj (320; 285)	ṣit-w(h)ij ṣit-wij	ṣyt-ljwxy (141; 124)	*särbī, *serbi / *sarbi, *širbi, *širvi (П.Пеллио, 1921, 1934), <i>широй</i> буюу <i>иороо</i> (Викторова, 1958)
南 nán	nām (650a)	nēm (221)	nēm	nom (96)	
北 běi	pək (909a)	pək (31)	pək	pok (5)	Бокон (Бого, Буга?) хэмээх эвенк овог оний
鉢/鉢 bō		ṣat pat (40)	ṣat pwāt	ṣat pat (9)	["бар]
深末担 shēnmòdā	ṣiēm-muāt-tāt (666c- d; 277a; 149g)	ṣim-mat-tat (280; 218; 69)	ṣim-māt-tāt ṣim-mwāt-tāt	ṣym-mat-tat (121; 94; 23)	
大 dà	d'aj (317a)	da' (69) da ^h (69)	dāj thāj	da ^h (23)	Долт, долот хэмээх эвенк овог Шилка голын өмнөд биеэр нутагладаг

Б. 618-840-ӨӨД ОНЫ ШИВЭЙ АЙМАГ:
Б-1, БЭЙ ШИВЭЙН БҮЛЭГ

1	2	3	4	5	6
嶺西 língxī	<ling>sei (594a-e)	liajj-sej (197; 329)	léj-sej	ljeng ^x -sej (84; 145)	
山北 shānběi	ṣān-pək (193a-c; 909a)	ṣān-pək (274; 31)	ṣān-pək	ṣen-pok (119; 5)	шарбоко, шэрбоко
黃頭 huángtóu	ṣwāng-d'au (707a-b; 118e)	ṣwaj-daw (132; 311)	ṣwaj-daw	hwang-duw (53; 137)	["ванду/венду]
如者 rúzhě	náziwo-tšia (94a-i; 45a-c)	nā-tcia' (268; 400)	nio-čá nō-čá	nyo-tsyae ^x (117; 177)	["ниэчи/нөчи]
婆蒿 pówō	b'ua <wō> (25q)	ba<wō> (241)		ba-?wa* (105; 143)	["баава/баавгай]
訥北 nèbēi	nuet-pək (695j; 909a)	nuet-pək (222; 31)	<nè> pək	nwoi-pok (96; 5)	["нурбоко/нурльбоко]
駱駝 luòtuó	luo<tuó> (766s)	lak-da (204; 314)	[lhāk]-dhā	[lak]-da (86-87; 138)	лакчи/лакчиз, лактар

落姐 luòjiě	lāk<jiě> (766q)	lak-tsua' (204;155)	[lāk]-dā lāk<jiě> lāk<jiě>	lak-tsjae ^x (87;64)	
落丹 luòdān	lāk-tān (766q;150a-b)	lak-tan, 204, 70	lāk-tān lāk-tān	lak-tan (87;24)	
落担 luòdān	lāk-t'ān (766q;149d)	lak-tān' (204;301)	lāk-thān lāk-thān	lak-thān ^x (87;32)	
蒙兀 méngwù	mung-nguat (1181a;487a)	məwŋ-ŋwət (212;326)	<méng> ŋ(h)wēt <méng> ɲot	muwŋ-ngwot (90;144)	Мяку (Шавкунов, 1968, с. 29, 32) Мяггир овог Амурын тохойд байдаг
蒙兀 méngwà méngwà,	mung-ngwa (1181b;20a)	məwŋ-ŋwəi' /ŋwēi' (212;316) məwŋ-ŋwəi' /ŋwēi' (212;316)	<méng> ɲhwa' <méng> ɲwa	muwŋ-ngwəe ^b (90;139)	Мангбу, Мангму (Шавкунов, 1968, с. 29, 32)

Б-2. НАНЬ ШИВЭЙН БҮЛЭГ

1	2	3	4	5	6
烏素固 wūsùgù	uo-suo-kuo (61a-c;68a;49f)	ʔ>-sɔ ^a -kɔ ^b (325;295;111)	ʔɔ-sɔ-kò ʔo-sɔ-kò	ʔu-su ^a -ku ^b (143;129;43)	[*osoɔo]
移塞沒 yísāimò yísāimò yísēméi	ie-sak-muət (3q;908a;492b) ie-sai-muət (3q;908a;492b)	ji-sak-mət (366;271;218) jiā-sej ^a -mət (366;271;218) jiā/ji-sak-mət (366;273;218)	ze-sāk-mot je-sak-mət	ye-sok-mwot (161;118;94)	есэкмүр/есокмүт жисэкхмоль/жисэкмоль зэ/жэсокмоль исокмүт
塞易支 sāihézhī sāihézhī	sak-γāt-tsiq (908a;313d;864a) sai-γāt-tsiq (908a;313d;864a)	sak-γāt-tciā (271;123;404) səj ^a -γāt-tci (271;123;404)	sak-γāt-kje sak-γāt-će	sok-hat-tsyə (118;48;179)	[*soɣarɲə]
和解 héjiě	yuā-kai: (8e-j;861a)	ɣwa-kaj' (122;155) ɣwa-ke:j' (122;155)	wā-kiē ɣwā-kaj	hwa-kiē ^x (48;64)	[*ɣaxaj]
烏羅護 wūluòhù	uo-lá-yuo (61a-c;6a;784k)	ʔ>-la-ɣɔ ^a (325;203;128)	ʔɔ-lá-<hü> ʔo-lá-<hü>	ʔu-la-hu ^a (143;86;51)	Ороху/орохон гэж галиглана, одоогийн орохи, орочи, орочны нэртэй ойр байна (Шавкунов, 1968, с. 26)
烏洛候 wūluòhòu	uo-lák-ɣau (61a-c;766k- m;113e)	ʔ>-lak-ɣəw ^a (325;203;125)	ʔɔ-lhāk-γō ʔo-lák-ɣaw	ʔu-lak-huw ^a (143;86;50)	
烏羅渾 wūluòhún	uo-lá-ɣəun (61a-c;6a;458b)	ʔ>-la-ɣwan (325;203;135)	ʔɔ-lá-<hün> ʔo-lá-<hün>	ʔu-la-hwon (143;86;54)	
那禮 nālǐ	ná-hei (350a;597d)	na ^a -lej' (221;188)	n(h)ān-liej ná-liej	<nā>-lej ^x (79)	Налыгир хэмээх эвэнк овог байдаг
烏丸 wūwán	uo-yuán (61a-c;163a)	ʔ>-ɣwan (325;317)	ʔɔ-wān ʔo-ywān	ʔu-hwan (143;139)	Ован/овен гэж галиглана, эвен, эвэнк болов уу (Шавкунов, 1968, с. 25)
烏桓 wūhuán	uo-yuán (61a-c;164f)	ʔ>-ɣwan (325;130)	ʔɔ-wān ʔo-ywān	ʔu-hwan (143;52)	

東 dōng	Tung (1175a)	təwŋ (80)	tɯŋ	tuwŋg (28)	
達姪 dàgòu	d'at-kəu (271b, 112e)	dat-kəw ^a (69; 110)	d(h)āt-kōw dāt-kəw d(h)āt/dāt-kəw	dat-<gòu> (23)	Шавкунов <i>дархут</i> гэв. (<i>Шавкунов, 1990, с. 182</i>) харин бид [[*] дарху/ <i>дагуу</i>] байх боломжтой гэж үзлээ. Мөн 17 гэсэн утгатай <i>darhon</i> гэх зүрчид үг байдаг.

Б-3. ДА ШИВЭЙН БҮЛЭГ

1	2	3	4	5	6
大 dà	d'aj (317a)	da'/daj ^a (69)	daj [thaj]	da ^a (23)	
西 xī	siet (594a)	sej (329)	siej	sej (145)	Солончуудын өвөг дээдэс болов уу гэх сэжүүр байж болох юм

ХАВСРАЛТ 3.

ГОЛ МӨРӨН, УУЛ НУРУУНЫ НЭРИЙН СЭРТЭЭЛТ, ОНООЛТ

А. ГОЛ МӨРӨН, УУЛ НУРУУНЫ НЭРИЙН СЭРТЭЭЛТ:

	Карлсен, 1957	Пүллийблэнк, 1991	Старостин, 1998	Бакстэр, 2000	Язгуур нэр (таамаглал)
吸 chuò	tɰwät (295c)	tɰwät (63)	twet	tsyhwet (20)	[*Тоор]-ын гол, Л.Лигети, Џог буюу Čol гэжээ. ¹
蓋 gài	kāi (642q)	kaj ^h (102)		kaj ^h (38)	guje, goji, gaikan, gaixan ² → сайхан
善 shàn	žān (205a)	džian ³ (275)	žén	dzyen ⁴ (120)	
積了 dúliǎo	d'uk<liǎo> (1023l)	dəwk-lew ⁵ (82;193)	<liǎo>-liew	duwk-lew ⁶ (29;82)	[*Доглу/Дуклу]
屈利 qūli	k'juet-lji (496k;519a)	k ^h ut-li ^h (260;188)	<qū>-li	khjut-lj ^h (113;80)	kur ⁷ -гольд, орочи, дагуур нэр, "ногоон" [*Нин/Нийр/Йир]
刃 rèn	níziēn (456a)	nin ^h (265)	nin	nyin ^h (116)	
捺水 nàshuǐ	<nà>-šwi: (576a)	<nà>-cwi' (290)	<nà>-šwi	nat-sywi ⁸ (95;127)	
貸勃 dàibó	t'ài'-buət (918p;491b)	t ^h ej ^h -bət (70;40)	thēj'-bot	thoj ^h -bwot (23;10)	[*Тэйбөр/Тойбур]
欠對 qiándui	k'jom'-tuái' (624a;511a)	k ^h am ^h -twəj ^h (251;83)	kham-toj	khjom ^h -twoj ^h (109;30)	
吐紇 tǔhé	t'uo:/t'uo'-<hé>(62d)	t ^h ɔ'-'yet (312;122)	thó-<hé>	tu ^h -hot (137;48)	[*Тогор/Тухор]
胡布 húbù	kuo:-puo' (49a';102i)	ɣɔ-pɔ ^h (126;42)	ɣo-pò	hu-pu ^h (50;10)	[*Гобо/Хубуг/Хумар]
猫越 naóyuè	<naó>-jiwɔt (303e)	<naó>-wuat (388)	<naó>-wet	<naó>-ljwot (171)	[*Тоор]-ын гол
俱輸 jū/jùshū	kju-šiu (121d;125s)	kuə'-guə (162)	küšü	gju ^h -syu (68;125)	[*Хүсү]
燕支 yànzhī	'ien-tsiə (243a;864a)	ʔen ^h -tciä/tci (359;404)	ʔien(ɣe)ce	ʔenh-tsyə (158;179)	[*инэгэ]
那河 nà/nàhé	ná-ʔá (350a;1g)	na'/na ^h -ʔa (221;122)	ná-ʔá	<ná>-ha (48)	Ногоон ⁴

¹ Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 269, n. 9² Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. М., 1984. с. 360³ Шираторийн санал [Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. М., 1984. с. 360]⁴ Шираторийн санал [Материалы по истории древних кочевых народов группы Дунху. Введение, перевод и комментарии В.С.Таскина. М., 1984. с. 360]

望建 wàngjiàn	mīwang-kjion (742m;249a)	muaŋ ^h -kian ^h (319;147)	<wàng>-kən	mjaŋ ^h -kjong ^h (140;61)	Манку, Мангбу, Мангму ⁵ –нанай, орочи, үдэгэй нэр, “хүчирхэг, хүнд” Хүтүн
俱倫 jūlún	kju-luən (121d;470c)	kuä-lwin (162;202)	kül-win	gju ^h -lwin (68;86)	Хүтүн
室建 shìjiàn	šjiet-kjion	šit-kian ^h (320;147)	šit-kən šit-kən	syit-kjongh (124;61)	Шилькар/Силькар ⁶ – эвенк нэр. Л.Лигети, šjiet-kjion буюу *šilkin/šilka гэжээ. ⁷

Б. ГОЛ МӨРӨН, УУЛ НУРУУНЫ ОНООЛТ:

Вэй шу	Бэйши/Сүйшу	Жү Тан шу	Синь Тан шу	Одоогийн ямар гол мөрөн, уул нуруу болох
Чошуй	Чошуй			Хорэн гол+Тоорын гол
Гайшуй	Гайшуй	Чошуй (Яньжи)	Чошуй (Яньжи)	Гүйлэр гол
Гайшуй	Гайшуй	Наюэ	Наюэ	Тоорын гол
Дуляо уул				Тоор голын эрэг, Солуний зүүн хойдох 1115 м өндөр уул
Цюйли	Цюйли			Цөл гол
Рэньшуй	Рэньшуй			Ялүхэ гол
Нашуй	Нашуй	Нахэ	Нахэ	Ногоон мөрөн
Шэньмода	Шэньмода			Номин голын нэг эх
Дайбо уул	Дайбо уул			Халхын гол, Тоорын гол эх 1749 м өндөр уул (Солончууд Dabako гэж нэрлэдэг мэдээ байна)
Цяньдуй уул	Цяньдуй уул			Тэрэм уул, 1725 м өндөр
Түхэ уул	Түхэ уул			150 км үргэлжлэх Добукүэршаний нуруу
Хубу уул	Хубу уул			Ильхури Алиний нуруу
		Ванжянь	Шижянь	Эргүнэ мөрөн
		Ванжянь	Шижянь	Хар мөрөн

⁵ Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. сс. 29, 30, 32

⁶ Шавкунов Э.В. Государство Бохай и памятники его культуры в Приморье. Изд-во Наука, Ленинград, 1968. сс. 30; Шавкунов Э.В. Культура чжурчжэней-удигэ XII-XIII вв. и проблема происхождения тунгусских народов Дальнего Востока. Наука, ГРВЛ, Москва, 1990. сс. 178

⁷ Ligeti L. Le Tabghatch, un Dialecte de la Langue Sien-pi – In Mongolian Studies. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Verlag B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, 1970. p. 269, n. 9

	Жүшү	Жүлүн	Хүлүн нуур
	Дашань уул	Дашань уул	Амуэр, Хумаэр, Чжицзичаншань болон Дашишань уул

ХАВСРАЛТ 4.

ХҮМҮҮСИЙН НЭРИЙН СЭРГЭЭЛТ

	Карлгрен, 1957	Цүлліблэнк, 1991	Старостин, 1998	Бакстэр, 2000	Язгуур үг (таамаглал)
張焉莖伐 zhāngyāndōufá	tiang- 'iān-d' əu-b 'iwot (721h; 200a; 118a; 307a)	tiāŋ- 'iān-dəw ^a -buat (397; 355; 81; 89)	<zhāng>- 'en-dəw ^a bwət	tiāŋ- 'jen-duw ^a -bjot (175; 157; 29; 32)	
張焉莖伐 zhāngwūdōufá	tiang- 'uo-d' əu-b 'iwot (721h; 61a; 118a; 307a)	tiāŋ- 'o-dəw ^a -buat (397; 325; 81; 89)	<zhāng>- 'o-dəw ^a bwət	tiāŋ- 'u-duw ^a -bjot (175; 143; 29; 32)	
和解熱素 héjiérèsu	yua-kai- 'nziāt-suo (8e; 861a; 330j; 68a)	ywa-kaj- 'niat-s ^a (122; 155; 265; 295)	ywā-kaj- nēt-so	hwa-kiē ^x -nyet-su ^a (48; 64; 115; 129)	[*Гахай-Нирсу]
大勝督阿城 dàshēngdūāchéng	d'aj- 'jəng-tuok- 'ā- 'ziāŋ (317a; 893a; 1031n; 1m; 818e)	da- 'cin-tawk- 'a-dziajŋ (69; 281; 82; 23; 54)	dáj- <shēng> tok- 'āŋen thāj- <shēng> tok- 'āŋen	da ^a -syung-towk- 'a-dzyeng (23; 122; 29; 31; 16)	[*Дай-Шэньг- Тоукэзин]

BATSUREN, Barangas : On Tribe Alliances of Mengü Shiwei, Da Shiwei and Ulohou

From the early medieval Chinese sources Mongolian researchers try to determine those tribes and tribe alliances, which can be connected to ancient Mongolian people. During the 6-9th centuries, after the collapse of the Juanjuan Khaganate and Turkic period of Inner Asia, several big tribe alliances existed in Eastern-Inner Asia like the Mengü shiwei, Da shiwei and Ulohou.



**TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri & TAMBOVTSEVA, Juliana &
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How Euphonic Is the Finnish Language?

Abstract

There are many languages in the world but every language has its own sound picture. We are interested to investigate the euphony in the Finnish language. The euphony of the sound picture in Finnish may have the peculiar features or, on the contrary, only which are common to other Finno-Ugric or world languages. By the sound picture of a language we mean the distribution of its speech sounds in the speech sound chain. It is very interesting to find the languages which are more euphonic than Finnish, i.e. sound nice and which are not so much euphonic. Euphony is the total of the vowels and sonorant consonants in the speech sound chain of a language. The vowels and sonorants make the speech sound chain sound nice to ear. It is also possible to call the total the vocalo-sonorant quotient. Thus, the degree of euphony (melodicity) is the value of this quotient.

Vowels and sonorant consonants constitute the vocalo-sonorant structure of the sound picture of any language, in this case Finnish. We take into consideration the basic features of sound classes and groups. The basic features consist of the frequency of occurrence of vowels and sonorant consonants in the speech chain. These basic features may be found in any world language. This is why, euphony (melodicity) is one more language universal. Analysing the value of euphony (melodicity), one can construct the typology of distribution of language taxa according to this universal characteristic.

In the speech sound chain of the Finnish language there are 49% and 23.32% of sonorants. Thus, the degree of euphony is 72.85%. It means that Finnish has the greatest degree of euphony among the 20 Finno-Ugric languages taken for this study (Tab.1). Its degree of euphony is greater than that of the Samoedic, Turkic and other world languages.

In 32 American Indian languages taken for this study (Tab.2) the mean concentration of vowels is 44.06%. The least concentration of vowels is in Kadiweu — 35.73%. The major concentration of vowels is in Iquito — 58.84%. One can compare the use of vowels in some other world languages (Tab.2 -21).

In the English language vowels constitute 38.49% of the speech sound chain (Tambovtsev, 2001-a). It is less than in any of the calculated Germanic languages. Thus, in Sweden it is 38.60%; in Dutch — 38.66%; German — 38.72%; Danish — 40.00%; Norwegian — 44.70%. We can compare these data to any other world language taken at random. For instance, Chinese speech sounds are rather different from English, but the concentration of vowels in the speech sound chain is not too different, at least not by the order, not in several times.

In Chinese vowels comprise 44.41% of the speech chain. It is more than in Tibetan (34.17%), Thai (39.71%), or Dungan (43.63%), but it is a bit less than in Burmese (44.66%). Thus, the concentration of vowels in Chinese is quite high (Tambovtsev, 2001).

Austronesian languages have a great concentration of vowels in the speech sound chain (e.g. maximum - 65.24% in Hawaiian and 69.75% in Samoan).

Now, if we add the value of the concentration of sonorant consonants in the speech chain, we receive the degree of euphony. In the 32 languages of American Indians the mean concentration of vowels and sonorants in the speech sound chain is 65.09%. One can see the value of euphony, i.e. vocalo-sonorant quotient, in some other world languages.

The mean of the vocalo-sonorant quotient turned out to be bigger in the following language taxa: Sino-Tibetan family (Burmese - 75.67%), Bantu (Swahili - 76.29%), Afro-Asian family (Neo-Aramaic- 81.47%), Austronesian family (Hawaiian- 83.29%), languages of Australian aboriginals- Nunggubuyu- 85.14%). It means that 85.14% of the Nunggubuyu speech sound chain consists of vowels and sonorant consonants.

In fact, the concentration of vowels in Finnish is 49.53%. On the other hand, some of the world languages have the minimum of the concentration of vowels. So, in the Itelmen language (Paleo-Asiatic family) vowels comprise only 32.61% while the sonorants — 26.91%. Thus, Itelman's euphony is rather low — 59.52%. It is very close to the absolute minimum. The minimum of the vocalo-sonorant quotient happens to be in the Adygian language (Caucasian family). It reaches only 54.07%.

It should be mentioned that on the average the Caucasian language family has a rather low vocalo-sonorant quotient — 61.66%. It is much less than in the American Indian languages, which is 65.09%. Now let us see what place they take among the other world languages. The ordered series of the average of the vocalo-sonorant quotient in different language taxa is the following: Baltic group of Indo-European family — 62.76%; Iranian group of the Indo-European family — 63.95%; Slavonic group — 64.64%; Germanic — 64.78%; Samoyedic family — 65.16%; Finno-Ugric family — 65.57%; Mongolic family — 66.06%; Balkan language unity — 66.18%; Indic group of the Indo-European family — 66.77%; Turkic family — 66.99%; Paleo-Asiatic family — 67.58%; Sino-Tibetan family — 67.63%; Roman group of I-E family — 68.57%; Afro-Asiatic family — 68.96%; Manchu-Tungusic family — 69.54%; Austronesian family — 73.16%; Bantu — 73.40%; Languages of Australian aboriginals — 80.51%.

Euphony, i.e. the total of vowels and sonorant consonants, may be considered a phonetic universal.

Key words: euphony, vocalo-sonorant quotient, maximum and minimum value of euphony, melodicity, language group, language family, language taxa, genetic classification, typological classification, under-exploit vowels and sonorant consonants, over-exploit, the probable theoretical frequency, the actual mean frequency of euphony, ordered series, coefficient of variation, world languages, a phonetic universal.

There are many languages in the world but every language has its own sound picture. By the sound picture of a language we mean the distribution of its speech sounds in the speech sound chain. It is very interesting to find the languages which are more euphonic, i.e. melodic, than Finnish and which are not.

By the degree of euphony we mean the total of the frequency of occurrence of the vowels and sonorant consonants in the language speech sound chain.

The goal of this paper is to compare the value of euphony (or melodicty) of the Finnish language in comparison to different world languages. It is important to find the maximum and minimum of euphony in the 226 world languages taken for this study to see what place the Finnish language takes among them. World languages are united in various language taxa. So, first of all, we consider the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic taxa to state the place of Finnish among them by the degree of euphony in Finnish. Therefore, after computing Finnish we received the concentration of vowels (49.53%), while the concentration of the sonorant consonants in its sound chain is 23.32%. The details on the Finnish material can be found in our monograph [Tambovtsev, 2001: 40 — 42]. It means that Finnish has the greatest degree of euphony among the Finno-Ugric languages (Tab.1). It is more euphonic than any Samoyedic language (Tab.2). The degree of Finnish euphony is greater than in Italian (69.52%), though Italian is recognized as a very euphonic language.

As a matter of fact, one can estimate the degree of the euphony of this or that language taxa by its mean.

Here by American Indian languages we consider a sample of 32 Indian languages of North, Central and South America. They enter different language branches and families but their classification is still controversial since their origins and interrelationships are unclear. In fact, their classification is not genetic but geographical. One has to admit that they are usually described with reference to the main geographical areas involved (Crystal, 1992: 17). David Crystal correctly points out that the classification of this family is still controversial because they are classified by different linguists differently (Crystal, 1992: 18). Our data can show if the degree of the euphony of the speech sound chain of its members is similar.

It is also possible to call euphony as the vocalo-sonorant quotient. Thus, the degree of melodicty or euphony is the value of this quotient.

Vowels and sonorant consonants constitute the vocalo-sonorant structure of the sound picture of any language. We take into consideration the basic features of sound classes and groups. The basic features consist of the frequency of occurrence of vowels and sonorant consonants in the speech chain. These basic features may be found in any world language. This is why, euphony (melodicty) is one more language universal. It is possible to call it a language universal since a language universal is a property claimed to be characteristic of all languages (Crystal, 1992: 405). Analysing the value of euphony, one can construct the typology of distribution of language taxa according to this universal phonetic characteristic. We analysed the euphony in nearly all language groups and families of world languages. Language subgroups, groups, unities or phyla can be in general called language taxa. Let us mention the examined language taxa in the alphabetic order: Afro-Asiatic family; American Indian taxon, Austronesian family; Balkan language union; Baltic group of the Indo-European family; Caucasian family; Finno-Ugric family; Germanic group of the Indo-European family; Indic group of the Indo-European family; Iranian group of the Indo-European family; Manchu-Tungusic family; Paleo-Asiatic family; Romance group of the Indo-European family; Samoyedic family; Sino-Tibetan family; Turkic; set of American Indian languages; set of Australian aboriginal languages; set of Bantu and some other African languages; Slavonic group of the Indo-European family; some isolated languages

Euphony is close to the notion of euphony in poetry (Tambovtsev, 1979). In poetry, usually, euphony of a speech sound chain means the degree of beauty it bears. However, until now nobody tried to measure the degree of euphony of a language speech sound chain in the exact numbers by one and the same method. We proposed to measure the degree of euphony (melodicity) of a language on the basis of the most melodic elements of the sound speech chain, that is, vowels and sonorant consonants long ago (Tambovtsev, 1977). Usually, when a euphonic language comes to mind, Italian is named. Our measurements showed that Italian is not a world champion in the degree of euphony since its value is 69.53%. However, it is not even the champion in its own group of Romance languages. In fact, its degree of euphony is less than that of Romanian — 69.91% in the group of the Romance group of Indo-European family, not to speak of many others in other language taxa (see Tab.1 - 21).

We can calculate the theoretical expected frequency of euphony in a language. If we follow the way a great American mathematician G. Polya proposed, we must find the theoretical expected frequency of a linguistic element. If we juxtapose it to the speech chain, then we must know the number of the elements or groups of this chain. When G. Polya wanted to know the theoretical expected frequency of a letter, he divided 100% by 26, because there were 26 letters in the letter inventory (Polya, 1954: 316-317). Now let us apply his reasoning to our case. Since euphony consists of the frequency of vowels, we must reserve 50% for vowels. The rest 50% out of 100%, we reserve for consonants. Now let us calculate the number of our elements which are, in fact, groups of consonants. We have 3 groups of consonants defined from the point of view of the manner of articulation: sonorant, occlusive and fricative. Therefore, we must divide 50% by 3. In this way we obtain 16.67%. Thus, we reserve 16.67% for the sonorant consonants as the probable theoretical frequency in a language speech sound chain. Consequently, the theoretical euphony (melodicity) in any language is equal to $50\% + 16.67\% = 66.75\%$. We can reason in the following way: if the value of the euphony of some language is greater than 66.75%, then the language in question over-uses the vowels and sonorant consonants in its speech sound chain. It means that this language puts too great a load on vowels and sonorants. So, vowels and sonorants overrun the limits of the theoretical frequency, i.e. probability of occurrence. We can claim that they are over-exploited.

In the American Indian languages taken for this study (Tab.1) the mean degree of euphony is equal to 65.09%. It is less than the theoretical degree of euphony in a language. It means that American Indian languages in general under-exploit vowels and sonorant consonants in their speech sound chain (c.f. 65.09% and 66.75%). Nevertheless, some American Indian languages like Guarani (74.89%) or Iquito (76.85%), surely over-exploit the use of vowels and sonorants (Tab.3). The Kekchi language (64.90%) is very close to the mean of euphony in these 32 American Indian languages.

In other language families it is different. So, in the ordered series of the Turkic languages (Tab.5) Kirgiz is in the middle with the frequency of occurrence of 66.68%. It means that Chuvash, Jakut and the other Turkic language (Tab.5) overload their speech sound chains. It is possible to call these languages melodic or euphonic from the point of view of Turkic languages. However, to understand what the euphony is in general, one should take into account the mean degree of euphony in world languages. We found this euphonic mean in 226 world languages to be 67.03%. It is very close to the theoretical value 66.67%. To a human ear in general the languages with the euphony greater than 67.03% should sound beautifully (see Tab 1-21). Consequently, Kirgiz with its vocalo-sonorant quotient (66.68%) cannot be recognised as a euphonic language from the point of view of world languages.

Why should we bother to spend so much time and energy to obtain the mean value of euphony in world languages? It is as simple as that: theoretical probability may be much greater or much lower than the real euphonic probability. In this case, the theoretical probability is rather close to the actual probability of euphony. It is just a lucky chance. Nevertheless, one can suppose that any human language tends to use enough of vowels and sonorants since it is easier to hear them in the conditions of bad communication.

However, we agree with those linguists who object that theoretical probability of linguistic elements are too abstract to say anything about real world languages. This is why, a linguist must spend much time and effort to count the actual phonemic frequencies of occurrence in different languages to draw some solid conclusions about languages. Therefore, we had to calculate the empirical mean of the melodicty of 226 world languages which turned out to be equal to 67.03% of the speech sound chain. We repeat this value because it is very important. It shows how a human language works. It is advisable to use the value of this characteristic to find out the melodict or euphonic languages in the mass of world languages. So, here we can state that the degree of euphony in Finnish (72.85%) is greater than in a language in general (67.03%).

For instance, the mean degree of euphony in American Indian languages is less than this number (c.f. 65.09% and 67.03%). It indicates that American Indian languages in general do not use as many vowels and sonorant consonants as the other world languages. Nahuatl (Aztec) has the degree of euphony (67.27%) close to the mean degree of euphony in the world languages, i.e. 67.03%.

The mean degree of euphony of the 26 Turkic languages (Tab.5) is a bit less than 67.03%. It is 66.99%. It means that on the average Turkic languages are not very melodict. However, the mean melodicty of the Mongolian language family (66.06%) is even less than 67.03%. Thus, Mongolian languages under-use vowels and sonorant consonants in their speech sound chain (Tab.2). Now let us consider what language taxa do not use enough euphonic elements in their speech sound chain. In fact, Caucasian (Tab.12 — 61.66%), Finno-Ugric (Tab.1 — 65.57%), Samoyedic (Tab.2 — 65.16%) American Indian languages (Tab.3 — 65.09%), Indic (Tab.13 — 66.77%) also under-exploit vowels and sonorant consonants. This is just an example. One can see in detail which language taxa under-exploit in the ordered series of the means of euphony. We discuss it in detail later.

On the other hand, one can find individual languages in whose speech sound chain the vowels and sonorant consonants do not occur as often as 67.03%. One can analyse the ordered series of the Turkic languages taken for the study. Such languages as Tofalar, Kazakh and the other Turkic languages whose vocolo-sonorant quotient is less than the threshold, under-exploit (under-use) vowels and sonorants. Thus, their vowels and sonorants do not occupy the speech sound chain in great numbers. It is possible to look through our tables (Tab.1 — 21) in order to see the euphonic languages and those which cannot be called the euphonic languages by our classification.

The other important question is how close the euphonic values are crowded around the mean in this or that language taxa. That is, how high is the quotient of its compactness. It can be measured by the coefficient of variance or the coefficient of variation (Herdan, 1966: 93-94). The less this coefficient, the tighter the values around its mean. If the coefficient of variation is great, then the values of euphony are distributed sparsely. Christopher Butler is correct to warn linguists that it is not possible to compare two

or more means of different samples without testing for homogeneity of variance (Butler, 1985: 127). If the coefficient of variation is too great, then we can say that there is no homogeneity of data. Therefore, the samples cannot be compared. Studying many languages we can come to a conclusion that if the coefficient of variation is greater than 33%, then there is no homogeneity (Tambovtsev, 2003: 12 – 16).

Let us consider the value of the coefficient of variation in different language taxa. It is possible to construct the following ordered series: Romance (1.53%); Mongolic (1.83%); Samoyedic (1.98%); Bantu (2.28%); Iranian (2.25%); Indic (2.29%); Manchu-Tungusic (2.66%); Baltic (3.06%); Turkic (3.36%); Germanic (3.81%); Australian Aboriginal (3.90%); Slavonic (4.24%); Finno-Ugric (5.02%); Caucasian (7.01%); Paleo-Asiatic (7.28%); Austronesian (8.02%); American Indian (8.13%); Afro-Asian (9.61%); Sino-Tibetan (10.29%). One can see that all the language taxa have the values of the coefficient of variation which are much less than 33%. Nevertheless, the American Indian languages cannot be called a very compact taxon by this parameter (8.13%).

Conclusion:

1) Finnish is a very euphonic language (72.82%). One can see from Tab.1 that it has the greatest degree of euphony among 20 Finno-Ugric languages. Its degree of euphony is also greater than among Samoyedic languages (Tab.2). In fact, the rest of the tables of other language taxa indicate that its euphony is really high. It is possible to compare Finnish (72.85%) to the mean degree of euphony in the Finno-Ugric taxon (65.57%). The peculiarities of the distribution of sonorants (23.32%) and vowels in Finnish (49.53%) vividly shows its place among world languages. The mean concentration of vowels in the taxon of American Indian languages is 44.06%. It is much less than in the Austronesian languages which have a great concentration of vowels in the speech sound chain - 53.40%. American Indian languages have the maximum of melodicty in Odjibwe – 64.32%. It is much less than in Samoan - 69.75%.

2) Let us compare the total of the distribution of vowels and sonorants in Finnish to the maximum and minimum value of euphony in all the language taxa under investigation. The maximum of the euphony is in the Australian Aboriginal language of Nunggubuyu (85.14%), the minimum – in the Caucasian language of Adygian (54.07%). In American Indian languages this span is not so great: maximum in Iquito (76.85%) and minimum in Kadiweu – 55.23%.

Let us consider the maximum value of euphony in different language taxa. It is possible to put the maximum values of the quotient of euphony, that is, vocalo-sonorant quotient in the ordered series: Latvian (Baltic of Indo-European) – 64.11%; Kurdish (Iranian of Indo-European) – 65.79%; Georgian (Caucasian) – 66.25%; Nenets (Samoyedic) – 66.38%; Buriat (Mongolic) – 66.84%; Norwegian (Germanic of Indo-European) – 67.80%; Marathi (Indic of Indo-European) – 68.59%; Romanian (Romance of Indo-European) – 69.91%; Serbian (Slavonic of Indo-European) – 70.19%; Salarian of the Turkic family – 71.75%; Evenk (Manchu-Tungusic) – 71.98%; Choockchee (Paleo-Asiatic) – 72.84%; Finnish (Finno-Ugric) – 72.85%; Burmese ((Sino-Tibetan) – 75.67%; Swahili (Bantu) – 76.29%; Neo-Aramaic Afro-Asiatic) – 81.47%; Hawaiian (Austronesian) – 83.29%; Nunggubuyu (Autralian Aboriginal) – 85.14%.

Thus, one can see that the vocalo-sonorant quotient turned out to be bigger in five language taxa. May be, there is something special in the phonetic systems of Finnish as well as the following languages of different language taxa: Burmese - 75.67%, Swahili- 76.29%, Neo-Aramaic- 81.47%, Hawaiian- 83.29%, Nunggubuyu- 85.14%. It means that the greater part of Finnish (72.85%) as well as that (85.14%) of the Nunggubuyu speech sound chain consists of vowels and sonorant consonants. Therefore, one can see that Finnish is in the cohort of the euphonic champions. It is more so if we consider the minimum values in the world language taxa.

3) In fact, some of the world languages have the minimum of the concentration of vowels. So, in the Itelmen language (Paleo-Asiatic family) vowels comprise only 32.61%. In Finnish it is much greater — 49.53%.

4) Let us consider the minimum of the vocalo-sonorant quotient in different language taxa. Thus, in the Adygian language (Caucasian family) this quotient reaches only 54.07%. Therefore, the ordered series of the vocalo-sonorant quotient of the languages in different language taxa is the following: Kadeweu (American Indian) — 55.23%; Tibetan (Sino-Tibetan) — 56.50%; Itel'men (Paleo-Asiatic) — 59.52%; Sokotrian (Afro-Asiatic) — 60.32%; Belorussian (Slavonic of Indo-European) — 60.66%; English (Germanic of Indo-European) — 61.08%; Vepsian (Finno-Ugric) — 61.34%; Lithuanian (Baltic of Indo-European) — 61.40%; Tadjic (Iranian of Indo-European) — 61.60%; Chalkan (Turkic) — 62.83%; Sel'kup (Samoyedic) — 63.34%; Kalmyk (Mongolic) — 64.66%; Gujarati (Indic of Indo-European) — 65.14%; Indonesian (Austronesian) — 66.01%; Oroch (Manchu-Tungusic) — 66.09%; Romanian (Romance of Indo-European) — 67.37%; Moore (Bantu) — 70.90%; Ngandi (Australian Aboriginal) — 76.84%.

In the American Indian languages it is rather low — 55.23% in Kadeweu, which is second to the world euphonic minimum.

5) Let us consider the average value of euphony in different language taxa. It should be mentioned that on the average the Caucasian language family has a rather low vocalo-sonorant quotient — 61.66%. The ordered series of the average of the vocalo-sonorant quotient in different language taxa is the following: Baltic group of Indo-European family — 62.76%; Iranian group of the Indo-European family — 63.95%; Slavonic group — 64.64%; Germanic — 64.78%; American Indian languages — 65.09%; Samoyedic family — 65.16%; Finno-Ugric family — 65.57%; Mongolic family — 66.06%; Balkan language unity — 66.18%; Indic group of the Indo-European family — 66.77%; Turkic family — 66.99%; Paleo-Asiatic family — 67.58%; Sino-Tibetan family — 67.63%; Roman group of I-E family — 68.57%; Afro-Asiatic family — 68.96%; Manchu-Tungusic family — 69.54%; Austronesian family — 73.16%; Bantu — 73.40%; Languages of Australian aboriginals — 80.51%.

6) Euphony, i.e. the total of vowels and sonorant consonants in the speech sound chain, may be considered a new phonetic universal. This is why, it is possible to compare Finnish euphony to that in the other languages.

[We are grateful to Prof. Erkki Itkonen and Prof. Ago Ku'nnap for advice on Finnish].

Tab.1. — Euphony of the languages of the Finno-Ugric language family

#	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Veps	42.04	19.30	61.34
2.	Hanty (East)	40.02	21.83	61.85
3.	Mordovian (Moksha)	41.43	20.78	62.21
4.	Karelian (Ludik)	43.24	19.01	62.25
5.	Komi-Permian	41.76	20.79	62.55
6.	Komi-Zyrian	41.32	21.83	63.15
7.	Mordovian (Erzia)	40.30	23.37	63.67
8.	Saami (Lopari)	37.90	25.87	63.77
9.	Hungarian	41.98	22.53	64.51
10.	Vodian	44.10	20.71	64.81
11.	Mari (Lawn)	41.40	23.81	65.21
12.	Karelian (Livvik)	43.87	21.85	65.72
13.	Udmurt	41.22	25.10	66.32
14.	Mari (Mountain)	42.13	24.62	66.75
15.	Karelian (Tihvin)	45.30	21.73	67.03
16.	Mansi (Konda)	37.22	30.07	67.29
17.	Estonian	45.43	22.45	67.88
18.	Mansi (Northern)	38.93	32.03	70.96
19.	Hanty (Kazym)	40.36	30.96	71.32
20.	Finnish	49.53	23.32	72.85
	Mean	41.97	23.56	65.57
	Standard (S)	2.80	3.66	3.29
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	6.67	15.52	5.02

Tab. 2. — Euphony of the languages of the Samoyedic language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Sel'kup	41.97	21.37	63.34
2.	Kamassin	41.21	24.21	65.42
3.	Nganasan	45.00	20.51	65.51
4.	Nenets	40.74	25.64	66.38
	Mean	42.23	22.93	65.16
	Standard (S)	1.91	2.40	1.29
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	4.52	10.47	1.98

Tab.3. — Euphony of the languages of American Indians

#	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Kadiweu	35.73	19.50	55.23
2.	Oowekeeno	39.52	17.52	57.04
3.	Oneida	41.24	16.83	58.07
4.	Mam	35.90	22.33	58.23
5.	Haida	39.37	20.91	60.28
6.	Cocopa	34.76	26.21	60.97
7.	Totonac	38.29	22.90	61.19
8.	Kawasquar	39.25	22.20	61.45
9.	Huastec	38.47	23.36	61.83
10.	Capanahua	45.66	16.65	62.31
11.	Quiche	41.46	20.90	62.36
12.	Cofan	53.04	10.02	63.06
13.	Piratapuyo	50.70	13.01	63.71
14.	Jacoltek	39.61	24.20	63.81
15.	Sayula populuca	43.33	20.73	64.06
16.	Acateco	40.00	24.13	64.13
17.	Sweet Grass Cree	43.42	20.74	64.16
18.	Navaho	47.95	16.23	64.18
19.	Odjibwe	37.64	26.68	64.32
20.	Quequechi	40.06	24.84	64.90
21.	Pocomchi	41.71	24.35	66.06
22.	Tzutujil	43.53	23.17	66.70
23.	Nahuatl (Aztek)	42.41	24.86	67.27
24.	Secoya	51.43	16.63	68.06
25.	Kaiwa	55.75	13.19	68.94
26.	Guambiano	44.25	25.87	70.12
27.	Apinaye	41.42	29.19	70.61
28.	Kechua	44.49	26.79	71.28
29.	Inga	46.06	25.66	71.72
30.	Guarani	58.29	16.60	74.89
31.	Siriano	56.26	18.76	75.02
32.	Iquito	58.84	18.01	76.85
	Mean	44.06	21.03	65.09

	Standard (S)	6.68	4.60	5.29
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	15.16	21.87	8.13

Tab.4. — Euphony of the languages of the Sino-Tibetan language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Tibetan	34.17	22.33	56.50
2.	Chinese	44.41	23.54	67.95
3.	Dungan	43.63	24.57	68.20
4.	Thai	39.71	30.14	69.85
5.	Burmese	44.66	31.01	75.67
	Mean	41.32	26.32	67.63
	Standard (S)	4.46	3.98	6.96
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	10.79	15.12	10.29

Tab. 5. — Euphony of the languages of the Turkic language family

#	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Altaic (Chalkan)	42.26	20.57	62.83
2.	Shor	41.07	22.62	63.69
3.	Kumandin	41.65	22.18	63.83
4.	Sary-Ujgur	40.93	23.44	64.37
5.	Altaic (Kizhi)	41.52	23.63	65.15
6.	Hakas	41.75	23.47	65.22
7.	Tatar (Chulym)	41.07	24.17	65.24
8.	Tuvin	41.62	23.89	65.51
9.	Dolgan	42.87	23.03	65.90
10.	Kazah	42.84	23.20	66.04
11.	Tofalar	42.04	24.23	66.27
12.	Kirgiz	42.37	24.31	66.68
13.	Chuvash	41.96	24.90	66.86
14.	Jakut	42.64	24.29	66.93
15.	Uzbek	41.92	25.24	67.16
16.	Ujgur	42.77	24.40	67.17
17.	Turkish	42.63	24.89	67.52
18.	Bashkir	42.37	25.90	68.27

19.	Tatar (Baraba)	42.88	25.73	68.61
20.	Tatar (Krym)	42.34	26.29	68.63
21.	Tatar (Kazan)	42.34	26.54	68.88
22.	Turkmen	42.23	27.26	69.49
23.	Azerbajdzhan	42.92	26.66	69.58
24.	Karachaevo-Balkar	42.23	27.48	69.71
25.	Karakalpak	39.89	30.68	70.57
26.	Salar	47.27	24.48	71.75
	Mean	42.25	24.65	66.99
	Standard (S)	1.25	2.02	2.25
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	2.96	8.18	3.36
	(Old Turkic)	42.55	24.04	66.59

Tab. 6. — Euphony of the languages of the Mongolian language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Kalmyk	40.22	24.44	64.66
2.	Halha-Mongolian	43.11	23.56	66.67
3.	Buriat	45.45	21.39	66.84
	Mean	42.93	23.13	66.06
	Standard (S)	2.62	1.57	1.21
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	6.10	6.79	1.83

Tab. 7. — Euphony of the languages of the Manchu-Tungusic language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Oroch	48.90	17.19	66.09
2.	Nanaj	47.62	20.05	67.67
3.	Negidal	43.47	25.29	68.76
4.	Orok	48.43	20.64	69.07
5.	Even (Lamut)	42.34	27.71	70.05
6.	Ul'ch	47.80	22.43	70.23
7.	Manchu	49.88	20.79	70.67
8.	Udeghe	50.48	20.83	71.31
9.	Even (Tungus)	43.66	28.32	71.98
	Mean	46.95	22.58	69.54

	Standard (S)	3.01	3.74	1.85
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	6.41	16.56	2.66

Tab. 8. — Euphony of the languages of the Austronesian language family

#	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Indonesian	40.61	25.40	66.01
2.	Marquiz	57.42	9.41	66.83
3.	Dajak	46.51	22.50	69.01
4.	Uma	51.55	19.38	70.93
5.	Cebuano	45.86	25.83	71.69
6.	Tagalog	46.00	28.70	74.70
7.	Maori	57.70	18.20	75.90
8.	Samoa	69.75	10.32	80.07
9.	Hawaiin	65.24	18.05	83.29
	Mean	53.40	19.75	73.16
	Standard (S)	9.80	6.69	5.85
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	18.35	33.87	8.02

Tab. 9. — Euphony of the Bantu and some other languages of Africa

#	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Moore	41.53	29.37	70.90
2.	Wolof	41.38	29.69	71.07
3.	Tonga	46.16	25.92	72.08
4.	Fulde	44.38	27.86	72.24
5.	Luganda	46.99	25.37	72.36
6.	Kiniarwanda	48.10	24.62	72.72
7.	X'osa	48.83	24.22	73.05
8.	Tsewana	49.18	24.09	73.27
9.	Chichewa	47.80	25.93	73.73
10.	Zarma	45.93	28.15	74.08
11.	Lwo	48.83	25.89	74.72
12.	Bemba	49.06	26.26	75.32
13.	Hanga	48.18	27.57	75.75
14.	Swahili	49.85	26.44	76.29

	Mean	46.87	26.53	73.40
	Standard (S)	2.73	1.78	1.67
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	5.82	6.71	2.28

Tab.10. — Euphony of the languages of the Paleo-Asiatic language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Itel'men	32.61	26.91	59.52
2.	Eskimo (Naukan)	43.51	24.25	67.76
3.	Eskomo (Imaklin)	44.41	23.92	68.33
4.	Koriak	39.01	30.46	69.47
5.	Chukot (Chookchi)	40.22	32.62	72.84
	Mean	39.95	27.43	67.58
	Standard (S)	4.67	3.90	4.92
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	11.69	14.22	7.28

Tab. 11. — Euphony of the languages of Australian aboriginals

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Ngandi	43.60	33.24	76.84
2.	Ngaanyatjarra	41.52	35.58	77.10
3.	Nyangumada	47.30	33.50	80.80
4.	Dyingili	47.13	34.14	81.27
5.	Mangarayi	42.44	39.49	81.93
6.	Nunggubuyu	50.66	34.48	85.14
	Mean	45.44	35.07	80.51
	Standard (S)	3.50	2.32	3.14
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	7.70	6.60	3.90

Tab. 12. — Euphony of the languages of the Afro-Asian language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Sokotrian	40.01	20.31	60.32
2.	Arabic	39.47	25.17	64.64
3.	Assyrian	42.29	25.15	67.44
4.	Hebrew	43.90	23.58	67.48
5.	Somali	45.28	24.03	69.31

6.	Hausa	47.96	24.09	72.05
7.	Neo-Aramaic	59.10	22.37	81.47
	Mean	45.43	23.53	68.96
	Standard (S)	6.71	1.51	6.63
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	14.77	7.27	9.61

Tab. 13. — Euphony of the languages of the Caucasian language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Adygian	41.33	12.74	54.07
2.	Kabardian	45.07	15.55	60.62
3.	Abhaz	40.29	20.82	61.11
4.	Chechen	42.58	20.23	62.81
5.	Avarian	44.83	20.29	65.12
6.	Georgian	43.07	23.18	66.25
	Mean	42.86	18.80	61.66
	Standard (S)	1.89	3.87	4.32
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	4.41	20.59	7.01

Tab. 14. — Euphony of the languages of the Indic group of the Indo-European language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Gudjarati	40.70	24.44	65.14
2.	Hindi	43.64	22.27	65.91
3.	Bengali	42.42	23.58	66.00
4.	Gypsy	43.61	24.60	68.21
5.	Marathi	42.63	25.96	68.59
	Mean	42.60	24.17	66.77
	Standard (S)	1.20	1.36	1.53
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	2.82	5.64	2.29

Tab. 15. — Euphony of the languages of Iranian group of the Indo-European language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Tadjic	40.54	21.06	61.60
2.	Dari (Afganistan)	41.37	20.91	62.28
3.	Iranian	40.56	22.93	63.49

4.	Pushtu (Pashto)	41.11	22.90	64.01
5.	Osetian	41.35	22.91	64.26
6.	Gilian	43.10	21.94	65.04
7.	Talysh	45.14	19.99	65.13
8.	Kurdish	38.41	27.38	65.79
	Mean	41.45	22.50	63.95
	Standard (S)	1.98	2.25	1.44
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	4.78	10.01	2.25

Tab. 16. — Euphony of the languages of Slavonic group of the Indo-European language family.

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Belorussian	39.96	20.70	60.66
2.	Polish	40.86	21.10	61.96
3.	Czech	41.20	21.39	62.59
4.	Mecedonian	44.29	18.68	62.97
5.	Ukrainian	42.20	21.42	63.62
6.	Slovak	43.58	20.25	63.83
7.	Old Russian	44.57	19.44	64.01
8.	Russian	42.18	23.07	65.25
9.	Slovene	41.25	24.04	65.29
10.	Sorbian	39.90	27.12	67.02
11.	Bulgarian	48.72	19.54	68.26
12.	Serbo-Croatian	45.13	25.06	70.19
	Mean	42.82	21.82	64.64
	Standard (S)	2.56	2.53	2.74
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	5.98	11.59	4.24

Tab. 17. — Euphony of the languages of the Baltic group of the Indo-European language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Lithuanian	42.02	19.38	61.40
2.	Latvian	44.63	19.48	64.11
	Mean	43.33	19.43	62.76
	Standard (S)	1.85	0.07	1.92
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	4.27	0.36	3.06

Tab. 18. — Euphony of the languages of the Romance group of the Indo-European language family.

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	French	43.31	24.06	67.37
2.	Portuguese	44.74	22.67	67.41
3.	Moldavian	44.82	23.63	68.45
4.	Spanish	49.40	19.35	68.75
5.	Italian	44.53	24.99	69.52
6.	Rumanian	45.20	24.71	69.91
	Mean	45.33	23.24	23.24
	Standard (S)	2.09	2.07	1.05
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	4.61	8.91	1.53

Tab. 19. — Euphony of the languages of the Germanic group of the Indo-European language family

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	English	38.49	22.59	61.08
2.	Dutch	38.66	24.95	63.61
3.	German	38.72	25.18	63.90
4.	Swedish	38.60	26.60	65.20
5.	Danish	40.00	27.08	67.08
6.	Norwegian	44.70	23.10	67.80
	Mean	39.86	24.92	64.78
	Standard (S)	2.43	1.81	2.47
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	6.10	7.26	3.81

Tab. 20. — Euphony of the languages of the Balkan Language Union

№	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Albanian	38.45	18.11	56.56
2.	Greek	46.24	20.71	66.95
3.	Bulgarian	48.72	19.54	68.46
4.	Rumanian	47.95	20.77	68.72
5.	Serbo-Croatian	45.13	25.06	70.19
	Mean	45.30	20.84	66.18
	Standard (S)	4.08	2.60	5.50
	Coefficient of variation (V%)	9.01	12.46	8.31

Tab. 21. — Euphony of the Isolated languages

#	Language	Vowels, %	Sonorant, %	Euphony, %
1.	Albanian	38.45	18.11	56.56
2.	Nivhi	37.03	24.09	61.12
3.	Ket (Yug)	43.64	19.11	62.75
4.	Latin	41.39	23.77	65.16
5.	Japanese	48.14	17.48	65.62
6.	Greek	46.23	20.71	66.94
7.	Armenian	40.59	27.75	68.34
8.	Korean	46.27	22.77	69.04
9.	Basque	48.63	20.23	69.06
10.	Esperanto	45.88	25.47	71.35
11.	Yukaghir	38.38	33.53	71.91
12.	Old Japanese	51.06	23.11	74.17
13.	Ainu	49.18	25.74	74.92

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POLITICS

BADALOV, Ulugbek

Vingt ans après : Nostalgie de la grande URSS en Asie centrale



Il était une fois un pays qui s'appelait l'Union soviétique. La vie y était plus facile et heureuse, les gens étaient contents de leurs conditions de vie, de travail... Une amitié les reliait à travers des pays unis autour d'une idéologie fameuse, le communisme. Cette belle époque s'est muée aujourd'hui en un conte qu'on a envie de raconter aux jeunes générations qui ne connaîtront jamais, selon les personnes plus âgées, la "douce éducation soviétique" (*доброе советское воспитание* – en russe). Plus de vingt ans se sont écoulés depuis l'effondrement de l'URSS et, par delà des indépendances, les transformations, les économies de marché et les privatisations, la période sous le joug soviétique demeure toujours considérée sous un jour positif et bienveillant par beaucoup de citoyens ex-soviétiques (Badalov, Ulugbek. 2011).

En effet, l'image de ce passé dans la mémoire collective que ce soit en Russie, au Caucase ou en Asie centrale, est essentiellement associée à une époque où les gens vivaient dans des conditions similaires, sans grande différenciation sociale, avec des relations humaines appréciées comme l'amitié, la solidarité et des liens de bon voisinage. C'est encore aussi, pour beaucoup de gens, la nostalgie de leur propre jeunesse, avec son cortège de rêves et d'illusions, à présent définitivement envolés. C'était l'époque d'une jeunesse où chacun participait à un projet collectif, la "construction du grand socialisme", avec obligation de grandir en appartenant à des mouvements de jeunesse comme les *pionniers*, les *komsomols*, d'entrer au parti, de faire des études afin d'obtenir un emploi garantissant, en fin de vie, une retraite assurée et pleinement sécurisée. Presque toute la population âgée en Asie centrale, ayant connu le communisme, préférerait le retour de ce régime "protecteur" dans tous les domaines plutôt que pérenniser le système actuel générateur de déceptions pour des raisons aisément perceptibles. Les personnes âgées ayant vécu la période précédente en parlent souvent avec fierté et même avec des larmes aux yeux. C'était une fierté d'appartenir à un pays puissant dont l'autorité était reconnue dans le monde tant au niveau militaire que scientifique alors qu'aujourd'hui, leurs pays se retrouvent dans une situation de détresse. Les personnes que je présente ici sont toutes originaires d'Asie centrale et vivent encore dans la nostalgie de cette "inoubliable période soviétique" (*незабываемые советские времена* - en russe).¹

¹ Les témoignages sont récoltés lors de mon enquête de terrain pour une thèse de doctorat réalisée entre les périodes 2007 et 2011 à l'EHESS.

Anvar de l'Ouzbékistan

Agé de soixantaine d'années, Anvar est un homme de petite taille, au regard profond et portant des dents en or, très courantes dans les sociétés centrasiatiques comme d'ailleurs dans toute l'ex-URSS. Reconverti à l'Islam depuis les années 1991, comme beaucoup dans la société ouzbékistanaise, celui-ci ne mange pas du porc, accepte néanmoins de boire de l'alcool pour se souvenir de cette belle période du communisme à jamais révolue. Fier d'appartenir à la génération de l'époque soviétique qui lui a donné une des meilleures éducations du monde, Anvar est diplômé de l'Université des langues étrangères de Tachkent où il a fait presque toute sa carrière comme enseignant de français. Comme ses collègues du travail, il regrette l'époque soviétique dont tous ne gardent que de bons souvenirs, dit-il, en relatant avec tristesse ce qu'il y avait alors vécu.

“Tu sais, on a perdu beaucoup de choses avec la disparation de l'URSS qui nous a laissés dans une situation lamentable. Je suis professeur et je peux te dire que les effets des changements pèsent vraiment sur des professions de services publiques. On touche des revenus minimaux qui ne suffisent même pas à subvenir aux besoins élémentaires du foyer. Mon salaire équivaut à une somme de 300 dollars par mois que je dépense tout de suite pour la nourriture de deux semaines de la famille. Heureusement, ma femme travaille aussi, ce qui nous permet de payer les deux autres semaines du mois. Elle est professeur de français, mais elle a abandonné son métier justement en raison du salaire médiocre qu'elle touchait à l'Université. Cela fait une dizaine d'années qu'elle travaille comme femme de ménage dans une famille d'expatriés français à Tachkent. Son salaire mensuel est de 450 dollars par mois. Nous avons une fille de 15 ans. Auparavant, à l'époque soviétique, la vie était tout-à-fait différente. On avait des salaires corrects qui nous permettaient de vivre raisonnablement ; on pouvait acheter des appareils ménagers, une voiture, se payer des loisirs culturels et sportifs, une datcha, un voyage dans un autre pays de l'URSS, etc. Certains mois où il y avait des primes et moins de dépenses, on pouvait même épargner nos salaires. Tandis qu'aujourd'hui on est content de pouvoir simplement acheter de la nourriture et payer le gaz et l'électricité. Le matin, tu te lèves et tu te demandes comment gagner de l'argent... Croyez-moi, si vous demandez à un professeur quand il est allé au théâtre pour la dernière fois, je suis sûr qu'il répondrait qu'il n'a pas ni le moyen ni le temps. A l'époque soviétique, tout le monde respectait notre métier au point que les jeunes répondaient souvent qu'ils souhaiteraient l'exercer lorsqu'on les interrogeait sur leur avenir. On avait vraiment envie de travailler car les valeurs étaient alors autres. On avait une certaine notoriété. Alors qu'aujourd'hui avec tous les changements que nous vivons, le métier d'enseignant est devenu honteux. Si tu demandes aux jeunes ce qu'ils souhaitent faire à l'avenir, rares sont ceux qui évoqueraient le possible métier d'enseignant. Ils répondent qu'ils envisagent de travailler comme avocat, banquier, businessman, etc. Bien sûr, qui voudrait exercer un tel métier qui ne te permet même pas de subvenir à tes besoins les plus élémentaires ? C'est devenu honteux et déshonoré, au point que beaucoup de professeurs sont contraints de céder à la corruption en raison de ce manque d'argent : ils demandent aux élèves des pots de vin en échange des notes fictives. De leur côté, les élèves sachant qu'ils peuvent acheter leurs notes, manquent des cours et vont jusqu'à obtenir leurs diplômes de cette façon. Ils ne veulent pas étudier et ne pensent qu'à se procurer de l'argent facile. Leur culture générale est pauvre, sans parler de leur connaissance dans leur discipline de formation, aussi peu brillante. Tu te demandes où on va avec un tel système. Je n'imaginais jamais qu'un jour je me retrouverais dans une situation pareille avec mon métier d'enseignant. Je voulais que ma fille fasse mon métier, mais la

dernière fois lorsque je l'ai questionnée sur son avenir, elle m'a répondu qu'elle voudrait devenir médecin. Elle a peut être raison."

Le sentiment de paupérisation ressenti par ce professeur dont le statut a perdu toute autorité et toute dignité, démontre à quel point demeure ancrée la nostalgie d'un confort passé, garanti par l'État, offrant des conditions de vie meilleures. Quels que soient leur âge et les expériences qu'ils ont vécues sous l'URSS, les "professeurs ex-soviétiques" retiennent essentiellement les bons côtés de cette période. Ces avantages, souvent devenus inaccessibles aujourd'hui (comme voyager, avoir une vie culturelle, etc.) enjolivent les souvenirs de nombreuses personnes et font naître d'amers regrets. Le travail auquel ils dédiaient leur existence pour la construction du communisme ne rapporte plus autant qu'à l'ère soviétique et les plonge dans une misère à la fois sociale et morale qui les accompagne dans leur quotidien en soulignant les dysfonctionnements à l'œuvre dans les structures de services publics. Ce sentiment de pauvreté chez beaucoup de gens n'est donc pas une construction imaginaire et envieuse, mais bien le résultat de la confrontation d'un quotidien précaire et de l'image idéalisée d'une existence antérieure meilleure, dont l'État soviétique était le garant et le protecteur.

Cette nostalgie de l'époque soviétique est quasi omniprésente dans les conversations des populations centrasiatiques. Ce sentiment mélancolique de la perte d'un passé glorieux a fait son apparition en Asie centrale, tout comme dans l'ensemble de l'ex-URSS, vers le milieu des années 1990. Il se traduit par un grand désarroi alors que s'installe dans les pays de la région une profonde crise sociale et économique depuis l'écroulement du système communiste. Ce regret du passé accompagne désormais le quotidien de la majeure partie des populations, à l'exception d'une petite classe sociale enrichie lors de la pérestroïka, réduite à l'indigence et dépourvue de toute sécurité sociale. Le glorieux avenir promis par les États indépendants se perd dans un avenir de plus en plus éloigné et impossible à atteindre. Cette nostalgie est omniprésente dans des vieux films soviétiques, dans des chansons de l'époque, tandis qu'elle est se voit également dans la tenue vestimentaire de certains jeunes comme des insignes de toutes sortes, des T-shirts marqués de l'inscription CCCP (URSS), un foulard rouge porté de façon un peu extravagante, quasi provocatrice. Même certains lieux de rencontres habituels comme les cafés et les restaurants portent encore des noms évocateurs de l'époque révolue : *Zvezda* (étoile, rouge bien évidemment), *Brigada* (brigade), etc. principalement au Kirghizstan et au Kazakhstan. À ce titre, les propos de Sacha de Bichkek sont pertinents.

Sacha du Kirghizstan

Agé de 68 ans, Sacha est un Kirghiz d'origine russe. Il est arrivé à Bichkek dans les années 70 pour travailler dans une usine métallurgique, il a vécu toute sa vie, avec sa femme, dans un foyer collectif de l'usine situé dans une des banlieues de la capitale kirghize. Leur enfant unique, Nadia, vit en Russie où elle travaille comme coiffeuse. Retraité aujourd'hui avec une pension minime, il me raconte à une voix tremblante l'époque soviétique qu'il a connue tant en Russie qu'au Kirghizstan.

"Lorsque je suis entré à l'usine métallurgique de Tcheliabinsk, après avoir servi dans l'armée en Sibérie, l'administration envoyait des ouvriers en Asie centrale. C'est comme ça que je suis arrivé à Bichkek où j'avais déjà des amis connus à l'armée. J'ai été responsable d'une équipe dans l'usine. J'aimais

bien mon travail. Il y avait des primes si tu travaillais bien, il y avait des fêtes, des clubs culturels et sportifs. J'y ai rencontré ma femme, une Russe née au Kirghizstan. Eh bien, cette époque-là, elle ne reviendra jamais. Vous savez : ces parades et ces défilés à l'occasion du 8 mai et du 23 février, les voyages au Kremlin, tout ça est devenu un rêve. Vous n'avez pas connu cette époque, demandez à vos parents, ils te le diront : c'était beau. Tout était alors en ordre avec un logement, un travail, un salaire suffisant, les soins étaient gratuits, les week-ends, on allait au cinéma, au parc ou à la montagne en été. La vie était belle. Aujourd'hui, tu ne penses plus qu'à la façon de remplir ton ventre. Heureusement, on a nos pensions et un abri. Sinon, je ne sais pas comment on survivrait... Quand j'étais jeune, je n'aurais jamais imaginé que je vivrais les dernières années de ma vie à Bichkek. Je me disais qu'un jour je retournerais enfin en Russie où, d'ailleurs, il n'y a plus personne de ma famille. Je me souviens de ma jeunesse passée là-bas, j'ai des photos de mes amis de l'école où j'étais pionnier et komsomol. Je portais le drapeau soviétique..."

Le témoignage de Sacha est, un parmi beaucoup d'autres, et tous les Russes s'expriment, peu ou prou, dans les mêmes termes chez les Russes dans cette Asie centrale où ils se sentent à présent plus ou moins étrangers depuis la fin de l'URSS. Il est important d'ailleurs de rappeler que les politiques d'*ethnocratisation* des États centrasiatiques ont, depuis l'indépendance, motivé le départ de la minorité russe qui avait bénéficié d'un statut privilégié pendant toute la période soviétique. Si de nombreux jeunes russes sont partis en Russie, les personnes âgées sont encore restées dans ces républiques où beaucoup d'entre eux vivaient depuis deux, voire trois générations (Jean Marie, Thiébaud. 2004). En effet, la chute du régime soviétique, qui offrait le sentiment rassurant d'une prise en charge globale pour tous, et où, dès leur naissance, les individus mettaient leur existence entre les mains du système social en place (jardins d'enfants, komsomols, écoles, universités, entreprises, collectifs de travail, centres de vacances, sanatoriums, parti communiste...) a laissé chacun face à lui-même, dans un sentiment d'insécurité et l'appréhension du lendemain. La responsabilité de ce changement est rejetée sur les États désormais devenus indépendants. Les propos d'Almaz, du Kazakhstan, sont éloquentes à ce sujet :

Almaz, du Kazakhstan

Almaz, un Kazakh de cinquantaine d'années, est un ancien ingénieur vivant actuellement en France, dans la région parisienne. Originaire du sud du Kazakhstan, il a fait son service militaire en Pologne dont il garde de bons souvenirs tout comme d'autres images de l'époque soviétique. Lorsque l'URSS s'est effondrée, l'usine où il travaillait a été privatisée dans le cadre de la politique du nouveau gouvernement kazakh. Il a continué à y travailler mais son salaire ne suffisait pas à nourrir sa famille de quatre personnes ; lui, sa femme et leurs deux enfants. Quelques années plus tard, les choses empirèrent et il partit pour la Russie où il a travaillé pendant quatre ans sur des chantiers de construction avec des hommes de sa région. Quand il est rentré chez lui, il s'est retrouvé dans la misère : pas de boulot et sa famille l'avait quitté en vendant son appartement. Il a alors décidé de partir pour l'étranger et, plus particulièrement, en Europe. Il séjourna d'abord en République Tchèque ce qui lui permit de passer ensuite en Italie puis en France où il vit dans une situation irrégulière. Comme beaucoup de personnes de sa génération, il se souvient avec tristesse de l'époque soviétique.

“Dans l’armée, on était tous unis comme des frères, car c’était le communisme qui nous réunissait quelle que soit notre nationalité. Il y avait de tout : des Russes, des Caucasiens, des Centrasiatiques, des Baltes, des Coréens, etc., mais tous avec, un point commun : on était tous des Soviétiques (*советские* - en russe). C’était vraiment une ambiance internationale. Nous étions alors fiers d’appartenir à la première puissance scientifique mondiale, inventrice de la première fusée spatiale, détentrice d’une formidable puissance militaire, etc. Même au travail, quelles que fussent les républiques fédérées d’origine, proches ou lointaines, tu pouvais avoir comme collègues des personnes de différentes nationalités (*национальность* - en russe), toutes maîtrisant le russe, notre langue commune. Imaginez-vous dans l’usine où j’exerçais mon métier d’ingénieur à l’époque dans une petite ville du Kazakhstan, il y avait des Coréens, des Polonais, des Ukrainiens, des Russes, etc. Je me souviens, notre usine avait une équipe de football qui était la meilleure de la région, la championne des compétitions régionales organisées avec des équipes venues d’usines similaires. La vie était belle et facile : on avait une éducation, un travail, une famille. On touchait son salaire à la fin de chaque mois, ce qui n’a plus été le cas après la chute de l’URSS. Privatisation, économie de marché, business, tout est devenu un vrai bordel. Tout ne fonctionne plus qu’avec l’argent, toujours l’argent ! Si tu en as aujourd’hui au Kazakhstan, tu as des amis, une voiture, un travail, si tu n’en as pas, tu seras comme moi un émigré en Europe. Quand on évoque le Kazakhstan, on se représente Almaty, Astana, le gaz, le pétrole et l’uranium du pays, en ignorant les facettes cachées de la réalité ; la pauvreté, les inégalités sociales, la corruption, etc.”

Ces trois témoignages proviennent de trois républiques d’Asie centrale, Ouzbékistan, Kirghizstan et Kazakhstan. Les situations semblent les mêmes dans les pays voisins, le Turkménistan et le Tadjikistan, dans la mesure où le premier est un pays plus fermé (pour des raisons politiques) et où le second demeure le pays le plus pauvre, économiquement parlant de la région (Laruelle, Marlène et Peyrouse, Sébastien. 2010). Les groupes de discussion formés par des migrants de ces deux républiques centrasiatiques sur le site *odnoklassni.ru* constituent un des plus grands “réseaux sociaux numériques” dans le monde, créé en mars 2006 en Russie par Albert Polkov (né le 25 septembre 1975, vivant actuellement à Londres), ingénieur de formation. Signifiant “Camarades de classe” en russe, *odnoklassniki* équivaut, dans son contenu initial, à “classmates” aux États-Unis ou “copains d’avant” en France. Son objectif : permettre à ses utilisateurs de retrouver les anciens amis d’école ou d’université. Il compte aujourd’hui plus de 45 000 membres, regroupés par établissements scolaires ou universitaires, lieux de naissance ou de résidence actuelle, par centres d’intérêt, et il recense plus de 10 millions de visiteurs par jour à travers le monde (Badalov, Ulugbek. 2011).

Si, au départ, le site était destiné exclusivement à des amis de classe ou d’université, aujourd’hui, il attire de nombreuses personnes qui s’y inscrivent pour diverses raisons, mais surtout pour se retrouver entre elles. C’est ainsi, par exemple, que les expatriés issus des anciennes républiques soviétiques s’y retrouvent en groupes afin de garder des liens avec leurs pays d’origine. Pour ce qui est des expatriés en provenance du Turkménistan et du Tadjikistan, ils ont leurs propres groupes de discussions sur lesquels on peut éventuellement trouver des forums où ceux-ci expriment leur nostalgie à la fois pour leur patrie et pour la période soviétique dans laquelle la plupart d’entre eux ont grandi. Ils y participent et y interviennent avec leurs propres ressentis en contexte migratoire, accompagnés de photographies. Les membres partagent leurs expériences personnelles à tonalité “mélancolique”, et jugent insatisfaisante leur situation présente en retournant dans l’imaginaire du passé où tout paraissait meilleur

qu'aujourd'hui : "L'éducation était meilleure à l'époque de l'URSS", "Je suis triste quand j'écoute de la musique patriotique soviétique", "Les belles années de l'armée soviétique", etc. Ils évaluent le présent par rapport à un passé qu'ils ne retrouveront jamais. Une sorte de "paradis perdu"...

D'une manière générale, les Centre-Asiatiques, comme beaucoup d'autres ex-citoyens soviétiques sont passés d'un système de certitude collective à un système d'incertitude individualisée : à la société soviétique déterministe a succédé une société probabiliste. Dans les politiques des régimes actuels, qui proclament une période de transition et de réformes économiques où les salariés sont témoins directs et acteurs passifs des changements, la conséquence d'une "confrontation" des deux systèmes touche directement les fonctionnaires, leur manière d'être, de penser et leurs conditions de vie. La protection sociale et le plein emploi qu'assurait l'État soviétique ont disparu, ce qui développe une forte méfiance des populations à l'égard des États actuels en Asie centrale d'où ils cherchent à partir en quête d'une vie meilleure dans un ailleurs.

Ainsi, les personnes ayant connu l'époque soviétique, indépendamment de leur âge, manifestent une grande incertitude quant à leur existence, ce qui les conduit à n'envisager la vie qu'au jour le jour. Cette incertitude est flagrante chez les personnes âgées, gagnées par la crainte obsessionnelle de ce qui pourrait advenir dans leurs pays. Dans une telle situation, où les politiques des gouvernements continuent de creuser cette fracture sociale qui déchire les sociétés centrasiatiques, il paraît difficile d'imaginer que la tendance puisse s'inverser dans un futur proche.

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BADALOV, Ulugbek : Twenty Years later : Nostalgia for the Great USSR in Central Asia

Once upon a time, during the era of the Soviet Union, life was easier and happier, people were happy with their living conditions and work ... they gathered in friendship around the famous ideology of communism. This golden age has been transformed today into a story older people want to tell the younger generations who will never know of the "soft Soviet education" (доброе советское воспитание - in Russian). More than twenty years have passed since the collapse of the USSR. And beyond independence, transformations, market economies and privatizations, the period under Soviet rule remains a positive and benevolent image for many former Soviet citizens. This article shows the nostalgia for the Soviet Union period among the people from Central Asia which was part of USSR for more than 75 years.



MARÁCZ, László

Macaristan, Dış Politika

17 aralık tarihinde Avrupa Parlamentosu'nda yapılan tartışma sonucunda, Macaristan'ın anayasası ve ekonomik durumu hakkında çok şey öğrenebildik. İlk olarak göze çarpan Batı Avrupalı politikacıların hazırlıksızlığı ve eksik ahlaki duruşudur. Avrupalı politikacıların ağızından Viktor Orbán lafı ustalıkla çıkarttı. Bununla ilgili Olanda milli radyosunun (NOS) Brüssel muhabiri, Chris Ostendorf'un, bu kötü hatıralı tartışmanın sonucunda yaptığı röportajdan aktarmak çok faydalı olacaktır: "Macaristan'ın başbakanı Avrupa Parlamentosu'nda istenmeyen kişidir. Orada az arkadaşı vardı, ona bağırıldılar, neredeyse yüzüne tükürdüler". Röportajın sonunda Ostendorf bunun bir "göstermelik duruşma" gibi olduğuna dikkat çeker.

30 yıldan beri, Avrupa Parlamentosu hakkında yapılan bir röportajda böyle kelimeler hiç duymamıştım. Ostendorf haklıdır: bu görüntü Batı demokrasiye ciddiyetle inananları gerçekten şoke ediyor. Avrupa parlamentocuları yetkinlik, kültürlülük, medeni davranış ve demokratik yöntemlerle seçilen, efendice davranan ve soğukkanlı, ikna edici şekilde konuşan bir başbakana gösterilen saygı bakımından sınıfta kaldılar. Maalesef bu Schumann'ın ve Monnet'nin Avrupası olmaktan çıktı, ama Kohl ile Mitterand'ın bile değildir. Bu, adi biçimde konuşan ve politika yapan Sovyet stili komiserlerin Avrupasıdır.

Bunlara tanık olduktan sonra, Avrupa Parlamentosu'ndaki kadife koltuklarında oturan Cohn-Bendit ile arkadaşlarının maşası olmak için, uzaktaki savaş alanlara asker göndermenin acaba ne anlamı var? Bu ahlaki bakımından batan dünyada, bir üye ülkenin başbakanına en asgari saygıyı bile göstermeyen bu insanlara, onların tiyatro piyeslerinin oynamalarına yardım etmek için acaba uzaktaki savaş alanında Macar kanının akıtılmasının anlamı var mı?

Bu "tartışma" Macaristan için faydalı olabilir, çünkü bu ülke böylece 21. yüzyılın ve yeni dünya düzeninin sunduğu imkanlardan yararlanabilir. Multivektörel denilen, çok yönlü politikayı uygulamanın zamanı geldi. Artık tek yönlü Euro-Atlantik dış politika sürdüremeyiz, çünkü bu bizim için zararlıdır. Bu ibreti Strassbourg'daki o "tartışma"nın sonucunda aldık. Dış politikanın aynı zamanda gerçekçi bir politika olması gerektiğini anlıyorum, ama dış ilişkileri karşılıklı saygı, onur ve sevgisiz yürütmek mümkün değildir.

Bugün Avrupa Birliği artık bir iflas masasıdır. Onun girdiği bunalım sadece derin, çözümsüz mali bir kriz değil, aynı zamanda daha da derin bir ahlaki buhrandır, ve bunu 50'nci yıllarının Stalinist davalarına benzeyen Strassbourg'daki göstermelik duruşma en iyi biçimde gösterdi.

Avrupa'nın çöküşü geri döndürülemez, bu krizden çıkacağına inananlar ham hayallerle avunurlar. Almanların dış politikaları da şunu gösteriyor ki Avrupa Birliği artık onlar için hiç bir şey ifade etmiyor. Bu birlik artık "kimsenin birliği"dir, sahibi yoktur, ve bir mali, ideolojik savaş alanına döndü. Eğer çıkmak mümkün değilse, o zaman köstek olarak kalalım içinde, İngilizlerin yaptığı gibi.

Avrupa henüz 20 yüzyıldadır, halbuki 21 yüzyıl çoktan başlamıştı. Bu yüzyılda şüphesiz ki Batı, Dünya üzerindeki hakimiyetini kaybedecektir. Belki de bunun bir göstergesi solcu ve liberal koalisyonunun mali manipülasyonlarını küçük Macaristan'a bile zorla kabul ettiremedikleridir. Şunu da öğrendik ki, yeniden doğmuş olan Macaristan'ın bu savaşta arkadaşları da vardır. Polonya Macaristan için bütün yardımını gösterdi. Polonyalı Donald Tusk, Avrupa'nın şimdilik tek muhakeme kabiliyeti olan başbakanıdır. Bundan anlaşılır ki Polonyalı-Macar ittifakını güçlendirmek lazım, çünkü bu Macaristan'ın NATO politikasında da önemli bir unsurdur. Geçen yıl Çin ile yapılan anlaşma da yeni multivektörel dış politikayı başlatmak için önemli bir adımdır, ancak yine de yeterli değildir. Bugünkü, 21. yüzyıldaki küresel değişimler, istifade edilecek birçok önemli imkan sunarlar. Macaristan'ın özgürce hareket etmesi, ve küresel politika çapında sesini duyurması için çok imkan vardır. 1848-1849 ve 1956'daki devrimlerinin olumsuz hatıralarına rağmen, Rusya ile anlaşmak lazım. Macaristan-Polonya ittifakı da bunda bize yardımcı olabilir. Vladimir Putin Rusya başkanı seçildiği halde, bu konuda büyük ilerlemeler kaydedilebilir. Ama görüşmeleri eski, uşaklar gibi davranan Moskovitlerle değil, genç diplomatlarla yürütmek lazım. Bunun dışında Macaristan'ın Türk dünyası ile de ilişkiler kurması gerek. Türk dünyası bizi saygı ile seviyor, ama akraba olarak da bilir bizi. Türkiye, Azerbaycan, Kırgızistan, Kazakistan gibi ülkeler, gelecek on yıllarda ekonomik ve ahlaki bakımdan da dünyanın önemli ögeleri haline gelecekler.

Evet 21. yüzyıl başladı artık. Milli bir anayasa çıkarttıktan, yurt dışındaki Macarları ile de ilişkisini de düzelttikten sonra, Macaristan'ın artık dünya çapında da aktif olması, ve bunun ona sunduğu imkanları kullanması lazım.

MARÁCZ, László : Hungary, Foreign Policy

The political situation has been discussed in the European of Parliament on January 20, 2012. The Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has participated in the EP debate as well. The debate was actually a shameful show trial and reminded observers of the practice of Stalinism. The debate has demonstrated that Europe is morally bankrupt. The 21th century has started but Europe is stuck in the 20th century. For Hungary, however, a number of new opportunities will arise outside Europe. The connections with related nations in the Turkic world are going to play an important role with the repositioning of Hungary in the global arena.



SOCIOLOGY

BADALOV, Ulugbek

National Identity Claiming on the Internet by Kyrgyz Expatriates

Previously, the immigrant was seen as an individual who left his home by breaking links with his or her family, social group, and environment. His departure represented a radical rupture with the country of origin where he hoped always to return once installed in the host country. Today, with the gradual evolution of means of transportation and ICT (Information and communication technologies), this conception of the phenomenon has changed its face. We observe thus, in place of the uprooted migrant, a connected migrant able to maintain, despite the physical and geographical distance, relations of proximity with his territory of origin (Diminescu, Dana. 2005).

These new digital technologies (computer connected to Internet with different forms of communications: Mail, Messenger, Skype, Blogs, Facebook, discussion boards and mobile phone) are the continuation of increased communications known as classical (postal mail, messages or audiovisual tapes, etc.). The latter were used by the immigrants of the past to maintain links with their country of origin, allowing migrants to stay connected and reachable anywhere, at any time, with their family at home or emigrated elsewhere. It is easier today for a migrant to obtain daily news of close ones thanks to this "radical change of technologies" or, to use the more fashionable term "rupture" with the past, in which he was seen as an uprooted individual. Despite the geographical distance, the current migrant, between here and there, uses means of ICT as an individual (e-mail or private page on a social network) or as part of a collective (associations, group of discussions, etc.).

The Internet is perceived as the greatest invention of the millennium, a major innovation comparable to those of printing and telephone. Everything seems possible in cyberspace, the best and the worst. The computer connected to networks via the Internet offers more and more new means of communication at the global level. These means produce new forms of individual and collective links and socio-cultural regroupings in constant progress and influence all of society at economic, political, cultural and relational levels. Countless websites and personal pages, very diversified in their characteristics and their purposes, continue to stand out with the ability to communicate through the Internet. All cultures and all national or nationalistic ethnic communities, associative and individual representations gather around the "digital network" to express or to claim their collective interest and identity. All of these means of communication are collected under the generic term "social networking", a new field of research for geography, sociology, anthropology and the sciences of information and communication. And this progressive rise of the Internet arouses in researchers a new attention to the migrant populations who knit complex links with the ICT. It is true today that Google searches of the term "Diaspora" give numerous results such as: "Chinese Diaspora", "African Diaspora", and "Jewish Diaspora", etc., all claiming "diasporic identity" through cyberspace. The ownership of the Internet by the general public, which allows people to claim their culture, religion and national identity, attracts the interest of international researchers from different disciplines to study the use of new technologies by them. Many studies already argue that large websites created by or for immigrant populations can serve as an input for and an instrument of national

propaganda and identity without any worry if one's words are heard. As with other migrants, Kyrgyz expatriates in Europe that I studied in my PhD thesis have also created a discussion group on a Russian-speaking website where members of the community are involved on various topics. We cannot, however, describe this group as a Kyrgyz Diaspora due to the recent migration of its members, whose number is numerically not large (i.e., the group does not correspond to essential elements of Diaspora, with factors of powerful uprooting, time factors, etc.).

First, let's study the website Odnoklassniki, (<http://www.odnoklassniki.ru/>) one of the largest "social network sites" in the world, created in March 2006 in Russia by an engineer, Polkov Albert (born in September 25, 1975, now living in London). Meaning "Friends of school" in Russian, Odnoklassniki is equivalent in its original content to "Classmates" in the United States or "Friends of the past" in France. Its objective: to allow users to find old friends from school or university. The website counts today over 45,000,000 members, grouped by school or university, place of birth or current residence, or interests, with more than 10 million visitors per day worldwide. In the early years of its existence, the network was free, with services that allowed its members to create personal pages, post photos, chat and play online. In August 2010, the registration has become paying, the candidate wishing to register has to send a SMS to the server which in turn assigns a secret code to create a personal page (with date and place of birth, current residence, frequented schools, interests, photos, friends list and discussion groups) via phone operators from place of residence. Despite this financial barrier, the number of members is increasing day by day and expanding its audience beyond the post-Soviet borders.

If, initially, the site was intended solely for classmates or friends from university, today it attracts many people who sign up for various reasons, but essentially to meet or to find themselves. Thus, Kyrgyz expatriates that I studied created their own discussion groups in order to maintain links with their country of origin or compatriots who have moved elsewhere around the world. One of them my research focused on was established on 1 May 2008 by a Kyrgyz woman, 25 years old (its founder and moderator). She had studied for two years in France before returning to Bishkek, where she works today in the private sector. She managed the group alone for about a year (until mid 2009), when another Kyrgyz expatriate (man in his 30s) in Turkey joined her as a second moderator. Since then, they are only two: one at home and another abroad. Their function is to recruit members, to modify or close a discussion, to sanction a participant, etc. As "guardians" of the quality of exchanges, they continuously monitor the site by removing the "rebels", erasing insulting or defamatory messages and photos not corresponding to the charter of group.

The group is called "Unity of all Kyrgyz" (Кыргызстанцы в единстве – in Russian). According to the moderators, it is open to all people born in Kyrgyzstan: "All born In Kyrgyzstan, working for the good of our homeland. Join us! Forward Kyrgyzstan!". In regard becoming a member, a candidate must submit his personal page with information on his place of birth, current residence and frequented schools that moderators review before accepting him.

Logo of the group



As the title indicates, "Unity of all Kyrgyzstan," the group's objective is to gather all Kyrgyz migrants or ones returning home after an experience abroad. That's why there are members living in Russia, the United States, China, Turkey, etc. This allows a comparative view on their feelings vis-à-vis the discussions topics and based on their experiences in different host societies, each with its own culture. For participants, the discussion groups include a number of pages on the news of the country and the members' reactions to its political, economic and social situations. It is a kind of "virtual freedom" space or "public arena" (Tarby, Fabien. 2009) allowing members to converse freely online about various topics.

In January 2012, the group had 2442 members, 33 personal photo albums and 115 topics of discussion on various topics. Over 40% of participants are abroad for various reasons: studies, jobs, political refuge or illegal immigration (the latter reason is never mentioned in the chat rooms and can be established only when the confidence is established via personal e-mail messages outside the group). While some are still in the country but would like to move abroad, others are already back after some experiences in different countries. Members, who wish to move, sign up in order to obtain information from other expatriates. The discussion group of has several sections on migration topics (the trip, experiences, administrative formalities, the foreign reality etc.) thus allowing members to collect answers to various questions.

In terms of site structure, the photographic albums posted by members have photographs of towns and villages of birth, place of current residence, friends, school and university, holidays and parties held abroad, events taking place in Kyrgyzstan, etc. The topics of discussion are varied: from the meaning of a simple word in the national language to "conflicting" political or cultural problems. Members mainly talk about their experiences abroad and information for new candidates wishing to emigrate, to study or to

work abroad, mutual support in migration, etc. First of all, as explained by its moderators, the primary objective of the group is to gather all Kyrgyz expatriates from around the world, to call them to patriotism and to promote the "national identity" in all its cultural, traditional, and religious aspects through the interactions on the Internet. These forums of discussion seem to be the living place of the group from which emerge a common knowledge and collective memory as a privileged expression of Kyrgyzstan from Kyrgyzstan and from abroad. The space remains for some (expatriates) a "second life" of the society of origin found again in the virtual and an opportunity for others (candidates for migration) to imagine this better world "elsewhere". To study the interactions and social relationships that develop in this group, I propose to expose here two discussion forums on politics, culture and migration. These seem relevant to understanding how Kyrgyz expatriates perceive the meeting of their endogenous social norms with the exogenous norms of host society. They are entitled "Women, marriage, divorce in Kyrgyz society" and "My country, my homeland and your future", and are more important in the number of participants that in their content.

The first forum, "Women, Marriage and Society in Kyrgyzstan" was launched February 10, 2009 by the moderator himself living in Turkey. It lasted until July 21, 2009 with over 40 participants from around the world including five living in France. The objective of the forum was to share views on these subjects and to correlate with observations made in the host country. The author of this forum launched the discussion by questioning the causes of critical issues surrounding these subjects in today's Kyrgyz society. He started by citing the example of divorced women, migrant in Russia, Saudi Arabia and Turkey where they live in prostitution, some being with their children while others prefer to leave them in the home country. He accused them of giving a bad image of the "Kyrgyz woman", who would normally respect the "sacred values" of his culture. These examples resulted in the rise of a strong reaction among the group's members. Many participants in the forum agree that these problems were nonexistent during the Soviet period and emerged and increased in Kyrgyzstan since independence. They blame then the collapse of the Soviet Union, open borders and globalization, all of which have affected their society in all areas. They also believe that with unemployment and the disastrous economic situation of Kyrgyzstan, most of the population has reached the limits of its patience and has begun looking for a thoughtless life, much to the detriment of "human values" specific to the Kyrgyz people for whom the family and parents are top priorities in life. Men, the majority on this forum, consider that the question concerns only the woman who envies her neighbor working abroad and has brought back a lot of money every six months. They consider that the concept of family is losing its value and that priority is now given to all that is material. They then remember the image and role of women in Kyrgyz society during Soviet era, when they were graduating with degrees in higher education, and for whom family, work and contribution to the development of the country were the meaning of life. Soviet society, they say, harmonized the Eastern traditions, namely Kyrgyz (importance of family, respect for elders, etc.) with the "values" of communism (education, work, equal rights, etc.). For some time, the forum lacked women's responses to those comments, until certain women, married to foreigners residing in Europe, Australia and the U.S., decided to intervene. These, almost all from the Soviet generation, recount their personal experiences while living in Kyrgyzstan and in the host country. They argue that unemployment and poverty remain the major source of problems shaking the Kyrgyz society. In criticizing the traditions now back in full force in society in Kyrgyzstan, they then defend the women fleeing family and social pressures, taking a decidedly feminist position, and call the other women to emancipation. To support their new convictions,

they cite examples from the host societies and encourage the comparison with examples from the society of origin. In host societies, they say, the woman is a fully recognized member of society. With freedom of choice, she is equal to men in all areas and enjoys the protection of the State supports, even in cases of divorce, prostitution or drug use, thanks to social assistance or through associations. While in Kyrgyzstan, as in other countries in the Central Asian region, a woman – they complain on the forum - remains the subject of man and is repudiated by her family and rejected by society if her marriage, often arranged, ends in divorce. They start to condemn the customs that, they believe, have no place in today's society that must live in the context of globalization. "Castrate men kidnapping their girlfriends!" Go ahead, support individualism!" they launch on the forum. They conclude their discussion by explaining the shame they feel abroad when their country is stigmatized and considered a backward civilization because of the persistence of ancient traditions and ancestral customs.

These words provoked strong reactions from other group members (men or women) who find them unacceptable to the Kyrgyz culture. They begin by dissecting the term "emancipation," which they believe is a purely Western concept in opposition to their own mentality (биздин менталитет – in Kyrgyz language). They also express the idea that it is impossible to apply social norms and the way of life of others in Kyrgyzstan, like the transporting of "Western democracy" into many countries, for reasons of cultural difference (Badalov, Ulugbek. 2011). To support their words, they cite the example of "color revolutions" through which the West has tried to confront the post-Soviet world in which Russia still has a special place that it will not yield easily to other powers. Here we see a contradiction in the vision of the other foreign participants among the group to which Russia is still another relative. This is almost the general opinion, going as it does in the same direction as that of the state of Kyrgyzstan, which considers that their country depends always on Russia in all areas. As the central country of the former Soviet Union, Russia is considered by the group as "big brother" whose ideology and social norms are acceptable and applicable in Kyrgyz society, as was the case during the communist regime that ruled for over 75 years. The members do not accuse Russia of having emancipated Kyrgyz women; on the contrary, they thank Communists for giving them one of the best educations in the world. The West, by contrast, is presented as a "traitor", an enemy of long standing influencing Kyrgyz society with its supposedly universal standards that hide in reality purely economic and political interests. The United States and some European countries like France, Germany and Great Britain are the targets in this collective complaint for promulgating their "Western values" that go against public morality in many societies in the world. In the dialogue, emancipation is criticized as a concept unique to Western lifestyle and evidently inadequate to that of Kyrgyz women.

Many men then start to advise feminist groups to remain faithful to traditions of native culture that could serve them at any time, as shown by this response: "You talk about emancipation of women in the West, where they participate in active life as well as men. From this point of view, things are like in Kyrgyzstan, women in Kyrgyzstan have an educational level higher than in some Third World countries. The difference is that our women are oriental, and western cultures are not comparable with ours. Therefore, it is not necessary to apply to our people the "values" of others to survive in globalization; it would be as if we would disguise ourselves with the dress of the neighbor. Why deny one's culture of origin, why be ashamed to face others? Do you think Japanese women expatriates in Europe as you opt for the culture of the host society? Never, they remain loyal to the Japanese lifestyle and culture of their

country and, even in the way of arranging their hair. Why should our women still in the country, not to mention those who have emigrated, accept such a Western cultural concept? Why do you stand on this concept, tell us about other values of the West such as individualism. A concept that is conceived as the basic unit of society in those countries where the parents die in the absence of their children in isolated houses! You know well that you can not apply individualism in Kyrgyzstan; it's like your famous emancipation. Let's remain as we are! "

These worlds are of course embellished and accompanied by photos posted on the forum that show the "real" women of Kyrgyzstan in traditional dress. A kind of appeal addressed to respect traditions and identity that everyone must perpetuate and practice abroad. The forum went out with the final unanimous conclusion of all saying that Kyrgyz women are the most beautiful in all Central Asia.

The following discussion entitled, "My country, my country and your future," was launched by a Kyrgyz migrant (man, 43 years old), living in Russia today. Graduated from Medicine University of Moscow, he is considered as the best patriot of the group. The topics discussed between the members are on the political and economic situation of Kyrgyzstan and its future. This forum seems the most interesting because opinions of members are often expressed in a confrontational mode, but still under the required supervision of the moderators.

Indeed, the dialogue that opposes the two groups might be called anti-government versus pro-government. If some do not hesitate to criticize the current Prime Minister, the opinion of others composing the major part of the group is more subjective. Participants can release their emotions by expressing them in a "neutral place", considering that they have never met and never will perhaps. Thus, in this "public arena" some become "traitors" because of their opinions contrary to the "Homeland," while others gain the status of "patriot hero" for their patriotic position. Many of these, students in Europe or the United States, show not only their nationalistic feelings, but also they publish their personal photos adorned with national symbols of Kyrgyzstan as the "warm heart" of a love sent to the motherland from abroad.

The general opinion of the two parties on the situation of the country is generally negative and they explain that economics and politics in Kyrgyzstan have been a major reason for their emigration. To discuss the issue, members evoke unemployment, poverty, inequality in society since independence, mentioning that these phenomena did not exist during the Soviet era. Participants who lived during the Soviet period consider that these problems existed under the communist regime, but in other forms. They said that these subjects were politicized and taboo in a society shaped and conditioned not to listen to them. If some members consider the country's current situation as comparable to that of African poor countries, that is "mockery" and "sadness" for Soviets; others are surprised and contest this view, saying that the average level of education and training of Kyrgyzstan is much higher than that of Africans. Misery, in their eyes, is even less understandable. Discussions then take a form of conflict between members who want to talk about the current situation of the country and not its past when the Soviet regime offered everyone a free and high education, which is not the case currently in Kyrgyzstan. If the discussions grow acrimonious, if the comments become offensive, the moderators intervene to calm the game down, mentioning the charter of the forum which requires a minimum of courtesy and restraint.

In regard to the future of Kyrgyzstan, the anti-government views cause many reactions. Considered as the pessimists of the group, they feel that their country will soon disappear from the map of world. Coveted by Russia, China and the United States for its strategic and geopolitical role in the region and not for its natural resources as are its neighbors, Kyrgyzstan should, they say, choose a good single partner to ensure its future and its sustainability, and quickly. They believe that if things continue to go in the same direction, the Kyrgyz will have a society without "human values". Only money and pecuniary interests will exist. They note that this is already often the case and that they feel as guilty as westerners who are only interested in profit.

The "patriots" of the group are not so sure and suggest imagining Kyrgyzstan in the place of Israel, as a country where the ideologies of these great powers could freely confront, demonstrating a profound ignorance of politics in the Middle East. These "optimists" see Kyrgyzstan in the future as a country shining with joy, glorious words similar to those pronounced by the authorities of the country. First, they consider the current situation of Kyrgyzstan as a transitional period that each state had to undergo during its history: when they refer to Europe or the United States, they note that these countries have achieved their current development across difficult times and in several stages. They add that the country needs its children to ensure future success. They call other members of the group to join them to help the country and contribute to its development with their experiences acquired abroad. As part of their "activism" on the Internet, beyond their nationalist opinions expressed on forums, they principally mobilize on the eve of the presidential elections or referendums in their country, Kyrgyzstan. They call other members to vote for a particular candidate or for a "real party" selected according to their personal views. For example, in the last presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan, the moderators published information on their favorite candidates and created special forums on the subject by inviting compatriots to vote for them. Indeed these "patriots" do not work for a party or a candidate and, if they choose to present their program on the forum, they just consider them better than other parties or candidates. This mode of operation implements a kind of "virtual democracy" offered by the "fantasy world"-Internet to the Kyrgyz activist expatriate whose actions cannot be applied effectively on the ground. In fact, the conflict between the two parties (anti- and pro-government) results in a reconciliation through a game of "imaginary negotiation" for the future of the country of origin around a common idea, the love of country.

This "nationalist fantasy" to return one day to Ate-maken (the fatherland in Kyrgyz), which migrants hope to realize one day and to contribute to its eventual development, almost always is accompanied by a real nostalgia tinged with melancholy. Nostalgia was first studied in psychology as "homesickness" (nostos - return and algos - sadness, pain in Greek). And the concept has been incorporated into the image of the emigrant often dreaming memories of childhood places where he constantly hopes one day to return. Today, other social science disciplines are interested in its various dimensions and define it as a desire to return to a past. It is characterized by a sense of loss of objects of a time conceived as ideal and that the individual feels continuously and almost obsessively. For Kyrgyz expatriates of this forum, this nostalgic feeling is expressed through symbolic cultural markers: traditional houses inhabited during childhood, schools, national dress, food, etc. If, in general, nostalgia refers to the past and things that don't exist anymore in the present of an individual, the study of discussions of the group is in accordance with the analysis of this significance and underlines the sense of a "lack" of things they cannot find in the host societies. They express it in discussion forums entitled "Nostalgia for the homeland," "My childhood in

the USSR", "Cinema, music, food made in Kyrgyzstan", "Kyrgyz mentality - more human context", etc. Participants involve their own feelings in the migratory context with photos. Members there share their personal "melancholic" experiences and consider their current situation unsatisfying by returning to the imagination of the past where everything seemed better than today: "Education was better at the time of the USSR", "I cry when I listen to our national music," etc. They evaluate the present with the past that they never find as a kind of "Lost Paradise" ... This nostalgic feeling for the coveted past and such a distant today differs for each generation. For the "generation of the Soviet era", it is mainly due to the time of the Soviet Union where they have lived their childhood in a "soft education." While for the generation of the "transition or independence", it is rather accompanied by a purely nationalist sentiment found through phrases such as "Kyrgyzstan is the best land," "Our customs are the best", etc.

Through this group discussion of Kyrgyz expatriates in different parts of the world, I try to show that the Internet remains a place for the imaginary claims and identity assertion of the actors. In sum, this population, in a context of migration, found in the Internet a means to claim and to assert their identity. The identification of topics in the group constitutes a factor of (re) production of this vocation and of the collective expression of the willingness of members to defend their aspirations and their common interests around the imaginary love of the "motherland". This space that could be called "virtual freedom", generated by this technology where group members meet in a distant relationship characterized by the lack of territory, contributes to the creation of collective national imagination. This imaginary situation, exacerbated by migration, is a place of representation of identity where participants seek a symbolic rapprochement, as attested to by the name of the group: "Unity of all Kyrgyz." The internet echoes this collective expression and offers a showcase characterized by the different ways to "feel Kirghiz" abroad. The study of the discussion forums shows that through an imaginary world on the Internet, expatriates have not only an opportunity to give continuity to their project of identity but also the opportunity to build the desired identity, a national identity claimed at a distance, characterized by a country, nation, culture, language and even a national dish, as we have seen in the different interactions.

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LITERATURE & ARTS

EKUKLU, Bülent

Once Upon a Time in Anatolia

Once Upon a Time in Anatolia is an award winning motion picture directed by Nuri Bilge Ceylan, co-written by Ercan Kesal and Ebru Ceylan. The film was awarded with the Grand Prix at the 2011 Cannes Film Festival. It has also been selected as Turkey's nominee to the 84th Academy Awards for Best Foreign Language Film.

Once Upon a Time in Anatolia is an impressive drama and police procedural that also serves to highlight the complexities of human character. Its story unfolds slowly and obliquely.

What we are watching is a criminal investigation around the apparent murder of a local civilian. Several police officers, a public prosecutor, a doctor and a couple of diggers, under the direction of a pair of confessed murderers, are in search of a buried body into the night-shrouded Anatolian steppes. The cars carrying the killers, police officers and the prosecutor are searching at the site of the murder. It is night and the killers can't remember where they committed the crime and buried the body. They stop at several places and we witness the most dramatic and powerful part of the movie: the verbal interplay between the characters. The search continues until dawn. The first suspect has already signed a confession, but is having trouble remembering where the body was buried because he was drunk at the time. The second suspect seems incapable of remembering anything. Though all of them know the local countryside, it now looks to them completely uniform; one well for livestock looks like another, and what does the first suspect mean by a "round tree"? The headlights blaze through the landscape as they wind around the tiny roads. Kenan (first killer) is looking for a place with a field, a fountain, and a round tree.

Nuri Bilge Ceylan provides no motive or explanation for this seemingly random killing, instead he prefers to focus on the interaction between the assisting Doctor Cemal, Prosecutor Nusret, Commissar Naci and the other men. We are witnessing the indifferent chatter of the characters, focusing on their daily, personal and irrelevant matters. Ceylan draws a subtle sketch of the society as these men pass their time with random conversation including women, love, marriage, death, sick children, smoking and health matters. And through the individual stories of this group of men, we get a deeper understanding of the characters and their particular problems. The night is filled with the barks of dogs. A little story is told about a very beautiful woman who predicted the day of her death and died on schedule. Rain clouds are drawing in front of the moon. Obviously, a storm approaches.

After some time, a local mayor is awakened and offers them tea and food. The mayor has a beautiful daughter. The men feel sad since they think she will not find the life she deserves. The mayor complains that he cannot get funds for a new morgue. The young people all leave the town and move to the cities. When the old people die, the young come home to see them at last, but because of the bad conditions of the old morgue, the bodies start to smell.

The dormant wilderness of the Anatolian Steppes is greatly analogous to the secrets that lay hidden in the hearts of the deeply complicated characters. The intentionally slow pace of the movie adds to the plot, preparing the way for character development.

Once Upon a Time in Anatolia acquaints the viewer with the dark side of human psyche. The absolute beauty contrasting with the pain - which the characters experienced in their lives— robbed their inner peace and beauty and made them brutal.

Each man has his own story. The multi-layered characters are stuck in the middle of nowhere, waiting desperately for their eventual fate. But on the other hand, someone has been killed. The bureaucratic procedure of a criminal investigation has to be followed. The body is dug up and taken for autopsy at another morgue, in the centre of a village, where the coroner complains about the need for more powerful and new equipment. The doctor, who has just reviewed his past, looks out of the window and sees something that inspires him to give false comments about the autopsy. The prosecutor confesses something about his life, just before the autopsy. Hence, in this final part, we discover how that single night has affected them all.

The film includes long lingering shots that draw attention to the characters themselves. Furthermore, it offers exceptional views on the Anatolian landscape, especially in the night scenes, where only the pale light of the moon and the two headlamps shine.

There are no big actions or big dramatic moments in the film. Rather, it motivates us to watch and re-think our own lives and discover sad truths or mysteries in our personal stories.

One of the most dramatic and fascinating scenes is the one in which the local mayor's seraphic daughter serves tea to the guests with her pure, charming beauty, creating strong emotions in all the guests. The heavenly shining of her angelic face under the lamp light recalls the beauty of innocence in their minds and they all feel deeply touched. Even Kenan (the killer) begins to cry.

"Life in a small town is like journeying in the middle of the Anatolian steppes: the feeling that 'something new and different' could spring from behind every hill, which look always perfectly similar, with monotonously lingering roads."¹

Once Upon a Time in Anatolia is a very successful combination of crime, suspense, and drama that offers a deep insight into the human psychology and emotions. The movie has a deep understanding of human nature through its clever script, perfect acting and very successful cinematography.

Its outstanding beauty originates in the storyline; the perfect musical and pictorial harmony of the pieces, the deep meaning of the scenes, the perfect and pure dialogues, recalling Chekov and our ordinary lives at the same time, the physical and emotional/spiritual wounds, the darkness we witness through the film and the intriguing obscurities the movie leaves in us at the end.

¹ Based on a quote found at "bonjourtristesse.net"

The director, Nuri Bilge Ceylan, is one of the greatest movie makers of our time. His developing style makes his work sharp-pointed and impressive, placing him in one line with Bergman, Kurosawa and Tarkovsky.



TRAVELOGUE

TAPON, Francis

Poland—More Than Just a Source of Polish Jokes

So there's these two Polish guys who rent a boat to go fishing in a lake. They catch so many fish that one says to the other, "We'll gotta come back here tomorrow!"

The other asks, "But how will we remember where this spot is?"

The first guy spray paints an X on the bottom of the boat, and says, "We'll just look for this X tomorrow!"

The other Polish guy says, "You stupid idiot! How do you know we'll get the same boat?!"

Unlike the Baltic countries, the typical American has *heard* of Poland, but besides that, it's one big mystery. The French, Italians, Spaniards, and British usually don't know much either, except that Poles are "stealing our jobs." In my case, all I knew were a bunch of silly Polish jokes. All this is rather embarrassing considering that Poland has 38 million people and is Europe's ninth biggest country (it's a bit smaller than New Mexico). We all ought to know a bit more about the land of the Poles. As my train creaked to a stop into Warsaw, Poland's capital, I wasn't sure what to expect.

Coming from Belarus, there were two obvious differences. First, people were in a hurry. Capitalism values time more than communism, so things moved quickly. People were walking and talking fast, making me feel like I was going to Warsaw's Old Town in slow motion. Second, when I arrived in the Old Town, I was overwhelmed by something I hadn't seen since Helsinki: tourists. It was August 2004, just four months after Poland joined the EU, and EU citizens were taking advantage of the new border-free area. Unlike many tourists, seeing hordes of tourists doesn't bother me. When exploring a place, it always feels hypocritical to complain about "all the damn tourists!"

EUROPE'S "OLD BUILDINGS" MYTH

Warsaw's Old Town is impressive and lovely. The *Plac Zamkowy* (Castle Square) has intricate details on every building. Adorning their structures are painted facades, carved statues, and a multitude of colors. Everything looks so perfect. Too perfect. It made me suspicious. It all smelled too new. After a bit of investigation, Europe's biggest scam became clear.

To notice the scam you have to remember that WWII utterly leveled Warsaw. Warsaw got nailed three times during WWII. Germany started WWII on September 1, 1939 by attacking Poland. They took just one week to get within 40 kilometers (25 miles) from Warsaw, and then gave it its first pounding. Five years later, the *Armia Krajowa* (Polish Home Army) led the Warsaw Uprising, which damaged the city again. Although the Poles initially controlled two-thirds of the city, the ferocious Nazi response forced the rebels to retreat into the sewers, where the Germans systematically hunted them down. Half of its residents, about 700,000 people, died during WWII, and many of those perished in the final titanic battle between the Red Army and the Germans, who destroyed the remaining buildings out of spite.

Over 85 percent of Warsaw lay in ruins. Looking at the photos of Warsaw in 1945, you might think an atomic bomb had been dropped there.

This leads us to Europe's biggest scam: its "old towns" aren't that old. *All the "old" buildings in Warsaw are younger than Disneyland!* Warsaw's Old Town didn't just get a face-lift, it was rebuilt from scratch, starting with the cornerstone. The "thirteenth-century" Royal Castle that overlooks the Old Town was rebuilt from the ground up just a few decades ago. What a rip-off!

Yes, the Poles were meticulous at reproducing the old buildings and they recycled some of the original material, but most of it is brand new. It's hard to tell nowadays, but just 65 years ago most European cities (except Paris, Prague, Rome, Venice, and a few others) were blown to smithereens. Nevertheless, Europeans have created this myth that they've got old buildings. American tourists dutifully stare with their mouths open, believing that they're looking deep into European history, but what they're really looking at is something that is *younger* than many American homes. Meanwhile, Europeans come to America, look at our buildings and sniff, "You Americans have no history."

When Europeans build phony old buildings, we gush at how beautiful and marvelous they are. Even UNESCO named Warsaw's Old Town a World Heritage Site. However, when Americans build fake old buildings, we criticize it as kitschy bad taste. Las Vegas has reproduced some of the famous buildings of Venice, Paris, and Rome. (OK, the talking robotic Zeus fountain in the Roman Forum isn't very authentic, but hey, it's Vegas.) Vegas's Venetian hotel, for example, has gigantic paintings that can make you think they were ripped straight off of the Louvre's walls. Sneak those same paintings into Versailles or the Vatican and few tourists would think that they were out of place. But no, only Europeans are allowed to scam the public into thinking they have old stuff.

In fairness, Warsaw is a fine city. It has Europe's largest square: Parade Square. The capital is clean and attractive. Nevertheless, the "historical buildings" scam bothered me. I posed for a few cheesy photos next to Warsaw's newest-old-looking buildings while flashing my phony American smile. And then I stormed out of Warsaw in disgust faster than a retreating German.

One of the few places to see some authentically old Polish buildings is in Poland's most enchanting city: Kraków. Kraków is the crown jewel of the Małopolska region. Małopolska literally means "Lesser Poland," but most tourists consider it the greatest part of Poland. Like Warsaw, Kraków lies on the *Wisła* (Vistula) River. Until 1596, Kraków was Poland's capital. Today, it's Poland's intellectual capital, being home to *Uniwersytet Jagielloński*. Founded in 1364, it's Eastern Europe's second-oldest university (the Czech Republic's Charles University is older). WWII hardly touched Kraków's marvelous buildings. Its Wawel Cathedral and Castle, soaring over the Old Town, beckons you to visit them. In the Old Town's core is the immense *Rynek Główny* (Main Market Square), which is Europe's largest medieval square. At the square's epicenter is the Cloth Hall, which is doesn't sell cloth, but rather souvenirs. Encircling the square is the marvelous St. Mary's Church and the fifteenth-century Town Hall Tower. It's fun to lose yourself in the various side streets, and it's even more fun to just let yourself fall in love with Kraków and its truly old buildings.

WIELICZKA SALT MINE

Head 15 kilometers southeast of Kraków and you'll run into the Wieliczka (vyeh-*leech*-kah) Salt Mine. This UNESCO site is one of Eastern Europe's most original places. It began 900 years ago when Poles tunneled into the earth to extract salt. Over time, bored miners carved religious altars and statues for fun. Eventually, they became more creative, making whimsical gnomes and hardy dwarfs who seem to lead you into the underworld. It's an out-of-this-world experience.

For two hours, you can explore a subterranean world of labyrinthine passages, giant caverns, and underground lakes. An eerie light and its mysterious echoing chambers make it a fantasy lover's dream. Haunting figures stare at you in the semi-darkness. What's remarkable is that everything you see is made all out of salt! Lick things to confirm.

The most unforgettable room is the Chapel of Saint Kinga. The Poles started excavating this salt-filled room in 1895. More than 30 years later (and 20,000 tons of salt), the Poles finished and ended with a vast cavern. Dangling from its 12-meter-high (40 ft) ceiling is an ornate salt chandelier, whose light casts a magical glow on all the religious artifacts. All the richly ornamented sculptures are made of crystalline salt. One well-traveled eighteenth-century Frenchman observed that Krakow's Wieliczka Salt Mine was no less magnificent than Egypt's pyramids. But what the hell do the French know anyway? See it for yourself.

From utter whimsy and fun, I headed to the most infamous, depressing place in the world: Oświęcim. If Oświęcim (Osh-*fyen*-cheem) doesn't ring a bell, perhaps its German name will: Auschwitz.

THE ULTIMATE HUMAN DEATH FACTORY

Hitler had a problem. He believed Europe, especially Eastern Europe, had too many *untermenschen* (sub-humans). The *untermenschen* weren't just Jews, but were also Slavs and Roma (gypsies). Given that most Eastern Europeans were either Slavs, Roma, or Jews, this meant that Hitler had a *really big* problem. For example, when Hitler took over Germany, it had about 500,000 Jews, while Poland had nearly three million. He wondered what to do with them. Fortunately, about half of them fled abroad. Hitler resolved to put the remaining Jews in ghettos, which acted as a type of prison. However, once the war got started, managing these ghettos became a nuisance. Hitler toyed with the idea of sending the Jews to Madagascar. Imagine if he had done that: assuming that some would have stayed there after the war, today there would be perhaps a million Jews living side by side with the Africans of Madagascar. However, because Germany didn't have control of the sea passage to Madagascar, he abandoned that idea.

Instead, by the end of 1941, Hitler decided to solve the "Jewish question" with the *Endlösung* (The Final Solution). To do this, he established the *Einsatzgruppe*, a security police in charge of exterminating "sub-humans" in the occupied territories. Leading the way would be Hitler's *Schützstaffel*, an elite arm of the Nazi Party, which cruelly punished any resistance; the *Schützstaffel* became known as the SS. In the end, the SS and the *Einsatzgruppe* managed to find and kill almost all of Poland's three million Jews. Today, even after two generations of reproducing, Poland has only about 20,000 Jews. The story of how the Nazis committed this genocide is best told in Auschwitz.

Those who can make you believe absurdities can make you commit atrocities. — Voltaire, 1759

Germans are *über*-efficient. This is great when they're making cars, dishwashers, and beer, but not so good when they're killing Jews. The Auschwitz complex was the most horrible concentration camp the Nazis ever made. German efficiency comes out in this ghastly killing machine. A train-load of tightly packed Jews (and other victims) pulled directly into the Auschwitz camp. The Nazis quickly selected the fittest 25 percent to work to death for 11 hours a day on 1,500 calories. The average man lasted about three months before dying from starvation, exposure, or weakness.

Meanwhile, the weakest 75 percent (including all the elderly, women, and children) were immediately executed. Firing squads were too slow and consumed valuable ammunition. The efficient Germans devised a faster way to kill them. Victims were led to a chamber, told to undress, remove all jewelry, shave, and take a shower for disinfection. The chambers had fake shower fixtures. The Nazis locked the doors and pumped in gas to exterminate 2,000 Jews in a few minutes. In most concentration camps, that gas was carbon monoxide. At Auschwitz, however, the Germans used the lethal pesticide agent Zyklon-B. Then, as if it were a Mercedes Benz assembly line, an electric lift would raise the entire chamber to a vast crematorium.

While the 2,000 bodies were being cremated, the Nazis would process their belongings. Clothes, eyeglasses, shoes, suitcases, and even hair would all be used towards the Nazi war effort. Jewish men would have to quickly clean out the grizzly remains of their fellow cremated Jews, while the Nazis would bring in the next batch of 2,000 victims. On September 11, 2001, about 3,000 innocent Americans died. Imagine September 11 happening several times per day. Then imagine waking up the next day and having September 11 repeat again, and again, and again.

It is hard to grasp the sheer size of the Auschwitz complex. Today, most visitors spend their time in the sprawling Auschwitz I, but the biggest death factory was Auschwitz II, just three kilometers away. The Nazis called it Birkenau and it's simply enormous. Imagine a small city, with over 300 prison barracks, capable of holding up to 200,000 inmates at a time. Its four gas chambers (capable of holding 2,000 persons each) were constantly busy. The Germans murdered hundreds of thousands of Roma and up to a million Jews in Auschwitz alone. Monowitz, a few kilometers to the west, also processed innocents. When these three death factories were in operation, they extinguished 1.5 million souls (about 90 percent were Jews). The Germans were expanding the death camps when the Red Army finally arrived.

It's hard enough to imagine the Germans killing 5.7 million Jews, but the Nazis also killed nearly nine million non-Jews in an equally cruel and systematic way. Germans murdered three million non-Jewish Poles, one million Serbs, hundreds of thousands of Roma, hundreds of thousands of slave laborers, and over 100,000 "mentally ill or physically retarded" Germans and Poles. Moreover, Germans killed up to four million Soviet prisoners of war, some in Auschwitz, but many locked in field camps without medical care or food. In sum, Germany murdered nearly 15 million people in their camps.¹

The Nazi concentration camps changed Poland's demographics. For centuries, Poland had been a melting pot of ethnicities. Germans, Jews, Roma, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Poles all lived together.

¹ John Keegan, *Atlas of World War II* (Smithsonian, HarperCollins, 2006), p. 70-71.

After WWII, Germans who had been living for generations in Poland fled to Germany to avoid violent Polish retributions. Today, ethnic Germans make up less than 0.5 percent of Poland. Similarly, Ukrainians and Belarusians retreated to the USSR. As a result, today Poland is homogeneous: 97 percent are Polish. It's obvious on the streets. For instance, before WWII, 30 percent of Kraków was Jewish; today, good luck finding a Jew outside the historical Jewish ghetto. Although Auschwitz is emotionally draining and depressing, it's a tragic part of human history that we should never forget.

What good fortune for those in power that people do not think. — Adolf Hitler

It was mid-August 2004 and I would leave Poland and enter Slovakia. I had only five months to see all 25 Eastern European countries and I had spent two months seeing just five. So I had to boogie. Kraków is near Zakopane, which is the gateway to Poland's magnificent High Tatras mountain range that form a natural border with Slovakia. I wanted to stand on Poland's tallest mountain, Mt. Rysy, to be 2,500 meters (8,200 ft) above sea level; however, I would climb the High Tatras from the Slovakian side later. Although I regretted rushing through Poland in 2004, I knew I would return five years later. In 2009, I would see other parts of Poland, but more importantly, I would do what I love most about traveling—meeting the locals.

POLAND REVISITED: GDAŃSK

It was February 19, 2009 and I was freezing my ass off. It was 10:00 p.m. in the Gdańsk train station and I was scanning all the bundled people trying to recognize my 24-year-old couchsurfing host, Emilia Łoś. I had seen her smiling photo on her couchsurfing profile, but people don't always look like their photos, especially when they're wearing 17 layers.

Suddenly, Emilia appeared with a big, warm smile and she gave me a hug. I'm not sure if she hugged me because she felt comfortable with me or because she was also freezing. Despite all her clothes, it was obvious that she was skinny, so it's probably because she was cold. Emilia exuded simplicity: her clothes were plain, her soft brown eyes had no makeup, and her straight brown hair was short enough to be manageable, yet feminine. She had a gray birthmark on her right cheek that was easy to get accustomed to. Her most obvious feature, however, was her positive spirit. She giggled and bounced around in a pleasant and endearing way. By the time we arrived to her apartment, I had already concluded, "It's impossible not to love Emilia."

She shared her Gdańsk apartment with two other students. I would be sleeping in the living room on the couch that converts into a bed. From the moment we met, our interaction felt like I was catching up with a long friend that I hadn't seen for a few years. Although it was late, we ended up chatting until 2:00 a.m. We hugged each other goodnight, and then I crashed on the couch and fell asleep in seconds.

The next morning, Emilia, who was getting a masters degree in biotechnology, had a lab session in Gdańsk's Old Town. She suggested we walk there together via a scenic route. She led me across the snow-filled *Góra Gradowa* (Hail Mountain), by the Fort Grodzisko, along an old defensive wall that now has open-air history exhibits. We climbed up to a hilltop, where we could look down on the Old Town and the famous Gdańsk shipyards.

THE MUSTACHED HERO

I was about 10 years old when I first heard about the Gdańsk shipyards. The news on TV were often reporting about some Polish guy with a bushy mustache leading strikes in the Gdańsk shipyards. The video clips showed protesting Poles carrying a white banner with red scripted letters that said “*Solidarność*,” which I assumed meant “Solidarity” since the newscaster kept saying that word. I was too young to have any idea what this all meant, but I remember it clearly. I just knew that such protests didn’t normally happen in those backward communist countries, so this mustached man must have had some serious balls.

That mustached man was Lech Wałęsa. He’s an interesting guy. He was born in a poor family in Popowo, Poland in 1943—not one of Poland’s better years. He didn’t like how workers were treated at the Lenin Shipyards of Gdańsk, so he organized several strikes, which didn’t go over too well with the communists. The last time the Poles tried to protest, the communists sprayed them with machine guns, killing dozens and injuring over 1,000. This time, however, they just threw Wałęsa in jail and enforced martial law. Being a good Roman Catholic, Wałęsa had faith that it would soon all work out. He was right: Time Magazine named him “Man of the Year,” he won the Nobel Peace Prize, he overthrew the communists, and he still managed to find the time to father eight children.

What’s remarkable is that he did not receive his 1983 Nobel Prize in person because he feared the Polish government wouldn’t let him back in. That’s right, he preferred to stay in crappy communist Poland than move his family to the free world where he could reap the benefits of his Nobel award. A true patriot. In 1990, the Poles elected him as President. Suddenly, after 20 years of complaining about the system, he had to fix it.

It’s easy to turn an aquarium into a fish soup. — Lech Wałęsa, Poland’s first freely elected post-war President, meant that it’s easy to destroy an economy, but hard to build one.

Unfortunately, Lech Wałęsa was no George Washington. Wałęsa was brilliant at leading the revolution, but he didn’t know how to govern. He liberalized parts of the economy, but he maintained wage controls. That’s like someone telling you to cook a fish soup with one arm tied behind your back. Inflation exploded and Poland’s currency, the złoty, became worthless. Wałęsa’s governing style was chaotic, often sacking political leaders just one year into their job. As a result, when he ran for re-election in 1995, he lost. When he tried again in the following election (2000), he got one percent of the vote. At least Gdańsk still loves him. In 2004, it renamed its airport the Gdańsk Lech Wałęsa Airport.

EXPLORING GDAŃSK’S OLD TOWN

After admiring the shipyards and the Old Town from above, Emilia shouted with smile, “C’mon! Let’s go!” She joyfully bounded downhill through the deep powdery snow like a deer. I tried to keep up with her. We eventually arrived in the Old Town, stomped the snow off our shoes, and walked under the Golden Gate. Being from San Francisco, it’s clear that Gdańsk’s Golden Gate is a bit different from the Golden Gate I grew up with. Their version is a medieval gate a few meters wide that leads you into the walled city. On the other hand, there’s one thing the two gates have in common: neither is golden.

Emilia suggested visiting the three other city gates: the Green Gate, the Upland Gate, and St. Mary's Gate. Walking to each one makes you crisscross the town so that you see it all. We agreed to meet under the Golden Gate in two hours when her lab would be over. After Emilia left, I spun 360 degrees to look around. There is no doubt, Gdańsk's Old Town is simply magical.

Like Warsaw, Gdańsk was bombed into the Stone Age. However, at least they're honest about it. Right at the Golden Gate's entrance, there are two large black-and-white aerial photographs of Gdańsk in 1945. It looked like a city-sized elephant sat on the Old Town, flattening it out. It's nice that they put these two photos right up front—it's honest. It's their way of saying, "What you are about to see in the 'Old Town' was all built after 1945. Have a nice day."

I strolled down the wide pedestrian street, arching my neck to see an enormous cathedral stretch to the heavens. Adorable shops and cozy cafés lined the street. One of the most beautiful sites is Neptune's Fountain. Originally built in 1633, this ornate fountain is surrounded by colorful buildings with paintings and drawings on the exterior of the buildings—every house is a work of art. It's easy to see how Europeans get snobby: their old towns are far more beautiful than the typical American town. When I eventually reunited with Emilia, I told her, "Wow! You Polish people really know how to make a marvelous and aesthetically pleasing town! It's absolutely incredible!"

She laughed and said, "Thanks, but we didn't build it! The Germans built it!"

"Huh? What were they doing way out here?"

Then Emilia explained Gdańsk's deep German roots. She said that a few times in history Germany stretched across most or all of what is now Northern Poland. Poland often had just a thin corridor to the Baltic Sea, but sometimes it was completely cut off. I had forgotten about the period when the Germans wrapped around the entire Baltic coast, all the way to Tallinn (and built that charming Old Town too, by the way).

Following Gdańsk's history is like following a yo-yo. First, the Poles settled around Gdańsk because it's at the delta of their beloved Vistula River (which flows by Warsaw and Kraków). Then the Teutonic Knights (who were basically Germans) grabbed Gdańsk in 1308 and controlled it for about 150 years, until the Poles grabbed it back. Next, the Prussians (who were also basically Germans) snagged it back in 1793. They made it a special region of Prussia, kind of like a big Tax-Free store that you see at airports. It became even more special when it became the Free City of Danzig—an autonomous city like the Vatican. And just like Hong Kong become a vast commercial hub thanks to its special status in the twentieth century, Danzig (Gdańsk) flourished during its German period. Then Poland got it back after WWI. Finally, the Nazis (who were, yes, you guessed it, basically Germans) snatched it again, until a bunch of fighting left their masterpiece of a town in a heap of rubble.

After every war someone has to tidy up. — Wislawa Szymborska, Polish poet

Emilia and I walked back to her flat to have a late *obiad* (lunch). She cooked up a classic Polish dish: *goląbki* (cabbage leaves stuffed with rice and minced meat). It was Friday and she would be going to Olsztyn (*Ol-shtin*), her hometown, to stay with her parents over the weekend. She wanted to catch the next train, so she could make it in time for *kolacja* (dinner). She invited me to come along and stay there. I

had planned to stay a night in Poznań, but the chance to stay with a Polish family was irresistible. We packed up our stuff and raced to the train station.

As the train rumbled to Olsztyn, we passed many streams in the flat landscape. Emilia described some of her camping trips at the nearby Great Masurian Lakes, which are the remains of ancient glaciers. Unfortunately, we didn't have time to go and it was a bit cold anyway. Then suddenly, in the distance, loomed an enormous structure. I said, "Holy shit! What the hell is that thing!?"

"Oh, that's Malbork Castle," Emilia said. "It's the largest Gothic castle in Europe."

"No kidding. It's huge! It sure looks dramatic in the sunset." We passed right next to it. Its monumental towers, high stone walls, long parapets, and wide moat made it a picture-perfect castle. I half expected to see Gandalf riding his white horse on the ramparts.

"Oh, and the Germans built that too!" Emilia giggled.

I mumbled, "Ah yes . . . those industrious little Germans . . ."

"And they destroyed it too!" she laughed. She's basically right, the Teutonic Knights built it over 700 years ago and a Nazi-Soviet battle blew it to pieces in WWII.

The Łoś family in Olsztyn

We hopped on a bus to Emilia's parents' house. When her parents opened the door, they embraced Emilia as if they hadn't seen her for a year, even though they saw each other last week. Her parents, Janusz and Elżbieta, were exactly like I imagined Polish parents to be: medium-sized, simple, unpretentious, humble, and generous. I shook their hands and said, "*Cześć*," which is a bit too informal of a salutation to use with parents, but they smiled and seemed happy to meet an American who knew one Polish word.

The apartment had three compact bedrooms and everything was simple, yet functional. In one of the bedrooms was Emilia's 19-year-old sister, Paulina, who was hanging out with her friend, Karolina Bróździak. The girls were friendly, but shy when they spoke English, even though they spoke it well. In fact, Karolina also spoke excellent Spanish, but when I started talking with her in Spanish, she turned bright red and giggled nervously. We all laughed and then I left them to join Emilia and her parents at the kitchen table. Since I had to take an early train the next day, Emilia suggested we eat a snack and skip dinner so we could see Olsztyn's center before it got too late. I agreed, but first I wanted to talk to her parents because I knew they would have some interesting stories.

Elżbieta offered some food to snack on. There was the choice of meat, meat, or meat. Oh, there was some bread and cheese too. If you like heavy, meaty food, Poland is paradise. You can sample such culinary delights such as a *żurek* (sour soup with eggs and sausage), *schab pieczony* (roasted pork loin with herbs and prunes), and *golonka* (pig's knuckle with horseradish). Elżbieta saw that I was barely picking at the meat, so she opened her fridge, and pulled out jellied herring.

Now don't think that people who live near the Baltic Sea don't know what a vegetable is. Although at times it may seem that way, it's better than before. In 1518, for instance, Poles hardly knew any veggies beyond a beet. Who saved the day? Europe's culinary maestros: the Italians. After King Sigismund I of

Poland married his second wife, the Italian queen Bona Sforza, she screamed to him, "*Bastardo! Voglio la cucina Italiana per favore! Basta* with your crappy food!"

The Italian queen imported an army of Italian chefs to Poland, who had to make do with what they could grow in Poland. The Italians introduced many Poles to lettuce, leeks, celery, carrots, and cabbage. Today, Poles call these veggies *włoszczyzna*, in honor of *Włochy*, the Polish name for Italy. I asked Elżbieta, "Has Polish food changed much since the communist days?"

She struggled with English and had a nervous look in her eyes when she spoke. She said that home food hadn't changed much, but restaurants had. The communists nationalized all the restaurants, set the prices at levels well above what the common person could afford, and eventually closed most of them down. The only affordable place to eat out were the lunch rooms or milk bars, which served cheap soups, noodle dishes, and *pierogi* (dumplings stuffed with mushrooms and cabbage). Today, Poland's restaurants offer many more choices, and if you look hard enough, you can even find a few establishments that offer something other than meat, pork, and sausage.

Our conversation touched many subjects, but eventually the mother and daughter got up to have their girl-talk, while Emilia's dad and I sat behind to talk about manly stuff like wars, history, and politics.

THE POLISH ACCORDION

Poles know European history better than most Europeans. Janusz was no exception. Books covered nearly all the walls of their compact apartment. He pulled out one thick tome, dropped it on the table with a thud, and flipped through the pages until he found a series of maps depicting Poland over the centuries. Over time, all European countries are like accordions, expanding and contracting constantly as they conquer and get conquered. No European country is a wilder accordion than Poland. It helps that Poland is centrally located in Europe and that 95 percent of its lands are as flat as a Polish pancake. This makes it tempting for anyone with an army to roll right through it. And so, many have.

The first to roll into it after the Roman Empire collapsed were the Polanie, a Slavic tribe, which settled in the low plains between the Oder and Vistula rivers. Today, this region is still Poland's heart and soul. Hundreds of years later, in 966, the Polanie would give up their pagan ways, adopt Christianity, and create a nation called *Polska*. When the Germans shoved their way into Poland in 1038, Poles moved the capital from Poznań to Kraków. In the 1200s, invaders rolled in from both sides. The Tatars attacked from the south, while Germans squeezed in from the west. Although the Polish accordion contracted, soon it would expand to its greatest size.

The Jagiełonian Dynasty was the beginning of Poland's golden age. It led to the Union of Lublin and the birth of the *Rzeczpospolita*, the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, which we learned about in the Lithuania chapter. When Poland and Lithuania united in 1569, they moved the capital from Kraków to Warsaw, where they ruled what would become Europe's largest country, stretching to the Black Sea. Janusz wanted to talk all night about this fabulous period, but I was more interested in how the whole accordion collapsed again.

He grunted, flipped a few pages, and pointed out three maps, each showing the three partitions of Poland, and then told the short story behind each one. By the 1700s, the Lithuanian-Polish alliance had soured. While Catherine the Great of Russia used covert and overt means to chip away at Poland, the Germanic people worried about her expanding empire. So did the Germans stop Russia by helping the Poles? Not exactly. Instead, Austria and Prussia whispered to Catherine, "Listen Cathy, whaddaya say 'bout the idea that we each grab a piece of Poland, eh?" Catherine agreed and bribed several Polish politicians to seal the deal. In 1772, a quarter of Poland was doled out to Austria, Prussia, and Russia. That was the first of three partitions.

The next two were ugly. Patriotic Poles worked with Prussians to secure more rights, while Catherine worked with not-so-patriotic Poles to undo those rights. You can guess what happened next—war. Prussia abandoned the Poles and occupied western Poland, while Russia held eastern Poland. This was the second partition—Poland was shrinking fast.

Then in 1794, Tadeusz Kościuszko, who fought alongside Americans during the American Revolutionary War, figured he could repeat the same victory in his motherland. Although he started strong, Russia is a lot closer to Poland than Britain is to the United States. And it didn't help that Prussia and Austria teamed up with Russia to beat the last bit of life out of Poland. Hence, by 1797, Poland suffered its third and final partition—Poland ceased to exist. The accordion had vanished.

POLAND'S PAINFUL REBIRTH

For the next 123 years, Poland's story is tragically simple: Russia tried to convert Poles into Russians, Germanic people tried to convert Poles into Germans, and Poles tried to resist them all. In 1812, Napoleon gave the Poles a bit of hope when he promised he would reestablish Poland if the Poles would join his crusade against Russia. The Poles enthusiastically joined his doomed campaign and died for nothing.

Alexander I, Russia's Emperor, tried to play nice and give Poles a bit of wiggle room. However, by 1830, the dissatisfied Poles wanted more and screamed the refrain, "Give me liberty or give me death!" Like Darth Vader, Russia's Emperor replied, "As you wish," and gave them death. Russia shredded the Polish constitution, abolished the Polish government, crushed the Polish army, robbed Polish art and literary treasures, repealed their civil liberties, hampered their Roman Catholic Church, and forced them to learn Russian. Meanwhile, on the German side of Poland, things weren't much better. The Germans twisted Polish arms, screaming into their ear, "You're going to speak German, you're going to act German, and you're going to like it!"

Janusz raised his voice as he recounted this tragic part of Polish history, gesticulating like an Italian who had just spilled his pasta sauce. His exclamations attracted Emilia's attention—she stuck her head in the room, raised an eyebrow, and gave us a look that said, "Are you boys finished?"

"Just give us two more minutes," I begged. "And then we'll go to Olsztyn. I promise."

Emilia nodded and went away. I turned to her father with my notepad in hand and asked him what happened next. He took a deep breath, looked at his maps, and said softly, "Then it became very ugly."

He said that although Poland would return to the world map in the twentieth century, that period would be Poland's darkest hour. After WWI, Poland crawled back on European maps in the shape of a tattered accordion. Much Polish blood had been spilled to fight Russia and win back Vilnius (now the capital of Lithuania) and Lviv (now in Ukraine). At the dawn of WWII, Russia and Germany became the vise that would once again conspire to squeeze Poland's fragile accordion.

I belong to a nation which over the past centuries has experienced many hardships and reverses. The world reacted with silence or with mere sympathy when Polish frontiers were crossed by invading armies and the sovereign state had to succumb to brutal force. — Lech Wałęsa

After conquering Poland in less than one month, Hitler gave the Poles three choices: be Germanized, be enslaved, or be eradicated. Jews only had the eradication option. Germany wanted to erase everything Polish from this planet. Nazis shut down Polish cabarets, cinemas, theaters, radio, newspapers, and schools. They burned Polish-language books. They gave Polish intellectuals a one-way ticket to a concentration camp. They destroyed nearly half of the educational infrastructure and scientific institutions. They fired Polish teachers, both figuratively and literally. As Nazi leader Heinrich Himmler wrote, "The sole purpose of this schooling is to teach them simple arithmetic, nothing above the number 500; how to write one's name; and the doctrine that it is divine law to obey the Germans. . . . I do not regard a knowledge of reading as desirable." When asked how Eastern Europeans should be educated, Hitler replied, "Instruction in geography can be restricted to a single sentence: *the capital of the Reich is Berlin.*"

I married a German. Every night I dress up as Poland and he invades me. — Bette Midler

To be *über*-efficient, the Nazis pitted different ethnicities within Poland against each other, hoping that they would kill each other. For example, they forced Jews to destroy the statue of a Polish hero, filmed the act, and then released the video to the public. Later, the Germans burned a Jewish synagogue, filming Polish bystanders, and released the footage with the caption, "The Vengeful Mob!"

When the Nazis tried to put forth a good face, it came out crooked. For example, the only Polish cultural activities that Germany allowed were "primitive" ones that were crude or pornographic. That way they could not only show the world that they were letting Poles express themselves, but they could also "prove" that Poles were *untermenschen* (sub-human), who are only capable of producing vile art. They even invited neutral countries to see "Polish" performances that were either vulgar sex acts or deliberately boring. At the end, the Nazi propaganda official would turn to his guest and say, "Zee, zis is Polish culture! Horrible, no? Zis is exactly vat ve are saying: ze Polish people are *untermenschen*!"

In every tragedy, an element of comedy is preserved. Comedy is just tragedy reversed. — Wislawa Szymborska, Polish poet

Life in the Soviet-occupied part of Poland was also no fun. Imagine being in the Polish army, sandwiched between Stalin's Red Army and Hitler's Nazi Army. Who would you surrender to? Poles chose the Germans, figuring that the Soviets would be even more brutal. Their instincts may have been right. The Soviets deported over one million Poles to Gulag concentration camps in Siberia. In the Katyn Forest near Smolensk, Russia, the Soviets massacred about 22,000 Polish military officers. In 2010, many of Poland's highest leaders, who were coming to Russia to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the

massacre, perished in a plane crash near the mass grave. The bitter irony of that accident was impossible to ignore.

Like the Nazis, the Soviets also imposed their language on the Poles. When WWII started, many Jews initially fled east (into the Soviet-occupied zone), but after a few months of Soviet hospitality, they concluded, "Shit, this sucks even more! I'd rather be in the Nazi-occupied Poland!"

If you lived in Poland in 1939, one in six people you knew were dead just six years later. Indeed, Poland lost over 16 percent of its population during WWII—that's more than any other nation (Belarus lost 33 percent, but it was part of the USSR at the time, which lost 14 percent of its overall population). In all, six million Poles (half of whom were Jews) died. Those who survived were traumatized. And you thought you had a tough life.

THE WAR-IS-GOOD-FOR-ECONOMY MYTH

It's time for a quick aside. There's a widespread belief that war is all about money and that war is good for business. Many argue that America attacked Iraq only to get access to cheap oil, even though the US was already buying Iraq's oil before the war and it became more expensive to buy that same oil after the war. America attacked Panama for the money received from controlling the Panama Canal, which, come to think of it, the US was already getting (and would give up a few years later, as promised). America went into Somalia because, well, we're not sure why, maybe sand is valuable. America attacked the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada because, well, there must be some vast economic interest there too.

The point is that nations go to war for many reasons. Money usually *is* a major reason, but it's often not the only reason or even the main reason. Sometimes we go to war for moral reasons (to stop a genocide or some other grave injustice), but there are many other factors too, such as religion, ethnic hatred, language issues, settling an ancient score, having a disproportionate number of unemployed young men in a society (i.e., a youth bulge), the "he-hit-me-first" excuse, getting back territory "that was historically ours," and, of course, having politicians with big egos and small penises.

"Never mind!" cry the cynics! "War is still good for business!" Really? Great! So let's drop a few atomic bombs on Spain to help their economy. Let's help out France by carpet bombing them. Oh, wait, they say it's great only for the *winner's* economy? Oh, OK. Poland and Belarus were victorious in WWII. By the end, they were mostly rubble and up to a third of their people were killed. France also won the war, but lost nearly half of its national wealth. The victorious USSR saw 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages utterly destroyed. Sounds like that really helped those winners out, doesn't it?

Oh, wait, they say it's just good for the *victor's economy who is untouched by war*. America was spending 90 percent of its federal budget on its war effort and going massively in debt during WWII (compared to 20 percent today). What do you think would have been a better use of that money: building things that go *boom* and then disappear after one use, or building something that lasts and can be used for many years? A war is an extremely inefficient way to stimulate an economy. If wars helped economies, then Africa would have most of the world's leading economies.

The truth is that wars do *not* help the economy: they devastate economies. That's why the stock market collapses when there are signs of war. That's why investments halt. That's why people stop spending money and start stuffing money and gold under their mattresses. That's why businesses lay off employees and stop giving raises. All this kills the economy and business.

Yes, there is one little sector of the economy, the defense industry, which is better off during war — their stock prices go up. Some may say, "The US spent \$685 billion on the military in 2010! How the hell is that a 'little sector'?" Just put that \$0.68 trillion into the perspective of America's \$15 trillion GDP and you'll see that military spending is just 4.5 percent of the US economy — *hardly a dominant sector*.

Therefore, given that the vast majority of lobbyists and campaign donors are *not* involved with the military, politicians would be fools to embark on a war, since most politicians are usually re-elected only if the economy is going well. Franklin Roosevelt knew this, which is one reason he wanted to stay neutral during WWII. War is the worst way to energize an economy. It's far better to sell stuff to the idiots who are killing each other than to be one of the idiots in the fight. That's why Argentina, during WWII, became one of the richest countries in the world: it sold goods to the countries that were spending their national wealth to kill people.

Therefore, next time someone tells you that "war is good for business and helps the economy," slap him with this book and say, "No, you dimwit, (1) wars hurt economies, (2) we don't fight wars just for money, (3) wars only benefit a small minority who are making weapons, and (4) the biggest beneficiaries are countries that are not in the war, but are supplying the warring nations."

Stupidity is also a gift of God, but one mustn't misuse it. — Pope John Paul II

* * *

Francis Tapon's mother is from Chile and his father is from France. They met in San Francisco thanks to a slow elevator. His brother, Philippe Tapon, is the author of two novels. His family spoke Spanish at home, unless an English swear word was necessary.

Francis was born in San Francisco, California where he attended the French American International School for 12 years. Native French teachers convinced him that France is the coolest country in the universe. He is fluent in English, French, and Spanish. He struggles with Italian, Portuguese, Slovenian, and Russian. If you point a gun to his head, he'll start speaking other languages too.

He earned a Religion Degree with honors from Amherst College. He also has an MBA from Harvard Business School. After Harvard, he co-founded a robotic vision company in Silicon Valley. Then he decided to change his life forever.

In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip on the Continental Divide Trail—a seven-month journey spanning 9,000 km. In 2008-2011, he visited over 40 European countries, but focused on revisiting all the Eastern European ones. In 2009, he climbed up Mont

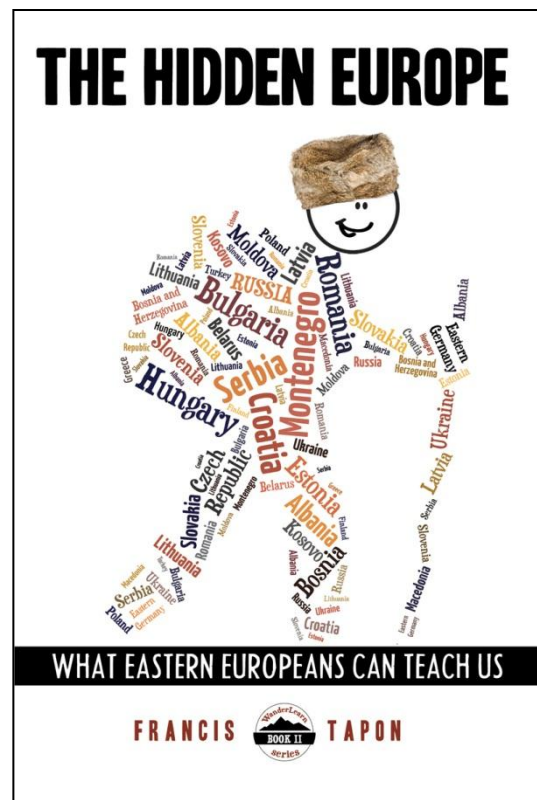
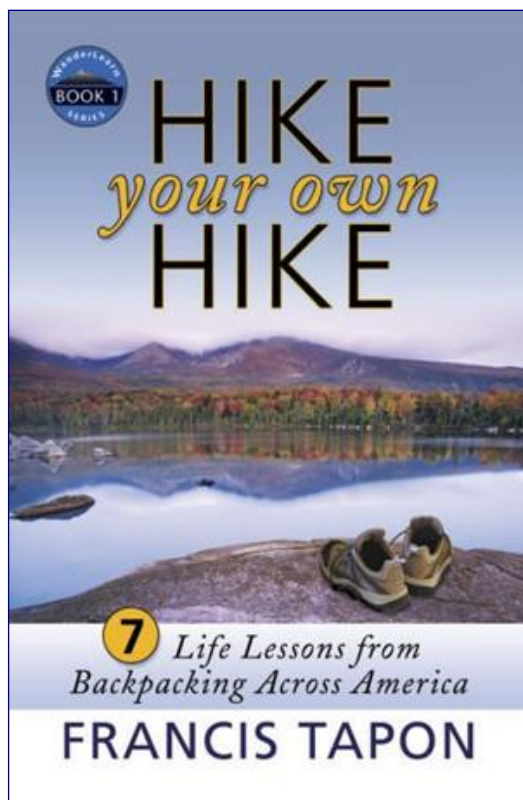
Blanc and walked across Spain twice (once by traversing the Pyrenees from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and then by hiking El Camino Santiago). He's backpacked over 20,000 kilometers (12,500 miles) and traveled to over 80 countries.

He is the author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*. This book can be also ordered at: <http://francistapon.com/shop>. He is donating half of his book royalty to America's three major scenic trails.

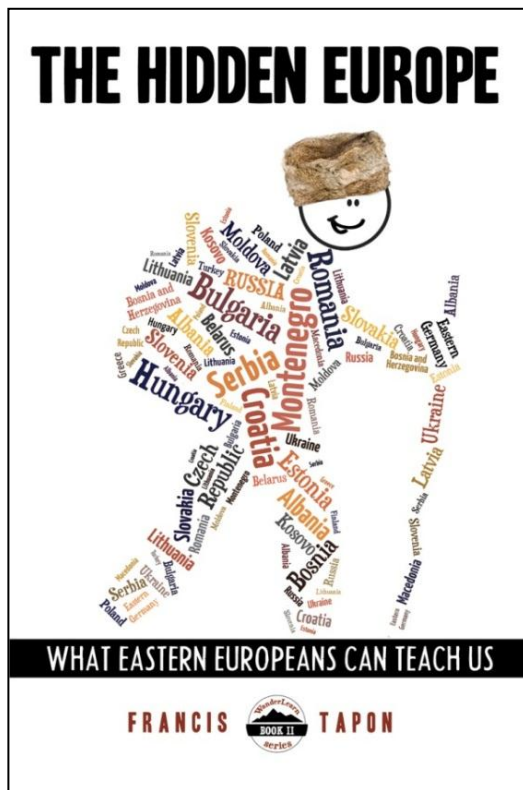
The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us is his second book of his WanderLearn Series, was published as ebook on December 12, 2011, and as hardcover on March 4, 2012.

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

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



BOOK REVIEW

FARKAS, Flórián**Lessons from Eastern Europe****Author:** Francis Tapon**Title:** The Hidden Europe

— What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us —

Publisher: Wanderlearn**Year of publishing:** 2012**Language:** English**Number of pages:** 736**ISBN:** 978-0976581222<http://FrancisTapon.com>

I got acquainted with Francis Tapon almost two years ago, when he contacted me and offered pieces of his new book under preparation to be published in the Journal of Eurasian Studies. Since the July-September 2010 issue of our journal his writings can be read, the first couple of chapters unabridged.

I have not met Francis in person yet, but I immediately felt a deep connection. His deep humanity, sharp wit, and open mindness are characteristics that make him instantly a very likeable person and an ideal author. Next to that, his life is pretty much an open book. In his first book, *'Hike Your Own Hike — 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America'*, published in 2006, he formulates his life-vision in very practical terms using the completion of the Appalachian Trail as background. *'Hike Your Own Hike'* is not only an interesting mountaineering guide but rather a book full with life management advices.

Francis Tapon takes the theory distilled in his first book and eats his own cookies. He lives his own life according to his 'sermons'. And the product this time is a book on Eastern Europe, *'The Hidden Europe — What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us'*, based on a several years of traveling through every country of that part of the world. A voluminous book that you cannot put down once you commenced reading it. In it the

author takes the reader to a journey through each country of Eastern Europe (25 in total), mingling personal experiences with his understanding of the region's recent and past history, reflections on human nature in general, and drawn conclusions from all of these factors. As with his each writing the volume is soaked with humanity, wit, and (self-)criticism.

'The Hidden Europe' is a buoyant travelogue written by an intelligent, sharp and open-minded American. By definition it is personal, hence subjective. But it is written with a deep sense of humility and that makes it a celebration of human cultures, humanism, and history. It can be interesting for both Eastern Europeans and people from outside of that region. For 'armchair' travelers as well as for real-life tourists. For first time visitors as well as returning 'veterans'.

Since its publication I have recommended it to all of my friends. Every one of them told me that they could not put it down. Therefore I can recommend it to everyone from the bottom of my heart. Please purchase it for yourself, family members, friends, and colleagues. As a birthday present, or as a gift at any other anniversary. Buying the book provides you or the other readers with endless joy and reading fun and it will also help Francis Tapon organize and execute the next challenge of his life: visiting every country in Africa and writing a book about his encounters. Your action will definitely support the publishing of further interesting travel accounts in the years to come!



CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON EURASIA

VÁMBÉRY, Ármin

In Samarkand

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

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

The Tadjiks maintain to this day that *Samarkand*, this ancient city of Central Asia, is the centre of the world. And it does, in truth, excel all the other cities of Central Asia, in its ancient monuments as well as in the splendour of its mosques, its grand tombs and new structures. We put up at a large caravansary where hadjis are provided with free quarters, but having been invited on the day of our arrival to establish my quarters as a guest in a private house near the tomb of Timur, I readily accepted the invitation and left the caravansary. I was agreeably surprised to find in my host an officer of the Emir who was charged with the superintendence of the Emir's palace at Samarkand. The return of the Emir, who was about to terminate a successful campaign at Kokhand, having been announced to take place in a few days, my fellow-travellers determined to oblige me by putting off their departure from Samarkand until I had an opportunity to see the Emir and find suitable companions for my return journey. I employed my time, in the meanwhile, in looking at the remarkable sights in the city, of which a greater variety is offered here than in any city in Central Asia. Being a hadji I had, of course, to begin with the saints. There are here about a hundred holy places to be visited, and the pilgrims do their visiting by a certain established rote, according to the superior claims of persons and places to sanctity. I would not deviate from the observance of this routine, and looked at everything, in its proper turn, down to the smallest object, with the zeal and devotion becoming the character I was acting. Amongst the many, I will mention in passing only the mosque of Timur; that castle in one of the halls of which the celebrated *Kök-Tach* (i.e., green stone) is still to be seen upon which the great Emir had his throne erected, when its hall was crowded with vassals who hied from all the quarters of the world to do him homage; at that time when three messengers on horseback were always standing ready in the precincts of the

amphitheatrically constructed hall to blazon forth the edicts of the conqueror of the world to the remotest corner of it. The tomb of Timur, and its many brilliant medresses are worth mentioning too. Only a portion of the latter are used as dwelling-places, and many of them are threatened with decay. The medresse of Hanim, once so grand, is in ruins now, and in vain did I search within mouldering walls for even a trace of the renowned Armenian and Greek library which Timur is alleged to have brought to Samarkand to form one of the ornaments of his capital.

Whilst I was in Samarkand crowds were always thronging in the bazaars as well as in the public places and streets, to which the soldiers returning from the war contributed, to a great extent. The number of its regular population hardly exceeds fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are Uzbeks, and one-third Tadjiks. The Emir, whose seat of government is properly speaking in Bokhara, used to spend two or three months during the summer in Samarkand, owing to its more elevated position and more genial climate.

I had now passed eight days in Samarkand, and I finally came to the conclusion to return to the West by way of Herat, taking the route I have mentioned before. Hadji Bilal still insisted on taking me with him to Aksu, promising to send me safely to Mecca by way of Yarkend, Thibet and Cashmere, or, if favoured by luck, to Peking by the way of Komul. But Hadji Salih was opposed to the plan, laying stress on the great distance and the scantiness of my means. "As far as Aksu, and even Komul," he said, "thou wouldst experience no difficulty, for Mussulmans and brothers are living along the road, and they would have regard for you as a dervish from Roum; but beyond thou wilt meet unbelievers only, who, it is true, will not hurt thee, but will not give you anything either. Therefore be advised, and return to Teheran by way of Herat, with the men we have selected for your travelling companions.

There was a struggle going on within me for a while. To have travelled by land to Peking, through the ancient fastnesses of the Tartars, Khirgizes, Mongols, and Chinese, where even Marco Polo would not have dared to place his feet — would have been indeed a feat without a parallel! The voice of moderation prevailed with me after all. I reflected that it would be a pity to risk losing the fruits of the experiences hitherto gathered, however trifling they might be, by embarking in an enterprise of great uncertainty and undoubted danger. And putting off was not giving up; I was only thirty-one years old, and what I could not well do to-day I might accomplish at some future day. I made up my mind to return.

My preparations for the journey had advanced considerably when the Emir made his triumphal entry into Samarkand. Its taking place had been announced for some days past, and a great multitude had collected on the *rihistan* (principal public place), to witness the show, but I cannot say that any special pomp was displayed in the pageant. The procession was headed by two hundred sherbazes, wearing over the uncouth Bokhara costume some sort of overall of skin, to which piece of additional dress they were indebted for their being called regular troops. They were followed by horsemen with banners and kettledrums, and behind these, at some distance, came Emir Mozaffar ed-din, surrounded by his higher officers and chief men. The Emir was forty-two years old, of middle size, rather stout, but very pleasant in appearance, with fine black eyes and a thin beard. After the Emir came Kiptchaks — rude, martial warriors with features nearly Mongolian, armed with bows and arrows and shields.

The Emir caused a feast to be arranged for the people on the day of his arrival, several gigantic cauldrons being erected, on that occasion, on the righistan, in which the princely pillar was being cooked. Into each of these cauldrons was thrown a sack of rice, three sheep chopped up, a large pan of mutton fat, enough to make five pounds of tallow candles, and a small sack of carrots. Then ensued a scene of eating and drinking beggaring all description.

An *arz*, that is a day for public audiences, was proclaimed for the following day. I took advantage of this occasion to present myself in the company of my friends to the Emir. As we were entering the interior of the city, we were startled to find ourselves stopped by a Mehrem, who gave us to understand that his Badevlet (majesty) wished to see me alone, without my companions. My friends were this time of my opinion, that this message boded ill to me. But what was to be done but to follow the Mehrem to the palace. After being made to wait for about an hour I was conducted into a room where I found the Emir reclining on a mattress of red cloth, amidst books and papers lying about. I recited a short Sura, accompanying it with the usual prayer for the welfare of the governing prince, and after saying amen, to which the Emir responded, I sat down in close vicinity to him without having first received his invitation to do so. The Emir was struck by my bold behaviour, which was in fact in perfect keeping with the character of a dervish. He fixed his eyes severely on mine as if wishing to embarrass me, and said:

"Hadji! I hear thou hast come from Roum to visit the graves of Baha-ed-din and the other holy men of Turkestan?"

"Yes, takhsir (sir)! and, besides, to be edified by thy blessed beauty."

"Strange; and hast thou no other object in coming here from such distant lands?"

"No, takhsir! It has ever been the warmest wish of my heart to visit noble Bokhara and enchanting Samarkand, upon whose sacred ground, as is justly observed by Sheikh Djelal, men should walk with their heads rather than their feet. Besides, this is my only vocation, and I having been roaming now through the world for many a day as a *djihangheste*" (a wanderer through the world).

"How is this, a *djihangheste* with thy lame foot? This is very strange indeed."

"Let me be thy victim, takhsir! (This phrase answers our "I beg your pardon, sir.") Thy glorious ancestor Timur — may he rest in peace — was afflicted in the same way, and yet he became a *djihanghir*" (a conqueror of the world).

Having bantered me in this preliminary conversation, the Emir inquired what sort of impression Bokhara and Samarkand had made upon me. My answers, which I took occasion to interlard with copious citations of Persian poetry, seemed to make a favourable impression upon the Emir, who was a mollah himself and spoke Arabic pretty well; but I was not altogether sure yet of my success with him. After the audience had lasted for a quarter of an hour he summoned a servant, and telling him something in a cautious undertone he bade me follow the servant.

I quickly rose from my sitting posture and followed as I had been bid. The servant led me through a number of yards and halls, whilst my mind was at the time cruelly agitated by fears and misgivings as to my fate; my perplexed imagination conjuring up pictures of horror and seeing myself already travelling on the road to the rack and that dreadful death which was ever present to my mind. My guide showed me, after a good deal of wandering about, into a dark room, conveying to me by a sign that I should

expect him here. I stood still, in what state of mind any one can guess. I counted the moments with feverish excitement — when the door opened again. A few seconds yet of suspense and the servant approached at last, and by the light of the opening door I saw him holding in his hand, instead of the frightful instruments of the executioner, a parcel carefully folded up. In it I found a highly ornamental suit of clothing, and an amount of money destined for my onward journey, sent to me as a present by the Emir.

As soon as I obtained possession of the parcel I hastened away to my companions, wild with joy at my escape. They were quite as glad of my success as I myself had been. I subsequently learned that Rahmet-Bi had sent the Emir an equivocating report about me, in consequence of which I was received with diffidence at first by the Emir, but succeeded in dissipating his mistrust, thanks to the glibness of my tongue.

My fellow-hadjis now advised me to leave Samarkand at once, and not even to sojourn at *Karshi*, but to cross over as quickly as possible to the other side of the Oxus, and await there in the midst of the hospitable *Ersari-Turkomans* the arrival of the caravan bound for Herat. I took their advice. The hour of parting was at hand. I feel my pen is too feeble to give an adequate picture of the parting scene. For six months we had been sharing in all the dangers connected with travelling in the desert; we had in common defied robbers, borne the raging elements, and braved hunger and thirst. No wonder then that the barriers of position, age and nationality were all broken down, and that we had come to look on ourselves as one family. It may be easily imagined with what heavy hearts we looked forward to the sad moment when we should have to separate. There is hardly anything more painful to the heart of a true man than to see those ties severed which common hardships, the exchange of mutual acts of friendship and devotion, have firmly knit together. And mine, especially, I own it, nearly broke at the thought of the double-dealing I had to practise upon these friends of mine — the best I had in the world, who had preserved my life — even in these last moments leaving them in the dark as to my identity. But those who know the fanaticism of the Moslems, and the danger I should have exposed myself to by divulging the truth even at the moment of farewell, will surely find no fault with my reserve.



NEWS

Czuczor-Fogarasi Conference

— Call for Speakers and Papers

Appointed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi compiled the Hungarian Dictionary, which is the first academic monolingual dictionary of the Hungarian language. The collection was published in six volumes between 1862 and 1874. We are organising a conference in honour of the 150th anniversary of the first volume. The conference commemorates the work of Czuczor and Fogarasi, presents the linguistic theory they formulated and highlights not only the current points of connection between cognitive science and linguistics, but also the opportunities for further scientific study and practical application.

Topics of the Conference

1. The theory of roots formulated by Cuczor and Fogarasi, actually consists of three parts: the study of sounds, the analysis of the roots and their system and the system of derivation affixes.
2. Research on the theory of roots in the 19th century, history of sciences overview.
Politics and sciences policy in the 19th century at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and in the academic life of the time.
3. The theory of roots from the viewpoint of cognitive science including cognitive linguistics.
Sound symbolism studies.
The functions and development of language from the point of view of the theory of roots.
Current perspectives and trends in the scientific application and development of the theory of roots.
4. The appearance and application of the theory of roots in the research on agglutinative languages. The study of these languages based on the theory of roots.
Sound symbolism in agglutinative languages.
Parallels between the research of the Hungarian root system and that of other agglutinative languages like Turkish and Japanese.
5. The theory and practice of roots appearing in art. Conscious and unconscious literary and poetic applications.
6. The application of the theory of roots, cognitive science and sound symbolism in teaching and education.
Practical teaching methods and the results of application.
7. Language protection, language cultivation and language renewal from the point of view of theory of roots.
8. The mathematical and informatical study of Czuczor and Fogarasi's work and the theory of roots, parallels in natural sciences.
9. The personality, life and individual work of Gergely Czuczor and János Fogarasi.
10. Any other research on Czuczor-Fogarasi and the theory of roots.

Conference information

Date: 6-7 October, 2012

Venue: Budaörs

Professional director: László Maráczi linguist, University of Amsterdam

Professional managers: Zsolt Molnár and Cecília Molnárné Czeglédi

Hosted by: Karizma Foundation

Speaker proposals

You can submit a proposal with a short introduction, which should include the max. 2000-character (in English 300 words maximally) summary of the presentation, the short summary of the presenter's work in the field, and the presenter's name, address, e-mail and mail addresses of correspondence.

Please send your proposal to: czuczor.fogarasi@gmail.com.

Deadline for sending in proposals: 15 May, 2012

Papers

The pre-requisite for participation as a speaker is a short paper written and submitted by the presenter. The accepted paper format is 10-15 typed A4 pages with normal letter-spacing. Language of the paper: English and/or Hungarian.

Deadline for submitting papers: 31 August, 2012

Queries to: czuczor.fogarasi@gmail.com

We look forward to your proposals.

Maráczi László Molnár Zsolt

Molnárné Czeglédi Cecília

Amsterdam, Budaörs, 19 March, 2012.

OUR AUTHORS

BADALOV, Ulugbek

A native of Uzbekistan, Ulugbek Badalov received his PhD in political anthropology from the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS) in Paris (2011). His dissertation deals with association of Kyrgyzstan expatriates in France to the national identity promoted by the Kyrgyz state. He previously earned Master's degrees in international affairs from Faculty of Law, Management and Economics of Paris (2010), in social anthropology from School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences in Paris (2007) and in translation from Uzbek State World Languages University (2004). He is fluent in Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Russian, French and English.

BATSUREN, Barangas

Historian, MA. Graduated from the Mongolian State University, Ulaanbaatar. He is with the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Historical Department. Next to that he is engaged in the study of ancient history, and the historical sources of the Inner Asian people. Mr. Batsuren has published more than 20 studies in Mongolian academic journals. He is the author of two large monographies regarding the early history of the Turkic and Uyghur Kingdoms.

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

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

EKUKLU, Bülent

Was born in 1973 and graduated from the Middle East Technical University, Computer Engineering Department. In 1998 he started his MA studies at the Cinema-TV Department at Yeditepe University; he did further research in cinema in 2001 in Italy. In 2003 he successfully

completed his master degree education with the thesis "Change of Cultural Society of Turkey in post-1980 and Cultural Construction of Yavuz Turgul Cinema". Since then he has been working in various TV series, short films, radio programs, documentary films as script writer and consultant. Starting from 2005, he attended a master class called "Playwriting Workshop" for a period of one year at Mehmet Ergen management. After that class, he finished his first play entitled "Amber-eyed woman". Since 2006, he is giving lectures called "Dramatic Writing and Script Writing Workshop" at Sinematek Association. Since 1998 he has been working in different roles in the IT sector and currently is working as IT consultant.

FARKAS, Flórián

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

MARÁ CZ, László

Born in 1960 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Received his degree from the University of Groningen. Between 1984 and 1990 he was with the University of Groningen as assistant professor. Between 1990 and 1992 as a Niels Stensen scholar he was with MTI, MTA and CNRS as a guest researcher. Since 1992 Mr. Mará cz 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.

TAMBOVTSEVA, Juliana

Ms. Tambovtseva was born in 1988 in Novosibirsk, Russia. In 2011 she graduated from Novosibirsk Pedagogical University. Currently she is a PhD student at the Institute of Philology of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. She has published 8 articles.

TAMBOVTSEVA, Ludmilla

Ms. Tambovtseva was born in 1962 in Novosibirsk, Russia. In 1987 she graduated from Moscow Pedagogical University. She began teaching linguistics and English at Novosibirsk

College of Electronics in 1988. She has published 5 articles.

TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri

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

TAPON, Francis

- ✚ Author of *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*, which is his second book of his WanderLearn Series; it was published as ebook on December 12, 2011, and as hardcover on March 4, 2012.
- ✚ Author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*.
- ✚ Has visited all 25 Eastern European countries at least twice and has traveled there nonstop for 3 years.
- ✚ Has traveled to over 80 countries, walked across America 4 times, backpacked over 12,500 miles in the mountains, and was a finalist in the California Outdoors Hall of Fame.
- ✚ He's been covered in *The New York Times Magazine*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Backpacker Magazine*, TGO (The Great Outdoors) Magazine in the UK, *New Mexico Magazine*, and others. He's been interviewed on radio stations and podcasts.
- ✚ Amazon.com & Lincoln Mercury selected him as the best example of someone who is fulfilling the dream of traveling the world, and produced a video profile on him.
- ✚ His dad is French, his mom is Chilean, and he was born in San Francisco. Speaks several languages. He has never owned a TV, chair, table, couch, bed, or rocket ship.
- ✚ Has a BA in Religion from Amherst College and an MBA from Harvard Business School.