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We encourage everybody to submit to the Editorial Board (**joes_cfp@federatio.org**) papers in the fields covered by the Journal. The papers will be assessed solely on their academic merits, and these are the few prerequisites the authors and their papers should adhere to:

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

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

NEWS BRIEF

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

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DEAR READER,

THE KING

The public launch of the latest novel of Kader Abdolah (the pen name of Hossein Sadjadi Ghaemmaghami Farahani) entitled '*De koning*' ('*The King*') took place during the 2011 Dutch *Book Week* (16-26 March 2011). It is a prequel to its other masterpiece, the semi-autobiographical '*Het huis van de moskee*' ('*The House of the Mosque*').

In '*De koning*', the leading Dutch writer of Iranian origin presents the dramatic events taking place during the second half of the 19th century in Persia in a magnificent literary manteau, making for the general public this less known period of Iranian history accessible. The protagonist of the novel is the Qajar monarch Nāṣr al-Dīn Shah (r. 1848-1896), who similarly to his predecessors and successors (of the same dynasty) finds himself and his country in a new era when the Western European great powers changed the rules of the political, economic and social game due to their advancements in the previous centuries. The direct impact of these developments is being felt by both the Shah and the country through their entrapment in the so-called 'Great Game', the classical rivalry in Eurasia between the two great empires of Great Britain and Russia.

The major problem the country and dynasty faced in this period was how to accommodate itself to the requirements of the modern era dictated by the Western powers, and in the same time maintain independence and identity. As it turned out, during the 19th century only one non-Western country was successful in this, namely Japan, through the Meiji-restoration.

The circumstances, both domestic and external, did not make a Meiji-style development for Persia possible. One of the great values of '*De koning*' is that through literary means it depicts this situation very sublimely and clearly. All characters, including the British and Russians, are complex personalities with multi-layered value-system and in most cases diverging interests. '*De koning*' belongs to the category of historical novels that are extremely well researched and written with a rare talent. The novel belongs to that upper echelon of modern historical novels that are trademarked by Gore Vidal.

In early summer came the news that the negotiations around the world-wide English translation and distribution of this novel were completed. This will definitely immensely enlarge the reach of '*De koning*' and through that the better understanding of the Persian society's historical undercurrents that became so decisive in the 20th century.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, September 30, 2011

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HISTORY

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BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

Ancient Viking Art

Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts[1]

More than a millennium ago, when Hungarians were roaming on continental Europe, Vikings were roaming on the seas around the continent. Vikings were good sailors and tough warriors, and later on proved to be talented organizers of countries. There are several countries that were organised by Viking warriors, similarly to the steppe warriors who organised steppe countries. The countries founded by the Vikings can be found mostly around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea.

Összeállította és megrajzolta: Bérczi Szaniszló, Bérczi Zsófia, Bérczi Katalin. Budapest, 1995.

Fig. 1. The ancient Viking art is be characterized by the melting of the steppe and coastal cultural heritage.

These skilled warriors and seamen had a unique art. Probably the best known artifices of them are the tombstones with engraved drawings; most of them preserve writings with rune scripts and therefore they

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[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.

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are called runastones. Especially the mythical drawings of the runastones from Gotland Island are outstanding. The people originating from this island were called by the name Goths, allied to Attila, the Hun King of the Carpathian Basin.
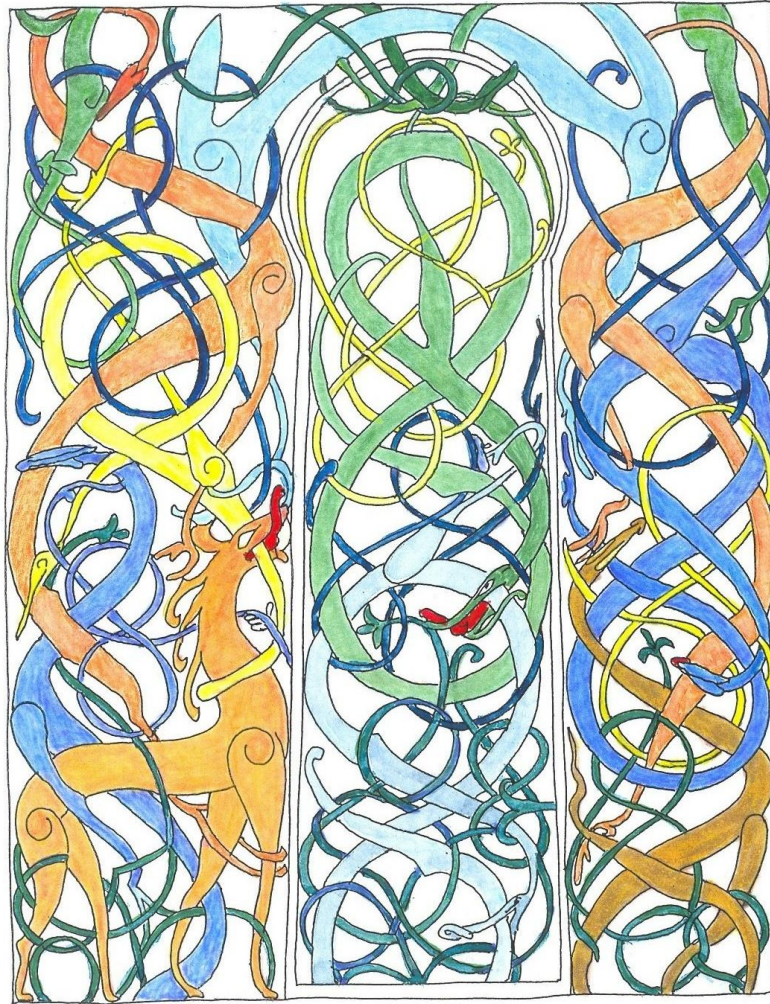
Fig. 2. Fighting serpents and sea dragons are the characteristic figures on the astonishing gate wood carvings at Urnes Church.
In their fight the emblematic animal of the steppe art, the deer, is also present.

The main settling region of the Vikings in the beginning was Scandinavia. Next to the states organised there (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden) they had a pivotal role in orgaising the states of England, the ancient Ireland, and Russia, too. One of the best known battles of the Normann Vikings was the battle of Hastings in 1066. The troops of the Normann prince William the Conquerer sailed from Normandy to England and defeated the Anglo-Saxon King.

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A Hastingsnél lezajlott csata előtt már a norvég király is megtámadta Haroldot északon, de Haroldnak sikerült legyőznie a norvég sereget. Röviddel az északi csata után jött a déli partraszállás híre. Harold délre lovagolt seregével és egy dombvonulat tetején foglalt el védekező állást. Árkokat ástak a normann lovasság támadásának elhárítására. A normannok hiába rohamozták meg többször e védvonalat, nem sikerült áttörniük. Ebben fontos szerepet játszott az a csatabárddal fölszerelt angol alegység, amelynek tagjai még a lovakat is harcképtelenekké tették. Vilmos alól három lovat öltek meg e harcok során. Kiderülvén Vilmos számára a szembőli támadás sikertelensége, a hunok, a magyarok, a pártusok és más sztyeppei lovas népek által gyakran használt cselhez folyamodott. Látszólag visszavonult és ezzel kimozdulásra bírta az addig védekező angolokat. De ezzel a hadmozdulattal érvényesíteni tudta a normannok harci fölényét. A csata elveszett az angolok számára: Harold király és két fivére is elesett. 1066, október 14-én évszázadokra eldőlt Anglia sorsa.

Fig. 3. Fighting troops at Hasting in 1066, on the carpet of Bayeux.

In South Italy another state was founded by the Vikings, namely Sicily. The Hungarian King, Coloman I the Book-lover, married the daughter of the Normann King of Sicily in the 12th century. Vikings sailed to the islands of Iceland and Greenland, and settled there, too. Later on they organized principalities on the Scottish Islands of Shettland and Orkney.

Their art gradually developed during millennia into a characteristic Viking art from the arts of the northern people inhabiting the coastal areas of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. Vikings are of north German stock; hence in their art they used several mythic elements of the German mythology. Arguably the most joyful of them is the Sigurd (Sigfrid) saga, especially the most popular scene when Sigurd stabs with his sword the dragon Fafnir.

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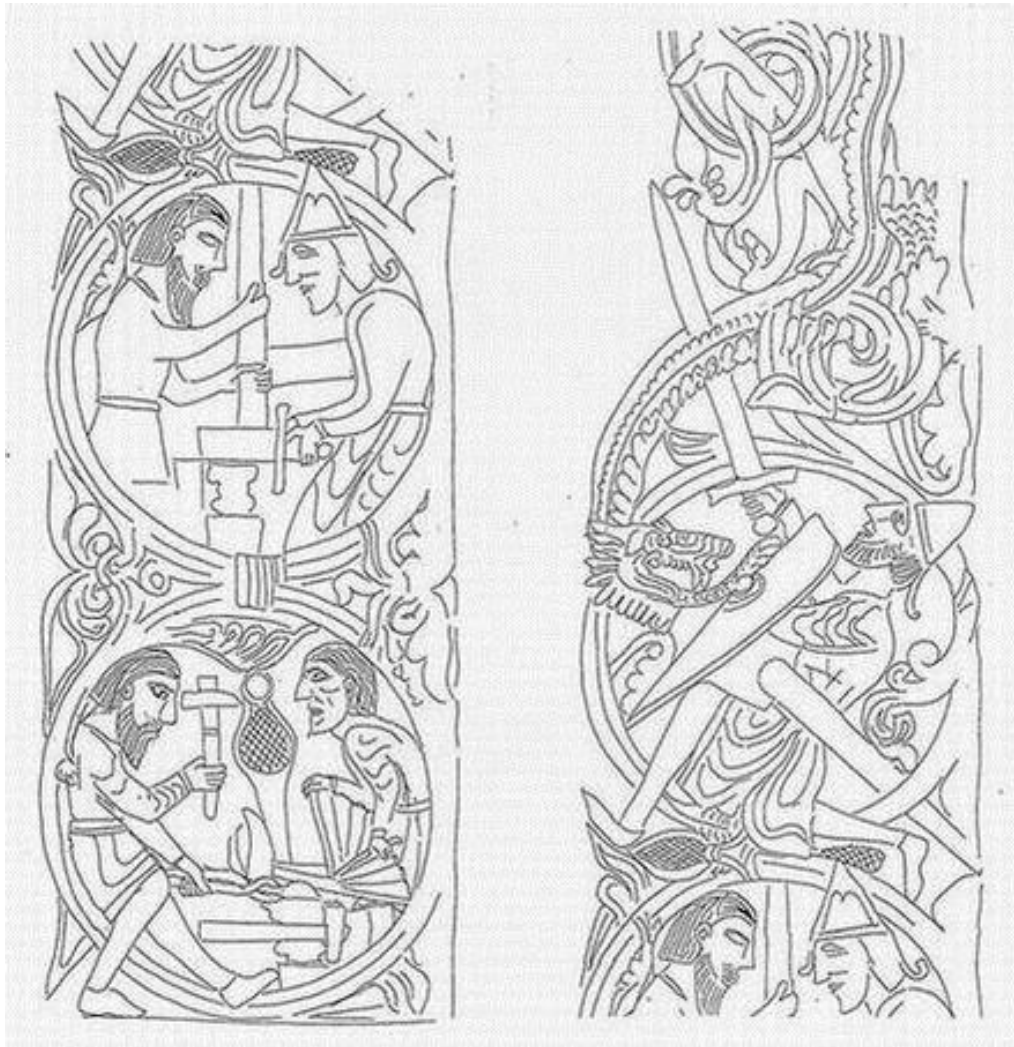
Fig. 4. Fighting of Sigurd (Sigfrid) with the dragon Fafnir, a popular scene shown in Viking runes. Previous events are also carved on the entrance gate of the Church of Hylestadt: Sigurd's uncle, a blacksmith prince creates the magic sword for Sigurd.

Until the full-blown period of Viking art (we show some drawings of this period) Celtic and steppe-art forms were heavily used. We exhibit drawings of the period when the new Christian art begins to be visible on top of the earlier mythical layers. One of them is the tombstone of Harald Bluetooth, preserved at Jelling, Denmark. On one side the serpent is embracing a predatory animal, on the other one the Viking Jesus Christ is carved into the stone. The dashing line-drawing style showing men and animals on the Viking runastones make this art delightful and fascinating. The wooden doorway carvings at the Urnes Church (Norway) represent this fetching art.

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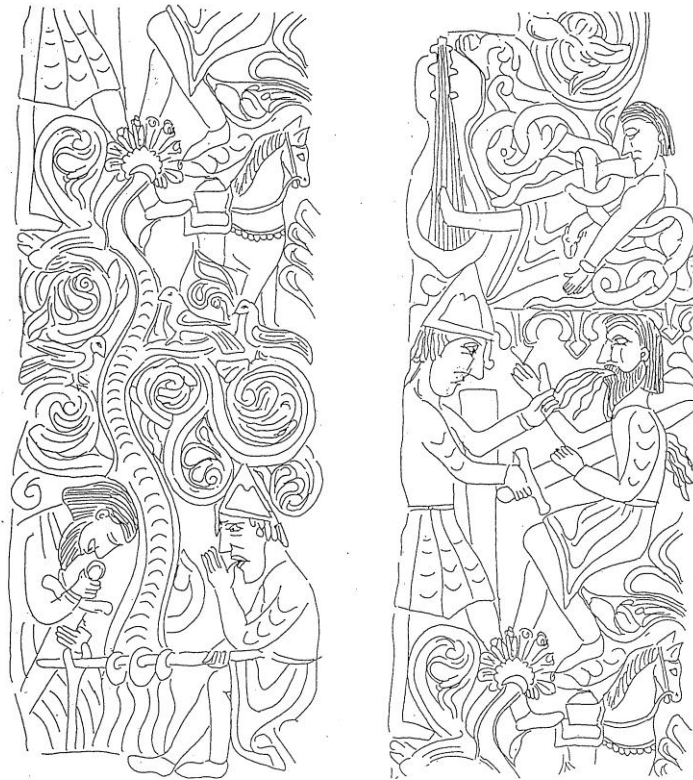
Fig. 5. The second part of the Sigurd (Sigfrid) saga. While roasting the hearth of the Fafnir Dragon, a drop of blood touches his finger and smarming it Sigurd learns the language of the birds, who tell him that he could even kill his uncle. Sigurd kills his uncle and receives its punishment in the final scene in the pit of serpents (top right)
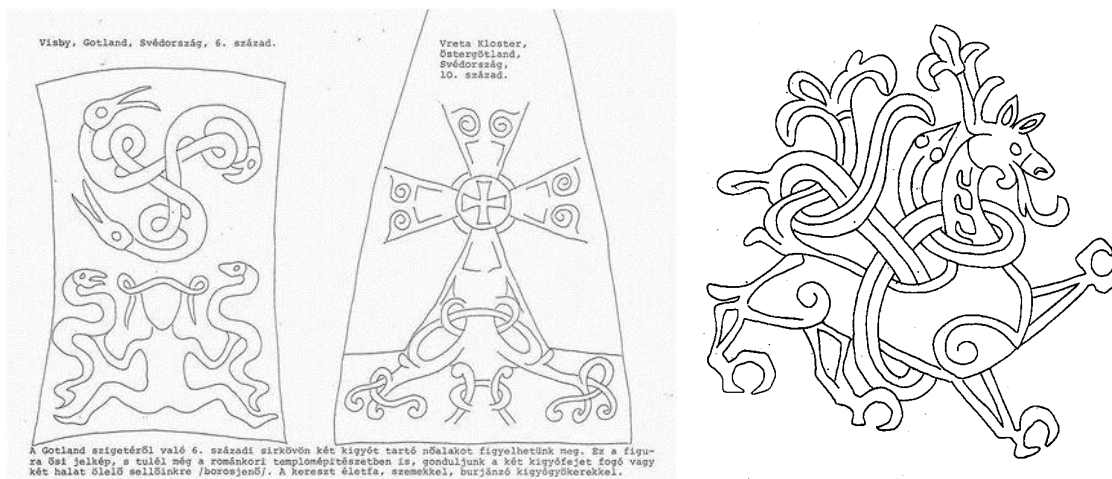
Fig. 6. Famous runestones, the most characteristic witnesses of Viking art. The fighting of a predator and a serpent can be seen on the tombstone of King Harald Bluetooth (bottom). Top left: a reminescence to Ishtar can be found. Top right: a Christian runestone unifies heavenly and netherworldly actors on its carving.

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On Gotland Island there are tombstones with sketches of a woman holding two serpents in her hands. This figure is a well-known ancient one surviving from older times in Romanesque art, even on capitals of the columns, in the 6th century. (In Hungary there are sea nymphs on the capitals of the Cathedral of Pécs, or in the Romanesque church of Borosjenő.)
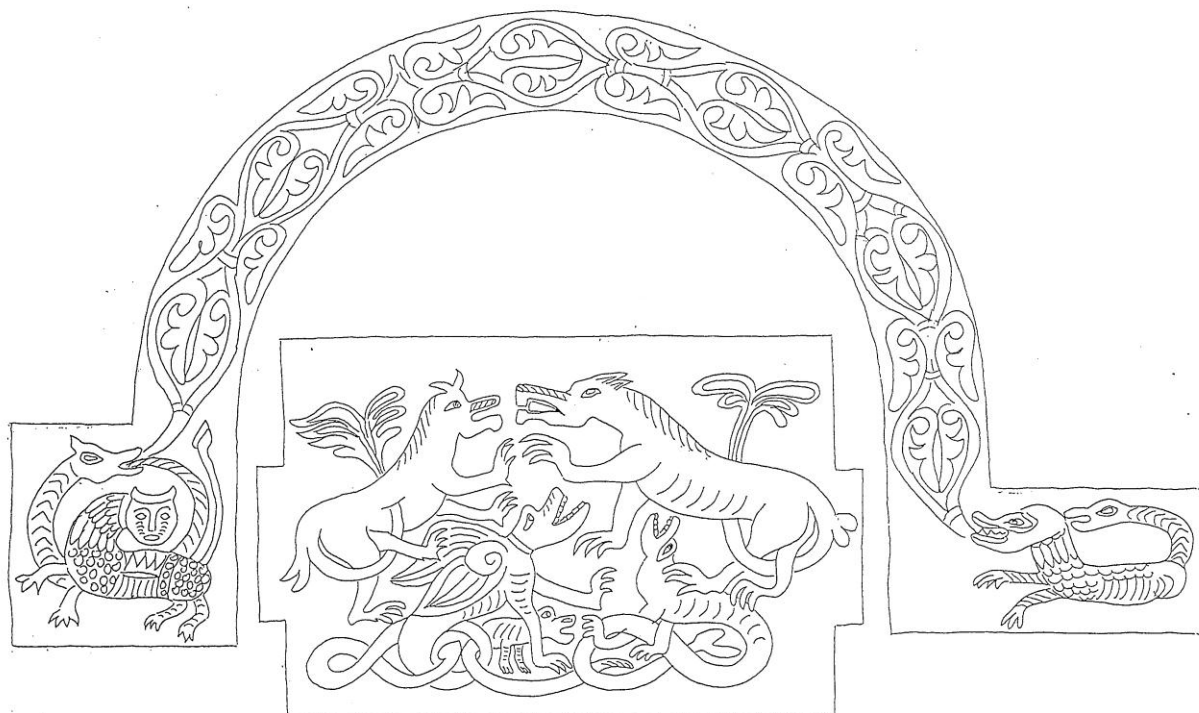
Lund volt a dániai "Esztergom". Itt létesült az első skandináv érsekség, majd egy ideig alá volt rendelve Uppsala és Trondheim / a svéd és a norvég későbbi érsekségek /. Lund székesegyháza pompás alkotása a román- kori építészetnek és épületszobrászatnak. A sárkányok szájából kiinduló palmettás fonat régi jelképeket sü- rit magába: az iv az égbolt, melynek csomópontjaiban a sárkányok a "fogyatkozások jelképei". A holdpálya ekliptikai metszéspontjait ma is drakonikus pontoknak nevezik. Nyugateurázsiai közös kincs ez is.

Fig. 7. Calendar carving on the arc of the Lund Cathedral. At the end of the arc serpents represent sun or moon at eclipses. Similar structure can be seen in Aleppo (Haleb, Syria), and in other places; the scene originates from the ancient cultures of Eurasia.

In Viking art the Cross of Jesus is also a lifetree, which has eyes, and also has roots formed from serpents. The carved stone baptistery fountains also preserve old carvings. (Probably the rich wood-carving art of the Székely masters in Transylvania are comparable to this beautiful Viking art.)

The most important Romanesque carving for us is the doorway of Kvidinge. Here lions guard the door on top of two capitals; in the central portion of the tympanon a scene from Eurasian steppe art was used: two predators attacking the lamb, which holds the cross. For Hungarians this central scene could be placed on a belt buckle. The individual lamb, the Agnus Dei is a frequent motif in Hungary on Romanesque doorways; but in this way, in the middle of an animal fighting, it is an extarordinary representation.

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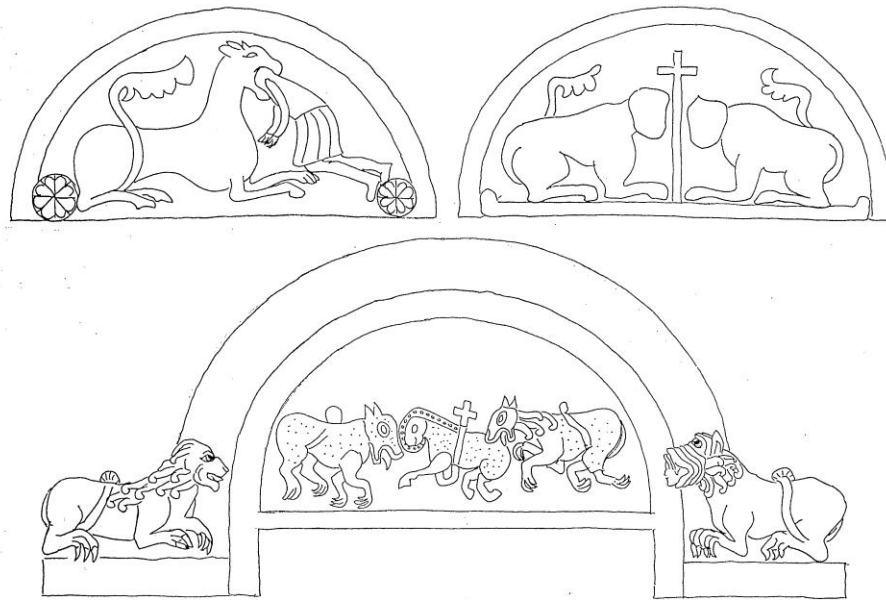
Fig. 8. The tympanon arc carving in Kvidinge (bottom). A fight scene between two predators and the lamb is well known in steppe art and there are hundreds of buckle belts in Hungary with such drawings. However, the master here combined this fight scene with the lamb with cross, the symbol of Jesus Christ. For comparison: lions at the life three are also shown together on another tympanon from Danish Romanesque art (top).
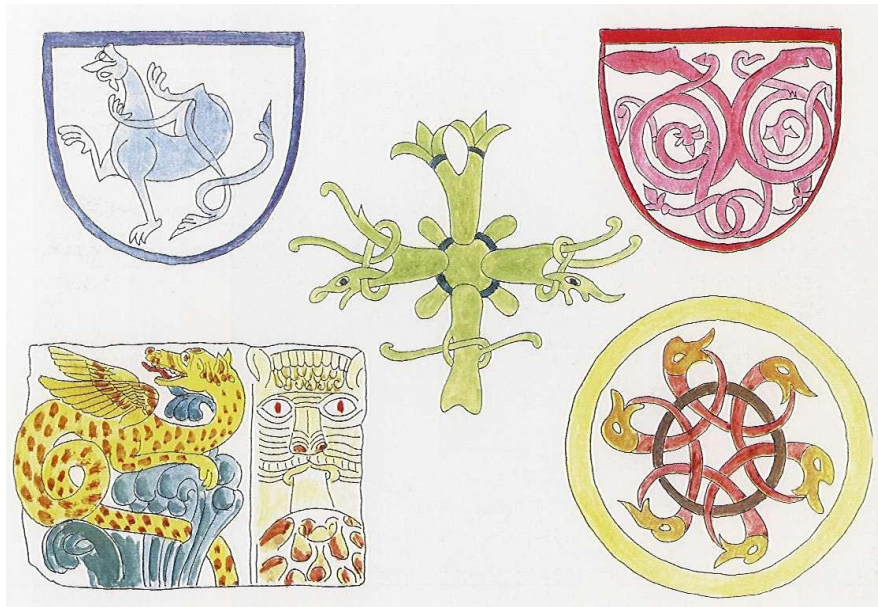
Fig. 9. Next to tympanon carvings, columnar heads also exhibit a rich heritage of motifs of ancient arts, which were preserved within Viking Romanesque art.

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The Historical Museum of Lund has a rich collection of runestones and doorway stone carvings. It is wonderful to discover how rich the heritage of the Eurasian steppe art is here in North Europe. It is worth noting that wars were less frequent and less destructive in the North, than in Hungary, hence more artifacts of the ancient arts and thinking had been preserved, especially in the form of Viking Romanesque art.

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SYED, Damsaz Ali

Immigrants and their Impact on Kashmir Culture and Society

Abstract

The foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir opened the gates of flood for the infiltration of Persian and Central Asian people to valley of Kashmir especially during the last quarter of fourteenth century. They not only acted as religious propagators but equally the whole social structure was reformed by them. Many new arts and crafts were introduced for the first time in valley of Kashmir. Some of the arts and crafts, which were then unknown in most parts of Central Asia, existed in Kashmir during his time. By this way whole valley was engulfed by peace and prosperity.

1. Introduction

From the reign of Sultan Qutubu'd-din, 775-792.A.H./1373-89.A.D, an increasing number of Muslim Scholars and preachers were attracted towards valley of Kashmir because of the liberal attitude offered by the succeeding Sultans. The continuous waves of Muslim Sufis and Scholars from different parts of Persia and Central Asia influenced the people of valley too much in many ways. They brought about a great social transformation in the life of the Kashmiri people. The emergence and teaching of Sufis influenced this region in an impressive way and transformed it into a healthy, peaceful and religious society. They acted as torch bearers and were primarily and meticulously interested in the mass welfare of people and by and large remained kind and sober while approaching the people in valley of Kashmir. Their social appeal was based on humanism by and large people were drawn to their fold in valley of Kashmir particularly after the foundation of Muslim rule.

2. Internal unrest and Suhadeva

Fourteenth century begins with the rule of Suhadeva[1]. His rule is famous for the arrival of two adventurers like, Shah Mir and Richina .The former came into Kashmir in 713.A.D/1313,A.D. and entered into the service to Suhadeva and granted him the Jagir in village of Davar Kunail in the district of Baramulla. It was during this time Dalucha[2] invaded Kashmir and adopted all the cruel measures to suppress the people of valley, but they were saved by the two adventurers and gained the confidence of the people. After this Richina became successful to occupy the throne of Kashmir and became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir under the name of Sultan Sadru'd-din, 720-723.A.H/1320-23.A.D. He ruled for a period of three years. Soon afterwards Kashmir was invaded by Achala.

The king Udyanadeva fled away to save his skin. Shah Mir again played a heroic role.

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[1] Kapur, M.L, *The History and Culture of Kashmir*, Anmol Publication, Delhi, 1976, p. 171.

[2] Hassan Mohibul, *Kashmir under Sultans*, Ali Mohd & Sons, Srinagar, 1974, p, 30.

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The result was that Achala was defeated, and Shah Mir became the loved person of the people and the stage was set for Muslim rule in Kashmir valley and ultimately in 740.A.H/1339 A.D, Shah Mir became the ruler of Kashmir.

With the foundation of the Sultanate[3] in Kashmir in the 14th century, a stage was set for the revival of these ties to a degree that surpass the earlier records. This eventually fostered a trend of cultural syncretism; thanks to the contribution[4] of the Persian and Central Asian Sufis, Syeds, Missionaries, artisans, craftsmen, scholars; all of them visited the valley from time to time to spread Islam and its mystic ideology. Long before the establishment of Muslim rule in valley, Muslim had already settled in valley of Kashmir as early as eighth century and the process was accelerated after Shah Miri dynasty came into power. In subsequent years by virtue of his tact and ability Shah Mir rose to the prominence and became one of the important personalities of the time. Dissension among the ruling class, foreigners and natives was the main cause which contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule in valley of Kashmir. Because of long period of internal troubles, the Lavanyas and Damras (local chiefs and land lords) had become the most powerful elements in the valley.The strong holders of the lands of Kashmir had become hereditary possessions in the families of these chefs. They continually rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of a strong and centralized government.

3. Immigrants and their Innovations

Kashmir with its nodal position and strategic importance besides geographical location continued to get interacted and influenced by these Sufi[5] Immigrants. Therefore it is no wonder that certain propagatory groups and Krams with Central Asian background found their way to Kashmir. They not only imparted religious[6] education but also madrasas and Khanqahs were established for the diffusion of Islamic knowledge and thought among the people around them. The missionary class from Persia and Central Asia contributed in their own ways to enlighten the people of valley. Since they hailed from the most advanced cultural centers of Central Asia and on reaching Kashmir, therefore, they effortlessly imparted technical knowledge to the natives in variety of arts and crafts. Quite precisely, a large number of arts and crafts for which Kashmir has been famous all over the world, were introduced by them in different areas of valley. In consequence, a great number of the Central Asians poured like locusts into the valley and contributed devotedly to the Kashmiri culture in diverse forms. The Kashmiri's hidden abilities were given exposure and they responded very well and quickly picked up the skills of art and craft taught to them. The Kashmiri artists are yet holding the basics taught to them, though they have themselves made a lot of innovations in the field of art and culture and given it world wide fame. The Immigrants[7] not only taught the skills of art to the people and thereby opened the avenues of livelihood for them, but also shaped their entire traits of behavior and attitude. Thousands of Kashmiris still earn their livelihood owing to the art and skill taught to them by Sufi Immigrant masters. People in Kashmir

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[3] Shamsu'd-din Ahmad, *Waqati Kashmir*, Urdu trans.Published by Islamic Research Centre Srinagar, 2001, pp. 60-61.

[4] Singh N.K., *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2000, p. 228.

[5] Waseem S,*Shahi-i- Hamdan Mir Syed Ali Hamdani*, Kaniskha Publishers and distributors, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 55-56.

[6] Rafiu'd Din Ahmad, *Nawadirul Akhbar*, Mss, p, 290, Research Library University of Kashmir Srinagar.

[7] Hassan Mohibul, *Kashmir under Sultans*, Ali Mohd & Sons Srinagar, 1974, pp. 72-73.

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still pray in the mosques and Khanqahs on the lines of the Sufi Immigrants and Syeds and praise Allah Almighty in the manner taught by these Immigrants. In fact these Immigrants changed the fate of the Kashmiri[8] people who might have been entirely a different race; had not these Immigrants blessed them with their skills, art and knowledge. By virtue of these Immigrants complete change had taken place in almost all spheres of life, especially in the ideological spectrum of the people of valley. Most of the Immigrants later on settled permanently in the valley of Kashmir. They were kept in high regard and esteem by the people of Kashmir because of their kind and compassionate attitude. They were gentle, sober and sweet in their behavior. These Immigrants were associated with different Sufi orders, prominent among were the Suhrawardi[9], Kubravi,[10] Naqashbandi[11] and Qadriya[12]. Among all the Sufi Silsilas Qadriyas left deep impression on Kashmir society. The main settling areas of Qadriya[13] Sufis in valley are, Srinagar,Pulwama,Islamaabad,Tral,Baramulla,Kupwara,Sopore,Qazigund,Kulgam etc and main Shrine of Qadriyas in valley of Kashmir is at Khanyar Srinagar,known as *Ziyarat of Pir Dastgir.*

4. Suhrawardi Sufi Silsila

The first Sufi Immigrant who entered into valley was Syed Sharafu'd-din[14] commonly known as Bulbul Shah, disciple of Sheikh Nimatullah Shah Farsi. He was originally from Turkistan, but as directed by the preceptor, he embarked upon a long journey and traveling through Central Asia and Persia he reached Kashmir in 713.A.H./1313.A.D, during the reign of Suha Deva, 1031-1320.A.D. Syed Sharafu'd-din was one of the most celebrated Sufi of Kashmir, commonly known as Bulbul Shah. Richana's conversion is also attributed to him .After his conversion to Islam, he became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, known as Sultan Sadru'd-din. He ruled over Kashmir just for a period of three years, 720.A.H/1320-23.A.D. After his conversion he was inclined towards the Syed Sharaf'd-din, and he not only granted him the revenue of various areas but also constructed a Khanqah for him near his own palace. A langar[15] {*alms house*}, attached to the Khanqah was also constructed. With the departure of Syed Sharafu'd-din in 726.AH./1326.A.D, who was buried in his own Khanqah, now called Bulbul Langar in Srinagar. The Khanqah attracted the attention of Kashmiris; however no outstanding Khalifa succeeded him.

The Silsila was raised to its pinnacle of popularity by Sheikh Hamza Makhdum, commonly known in Kashmir as Mahbubul –Alam, who was born in 900.A.H./1494.A.H, at Tijr in the district Baramulla, Kashmir .His father Usman Raina was a patron of learning and helped in the maintenance of the seminary of Sheikh Ismail Kubravi,{d.916.A.H./1515.A.D},at Srinagar.Sheikh Hamza obtained his early education at this seminary where Sheikh Fathullah, {d.938.A.H./1537.A.D}, son of Sheikh Ismail Kubravi, {d.916.A.H./1515.A.D}, personally taught him for period of one year. Here he learnt Fiqah and Hadis and

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[8] Wani Nizamu'd-din, Muslim *rule in Kashmir*, Jay Kay Book house, Jammu, 2006, Reprint, p. 19.

[9] Sharda, S.R,, *Sufi thought,* Munishiram Manoharlal Publisher's pvt.ltd, New Delhi, 1998, p. 64.

[10] Rafiqi, A.Q, *Sufism in Kashmir*, Al Rafiq Publishing house Bal Garden Karan Nagar, Srinagar, 1976, p. 35.

[11] Rafiq Amin M, *Tazkira Akabir Kashmir*, Published by Maktaba Ablab, Srinagar-2002, p. 187.

[12] Sufi G.M.D, *Kashir being a history of Kashmir*, vol., i, Capital Publishing, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 200-201.

[13] Bamzai P.N.K, *Cultural and Political history of Kashmir*, vol. ii, life and light Publishers, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 332-333.

[14] Rafiqi, A.Q, *Sufism in Kashmir*, Al Rafiq Publishing house Bal Garden Karan Nagar Srinagar, 1976, p. 35.

[15] Bulbul Langar is situated at a distance of 10-Kms. from Lal Chowk Srinagar.

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side by side the commentary on Quran. The school was earlierly constructed by Sultan Hassan Shah, 876.A.H/1472.A.D, and named it as, *Madrasatul-Dirush Shifa*. Sheikh Hamza Makhdum carved out a path of Sufism and was transported in a state of mystical ecstasy called *Sukr*[16]. Like Bayzid he cried out, *Subhani-I-Ma'azama*. Sheikh considered *Zikr* to be medicine for the ailments of the heart. For a long period of time he remained in the practice, and urged his followers to follow the same path. Solitude, he explained, did not mean only that one should confine oneself to a cell, but also that one's heart and mind should be controlled in order to concentrate upon God. Following the path of Suhrawardi, Sheikh Hamza Makhdum strongly disapproved of *Sama.* Once he was going to say his prayers, and happened to hear *Sama*; he thereupon immediately performed his ablutions afresh, because he had heard the forbidden practice. Sheikh lived at a crucial period in Kashmir history. He was having the conflicts with Chaks who were mainly Shias.He himself was strong supporter of Sunni sect. He waged incessant ideological battle against the Shias. Even he succeeded in converting them to Sunni faith. The conflicts aroused the sentiments of Sultan Ghazi Chak, 968-971.A.H./1561-63.A.D. He ordered the Sheikh to leave the city towards the Beeru Budgam, and never try to return again till the end of Chak rule. He came after the end of Ghazi Chak. From the Malfuzat it appears that the overall mission of Sheikh was to build up the contemporary Muslim society in Kashmir in accordance with the principles of Islamic Shariah. For this purpose several mosques were built supported by the construction of Khanqahs in rural areas. His relation with other Sufis was very amicable. However his efforts in this direction began to make a tangible impact towards the beginning of seventh century. He departed on 24 Safar,984.A.H./ 23 March 1576.A.D, and lies buried on the slopes of *Kohi-Maran hill,* in Srinagar, where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in meditation. He was succeeded by Baba Dawud Khaki, {d.994.A.H./1586.A.D}.

Baba Dawud[17] was one of most popular Sufi and scholar of his times. He authored a number of books mention may be made of *Dastrusus Salikin*, published in Srinagar, in 1356.A.H./1937/.A.D and *Qasida-i-lamiyya*, written in 988.A.H./1581.A.D. *Qasida-i-lamiyya,* throw light on the Rishi way of life. Khaki's works enable us to understand the prime importance that the Suhrawardiyyas attached to learning, under the guidance of perfect Sheikh .The main purpose of acquiring knowledge was to recognize God. For this purpose one had to constantly struggle for purification of the inner self, *Jihad-i-Akbar*. *Taqwa* can be gained by acquiring knowledge. Even some of the Naqshbandiyya principles of mediation were followed by him, like awareness while breathing, *hosh dar dam*, and solitude while in assembly, *Khilwat dar anjuman*. Although the Suhrawardiyya were generally critical of *Sama,*Khaki was of the opinion that it enthused divine love and that one could hear it within the limit prescribed by the Sufi Sheikh. Khaki's impact on the growth and development of the order in Kashmir was considerable because of his very much amicable relation with the Qadriya Sufis like, Syed Mir Mirak Andrabi, {d.990.A.H./1582.A.D}, Syed Ismail Shami,{992.AH./1584.A.D}, and Mir Nazuk Niyazi,{d.1022.A.H./1614.A.D}.Even he worked with for the dissemination of Qadriya philosophy in and around the areas of Srinagar city. He is entombed near his *Murshid*. His attitude towards Shias remained as was during the time of his preceptor. The Suhrawardis never ignored the ethical values and piety, although they took part in politics and tried to make reforms in Muslim society through official channels. Some of them held high post in the

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[16] T.C. Rastogi, *Sufism a dictionary with profiles of Saints' and poets*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, p. 61.

[17] Rafiu'd Din Ahmad, *Nawadirul Akhbar*, Mss, p. 290, Research library Srinagar.

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administration including that of *Wazir* and they also served as ambassador. They visited the nobles and the royal court, established matrimonial alliances with the leading nobles and the ruling house.

5. Kubravi Silsila

In this behalf, Mir Syed Ali Hamdani's[18] role is worth applauding. He came to Kashmir during the rule of Sultan Qutubu'd–din[19], 775-792.A.H./1373-89.A.D, along with his seven hundred[20] followers with a new social thought and life style. Kubravia order was introduced by him in the valley. The Kashmiris gradually adopted all these foreign traits to keep pace with the changing trend of Islamisation and acculturisation. The immigrants also brought with them rich hoards of literature and written material. Mir Syed Ali Hamdani brought his whole library from Central Asia and kept it under the charge of one Syed Kazim[21].The written material was mostly in Persian language which suffices to establish that the Immigrants, besides being the missionaries, were the zealous champions of the Persian language and culture. Persian assumed the status of the official language hence the language of the educated classes and the commoners as well.[22] Among his writings the *Zakhiratu'l-mulk*, proved to be a source of inspiration for the rulers. In *Zakhiratu'l-mulk*, the anecdote of the Prophets and the Caliphs, a considerable use of ideals and morals were mentioned. More importantly, the book provides a complete guideline for a ruler while discharging his duties. The refusal of Sultan to implement the Islamic Shariah properly, Syed Ali became dissatisfied with the response to his teachings, decided to leave Kashmir valley, after a stay of about three years in the year 786.A.H./1385.A.D. The main reason for his departure was to perform hajj, on his way on reaching Kunar, he fell ill and departed on, 6 Zulhijja,786.A.H./19,January 1385.A.H, at the age of seventy three. His body was taken to Khattlan, now part of the U.S.S.R, where it was buried. For his socio religious activities, Mir Syed Ali Hamdani is popularly known in Kashmir as, *Shah-i-Hamdan*, *Amir-i-Kabir* and *Bani-musalmani*, in Kashmir. Mir Syed Ali Hamdani (R.A) on the behest of people of Kashmir, kept most of his companions in Kashmir, to propagate message of Islam[23].

After his death his son Mir Mohammad Hamdani[24] arrived here during the rule of Sultan Sikandar, 791-816.A.H./1389-1413.A.D,at the age of twenty-two only along with three hundred disciples. Hamdani born in, 774/1372, at Khatlan. Before his departure from this world Syed Ali had written two documents for his son one *wasiyat-nama* and other Khilafat Nama. In his testament, Syed Ali urged his son to complete the education first, and then improve his character. He became the disciple of Khawaja Ishaq and learnt many lessons. After some time he went to Jafar Badakshani and remained under his guidance for seven months. Within a very short period of time he attracted some disciples of his father. After completing his education, he arrived in the valley of Kashmir in 796.A.H./1393.A.D. The Sultan granted him the Jagir of two parganas, and revenue of some villages, *Vachi, Shaura and Ninahwani*, for the

[18] Rafiqi, A.Q, Sufism *in Kashmir*, Al Rafiq Publishing house Bal Garden Karan Nagar Srinagar, 1976, pp. 28-85.

[19] Haider Malik Chadura, *History of Kashmir*, Bhavan Prakashan Patar Gang, Delhi, 1991, p. 53.

[20] Jan, G.R., *Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi*, Book Media, Srinagar, 1995, p. 176.

[21] Tuhfat'ul-Ahbab, transcript copy, pp. 12-13, Research Library Srinagar.

[22] Shah Zakir, *Karamati Auliya*, Published by Maktaba Noor, Delhi-1990, p. 6.

[23] Nuri Abdul Wahab, *Fatuhati-I-Kubravi*, Mss, p, 70, Research Library University of Kashmir.

[24] Haider Malik Chadura, *History of Kashmir*, Bhavan Prakashan Patar Gang, Delhi, 1999, p. 53.

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maintenance of followers and Khanqah. Within a very short period of time a Khanqah was constructed by Sultan in the year 799.A.H./1396-97.A.D, in Srinagar, where his father had earlier stayed during his visit to the valley. Mir Mohammad plunged in transforming the culture of Kashmir. During the process of teaching and preaching a high Hindu official Suha Bhatta became his follower and a new name Saifu'd-din was conferred upon him. On the instructions of Mir Mohammad the policy of Sultan changed. The *Jazia* was imposed for the fist time upon non-Muslims. They were prevented to apply tilak on the forehead, and the custom of sati was banned. The marked feature of his arrival in Kashmir valley was the implementation of Islamic Shariah, with the help of state machinery. Several social evils were removed from the society. Ancient temples such as *Pampore*, *Martand*, *Sopore,* and *Baramulla* etc.were demolished. With the changes, the infidelity was uprooted from Kashmir through the efforts of Mir Mohammad. And in order to see whether the Islamic law was properly enforced, the office of *Sheikhu'l Islam*[25], was established for the first time in valley. All these measures were adopted by Sultan Sikandar under the influence Syed Mir Mohammad Hamdani. Their attitude was strongly opposed by another Kubravi Sufi namely Syed Hisari from Hisar. He was in valley before the arrival of Mir Mohammad. It was due to his intervention the *Jazia* was abolished. He was responsible for bringing change in the behaviour of Sultan Sikandar. On seeing the change Mir Mohammad Hamdani decided to leave the valley after a stay of twelve years in 808.A.H./1405.A.D.He first went to Mecca and then to Khattlan, where he lies buried near the tomb of his father. Some of his companions were Syed Hassan Sherazi, Syed Ahmad Simnani, Syed Sadru'd-din, Syed Hassan Khwarazmi, Syed Nuru'd-din, Syed Jalal'd-din Bukhari, Syed Mohammad, Madni, and Syed Alau'd-din Bukhari.

6. Kubravis and their relation with politics of Kashmir

Another group of Kubravi[26] Sufis who came to Kashmir was that of Baihaqi Syeds. Baihaqi Syeds claimed their descent from Syed Taju'd-din Bahiq. Who had two sons namely, Syed Mohammad and Syed Noor'u-din. Syed Mohammad and his nephew arrived in Kashmir during the rule of Sultan Sikandar, both settled down in Kashmir. Their descendents were known as Baihaqi Syeds. Baihaqi Syeds were not only remarkable Sufis but also politicians. They generally concentrated their energies on establishing family relations with the rulers and high officials of the government. The family relations with the ruling house helped the Baihaqi Syeds to obtain important posts in the administration. They assumed such a power that one among them namely Syed Mubarak Baihaqi, dethroned Yousuf Shah Chak and ascended the throne in 968.A.H./1578.79.A.D. On account of his kind and humble nature he freely distributed the money among the needy people.

The Hamdani Syeds, Syed Ali and his disciples were mainly teachers and preachers who set on purifying the Muslim community and the state administration. They believed that the implementation of the religious law depends upon government. The strengthening of Islam and of faith and the annihilation of those who have deviated from the right path and are responsible for adding innovations to it, as per

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[25] For the first time the post of Sheikhu'l-Islam was created and established buy Sultan Sikandar in 1380.A.D.he acted as head of the ecclesiastical department. The said post continued up to Mughal period. Chaks abolished this post and created Qazi- Qaztul Qazat and Qazi became its head.

[26] Gamgeen Shamsu'd-din, *Nazneen Gamgeen*, Published by Cultural Academy Srinagar, 2000, p. 32.

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their opinion depend upon rulers and their officers. Thus the force and authority should not be spared in the enforcement of religious law in the society or state. Side by side while discharging his duties the rulers ought to be religious minded and fearful while dealing with the masses.

The practice of the decrees of the Shariah and justice are the principle duties of a ruler when he will be able to follow the path of justice and equity and strives to establish the divine law and executes the decrees of religion and the chosen way of God. But if he ignores the path and does not treat the servants of God with compassion, follows his lusts and desires and is negligent in the enforcement of the divine law, he is indeed the enemy of God and his prophet in real sense.

7. Fonudation of Naqshbandi Sufi Silsila by Syed Hilal

Syed Hilal[27], {d.816.A.H./1457.A.D}, disciple of Khawaja Bahau'd-din Mohammad Naqshband, (d.791.A.H./1389.A.D), arrived in valley during the rule of Sultan Sikandar, 791-816.A.H./1389-1413.A.D. Syed Hilal left only one disciple named, Mir Syed Amin, popularly known in Kashmir as Wusi-Sahib, belonged to influential family of Baihaqi Syeds, who were actively involved in politics of Kashmir valley. His early spiritual knowledge was perfected by Hajji Ibrahim Adham. {d.841.A.H./1431.A.D}. Syed Amin was very closely linked with the Baihaqi Begum, the wife of Sultan Zainul[28] Abidin, but the life of affluence did not attract him. He too led a life of retirement. After the departure of his murshid, he moved towards Srinagar where he settled at *Koh-i-maran hill*. Syed Amin most eloquently expresses his faith in the doctrine of *wahdat-al-wujud*, although he kept himself away from the politics. After him the order remained unknown in Kashmir for more than a century. Later on revived by Khawaja Khawund Mohammad, {d.1052.A.H./1642.A.D}, who arrived in valley at the end of sixteenth century. He claimed to have received inspiration direct from Bahu'd-din Mohammad Naqshband, {d.791.A.H./1398.A.D}. The Naqshbandis in valley have kept themselves aloof from the politics, nor did they try to use state machinery for the implementation of Islamic law .They came and acted as religious preachers, people were benefited by them in a number of ways. The Naqshbandis claim their means of worship are the nearest and easiest for the followers to achieve the highest level and perfection. Specific method is prescribed to attain the levels. Besides the eleven principles the repentance and *Zikr* are the two important stages of order. The principles are as under,

Persian	English
1. Hush dar dam	(Consciousness in breathing)
2. Nazr bar qadam	(Glance on feet)
3. Safar dar watan	(Journey at home)
4. Khilwat dar anjaman	(Seclusion in assembly)
5. Yad kard	(Recollection of God.)
6. Baz gasht	(Retirement towards God)

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[27] Rafiqi A.Q, *Sufism in Kashmir,* Al Rafiq Publishing house Bal Garden Karan Nagar Srinagar, 1976, pp. 155-56.

[28] Rabbani G.M., *Kashmir Social and Cultural history*, Anmol Publications, Delhi, 1986, p. 16.

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7. Nigah dasht	(Concentration of the mind in God).
8. Khud guzashat	(Self abnegation.)
9. Waqufi-zamani	(Temporal pause self examination.)
10. Waqufi-adadi	(Numbering pause during counting the number of times Zikr is repeated)
11. Waqufi-qalbi	(Heart pause-during the Zikr, the heart of flesh should be in no way negligent.

8. Qadriya Silsila

Qadriyas[29] were the last to enter valley during the second half of sixteenth century. The first Sufi of Qadriya order in valley was Syed Nimatullah Shah Qadri, (d.990.A.H./1582A.D), who entered the valley during the rule of Chaks,968-994.A.H/1561-86.A.D, and laid the foundation of the Qadriya[30] Sufi order in the valley of Kashmir. He first settled down at Chattabal Srinagar and his arrival opened the gates flood for the Sufis of Silsila to come and to disseminate the message of unity among the masses. Being the Sufi of eminence, he attracted the attention of Kashmiri people in and out side the areas of Srinagar and enlightened the people of valley according to Islamic principles. Within a short period he succeeded in inculcating the sentiments of fraternity and equity, coupled with sense of service to humanity, in the followers, irrespective of race, community, caste, creed and color. He stressed on the need of the development of man with the purification of mind through prayer and meditation. In Kashmir valley his teachings helped in eradicating several social evils by advocating religious tolerance and the concept of *Tuwhid.* The traditional culture of Kashmir underwent great changes by his arrival in the valley; especially the language underwent tremendous changes, because he used to deliver the sermons in Persian language. Hence the language was already the court language during the Sultanate period. The said language acted as medium of intellectual traffic to attract people. As such not only conversion process was started by using the Persian, but also as a vehicle of communication for motivation towards Islam, and the medium in which the literature was available. He not only pulled down the language barriers, but also made Islamic tradition more comprehensible to common people.

Reality is the universal will, the true knowledge, eternal light and supreme beauty, whose nature is self-mortification, reflected in the mirror of universe. The world in comparison with reality is a mere illusion. He disseminated the message of oneness, because all powers are rested with Allah. The real essence is above human knowledge. From the point of view of its attributes, it is a substance with two accidents one is creator and another is creature, one is visible and another is invisible.0ne has to obey Allah and those who obey the command, are the real Muslims. For becoming a Sufi one must receive training under the supervision of perfect spiritual guide. The selection and following is the most important duty of a Sufi. A bad or imperfect guide may lead him to evil .He must use his intellectual ability and human endeavor to find out the true guide and once obtained he must obey his direction. Therefore the Sufi must discipline his mind first by living according to orthodox Islamic law and must

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[29] Hussain M. Qadri, *Fatuhati Qadriya*, Mss, p, 206, Research Library University of Kashmir.

[30] Rizvi Athar Abbas, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. ii, Munishiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 69-70.

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observe all the rituals of religion.Syed Nimatullah gave prime importance to worship. Whatever creature has been given life by the grace of God exists only for the purpose of worshipping him. Whatever has the power to speak has duty to worship him. He strongly warned men to worship God from the moment they attained the age of reason. He always insisted upon people to follow the guide lines, and if one does not turn towards God in the vigour of youth how can one do so in old age. He regarded a man's *nafs* as his great enemy. The first duty of worship is to control ones desires. The belly is the strong hold of the nafs and to fight the *nafs*, he says is the most meritorious holy war, *Jihad*, if one succeeds in subduing his *nafs*, one is a great soul, and his efforts are pure worship. The man's nafs is the greatest obstacle in his way to God. One should lay stress on the duty of crushing and overpowering it at all costs. He condemned anger, pride and greed, the source of which, according to him, is selfish desires. The proud should be sent to *hell* where they will become soft, like iron in the fire, one can not attain truth, if one does not give up anger, pride and greed .He insisted upon people to follow the path of peace and harmony, pleaded for tolerance fellow feeling, love and affection among all sections of the society. The simplicity, love of mankind and sympathy with human sufferings appealed to the people of the other communities and many became his devotees. After a period of one year he left the valley after making large number of followers in the valley.

9. Impact of Qadriya Sufis

The Qadriya[31] Sufi Immigrants visited every nook and corner of the valley and preached Islamic ideology to different sections of the people. The Sufi Immigrants who visited valley did not belong to one particular region, but from various parts of Persia and Central Asia. Their benevolent behavior and approach had a wide range of impact not only on the minds of the people but also on the rulers of that time. They made people to understand the concept of God, and gave moral and ethical education and guided them towards spiritual path and made people to understand the philosophy of existenlism.Their main aim was to make people understand the concept of oneness, and to keep them aware of Quranic philosophy, and it was the object of all Sufi orders especially of Qadriya Sufis, to let people know about Prophet[32] and his message. They considered love to be the essence of all religions and the cause of creation and its continuation.0ne has to obey Allah and those who obey the command, are the real Muslims. For becoming a true follower one must receive training under the supervision of a perfect guide. Because of Such teachings the Qadriya Sufi[33] Silsila has been highly praised by every one. The Silsila uplifted the faith and promotion and gave currency to the true faith of Islam, consequently the contribution of Silsila for the revival of Islam and its faith proved very fruitful throughout the world in general and particularly in the Indian sub continent, because much emphasis is laid in the Silsila on the practice of *Shariah* and norms of *Tasawwuf* and good virtues and deeds of piety which are considered essential for Salvation in this world and hereafter. The current Muslim world has paid glowing tributes to the founder of Qadriya Silsila, *Ghausul Azam* for the services rendered to Islam as a great Sufi *Mujadad*

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[31] Ahmad Nabi, *Zikri Saadati Andrabia*, Syed Publishing house, Srinagar, 1999, pp, 23-24.

[32] Hussain M,Qadri, *Fatuhati Qadriya*, Mss, p. 206, Research Library University of Kashmir.

[33] Qasim Syed, *Hazrat Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani*, Mahtab Publications, Srinagar, 1997, pp. 18, 22.

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(reviver). The teachings of the Silsila had its impact in doing away with the hazards of *Bidat (*innovation) and making the ways and modes of, *Ahl-i-Sunnat* all the more popular.

Conclusion

Sufi Immigrants boosted the Islamic fraternity and improved humanism coupled with the spirit of oneness in the valley of Kashmir. The impact was so profound and so deep that the Kashmiris still bear a good deal of their impression and consider them the main source of inspiration. This is strikingly visible in every aspect of Kashmiri life. They gave a new dimension to dress, skills, language and literature and transformed the very style of their life as well as their mindset. The result was the emergence of a society, which though differing from the old was rooted in the valley of Kashmir which is quite visible in the very length and breadth of all walks of life. This is evident from the study of language, literature, and religious beliefs and social life of the people. Owing to the fusion of the old and new elements, the new type of culture, manners, language, beliefs came into existence in the valley. Language was enriched but above all great progress was made in socio-religious and cultural aspects.

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TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri & TAMBOVTSEVA, Juliana & TAMBOVTSEVA, Ludmila

The Typological Closeness between Hungarian and the Ob-Ugrian Languages

Introduction

The aim of this article is to reconsider and correct the classification of the set of languages called the Ugric languages. The Ugric taxon includes Hungarian, and two Ob-Ugrian languages: Hanty and Mansi (JMUJ, 1993: 256 - 300). K.E. Majtinskaja points out that the difference between Hungarian on the one hand and the Ob-Ugrian languages, on the other hand, is so great that she thinks it possible that the split between them was earlier than one thousand years B.C. (Majtinskaja, 1966: 316). Many Finno-Ugric linguists agree with K.E. Majtinskaja that the split occurred that long ago. However, this long time of separation has some consequences. Hungarian is so different from the Ob-Ugrian languages that Hanty and Mansi should be put in a separate Ob-Ugric branch (JMUJ, 1993: 256). Expessing the common point of view on the early separation of the Old Hungarians from the Ob-Ugrian peoples (Hanty and Mansi), Peter Hajdu remarks that it must have happened before the 5th century BC (Hajdu, 1975: 39 – 50). So, one must understand that the period of separation is great, and that during this long time Hanty, Mansi, and Hungarian must have changed much. One can see that even shorter periods of language development may lead languages apart. Therefore, we must insist that Hungarian must not enter the same group with Hanty and Mansi.

In fact, this is only half of the step towards the correct classification of the Ugric languages. We must insist that Hungarian must be put in a separate subgroup called the Hungarian subgroup of the Ugric group, or we may organise a separate group inside the Finno-Ugric family. Everyone who has studied Hungarian and the Ob-Ugric languages has felt that they are too different. Bela Kalman, who knew both Mansi and Hanty and could fluently speak both languages told me in 1985 that it is a myth that Hungarian is similar to either Hanty or Mansi. When I began studying Hungarian and Mansi in 1973, I was surprised to find how different they were. Later it was proved by the methods of experimental phonetics that their spectral as well as their articulatory features are quite different. In fact the combinability characteristics of their phonemes are also quite different (Tambovtsev, 1979a; 1979b; 1979c). It is not surprising if one takes into account their ethnic development under the influence of different peoples and their languages. The ancient Hungarians migrated from the lands of Siberia through the lands around the Volga River to the Lake Balaton in Europe (Tambovtsev, 2001: 26). On their way the Hungarians met many Turkic tribes, with whom they lived on the Volga for a long time. Many linguists consider this time to be not less than 1000 years. The geographical closeness between Hungarians and the Turkic tribes may have led to linguistic closeness due to the length of their contact (Tambovtsev, 2001: 8-10). I. Fodor suggests that there is great evidence that the ancient Hungarians may have been a part of the

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Turkic tribe of Bashkir. I. Fodor relies on the report of the Hungarian monk Friar Julianus, who spoke in Hungarian to a group of people living in an area near modern Bashkiria in 1235. According to I. Fodor the connection between the ancient Hungarians and some Turkic tribes is also supported by archeological findings, especially by the findings from the Bashkir Cemetry at Sterlitamak, which at a minimum suggest widespread mixed marriages (Fodor, 1982: 268 – 271). Supporting this point of view, Angela Marcantonio provides a long list of linguists and ethnographers who came to the conclusion that strong connections developed between Hungarians and Bashkirs (Marcantonio, 2002: 260 -264).

Bela Kalman believes Hungarian to be either only slightly Ugric or not Ugric at all. Therefore, he does not consider it to be correct to put Hungarian and the Ob-Ugric languages in one language taxon. He found Mansi and Hanty to be closer to the Permic or Samoyedic languages than to Hungarian (Kalman, 1988: 396). Criticising those Finno-Ugrists who support the existence of the Ugric taxon, Bela Kalman, who was an excellent specialist in Mansi and Hanty, claims that the so-called Ugric features are true to some other Permic and Volgaic languages (Kalman, 1988: 397). Using the 100 list of M. Swadesh, Alo Raun found only 34% of common words between Hungarian and Mansi and 27% between Hungarian and Hanty. Therefore, 66% of the words are different in Hungarian and Mansi. Hanty is less similar, with 73% of different words. There are 48% of common words in Mansi and Hanty. However, really related languages like the Permic Udmurt and Komi-Zyrian have 70% of common words (Raun, 1956: 152). It is possible to state that we can talk about two languages as related only they have not less than 60% of common words. In natural sciences two objects are considered similar if and only if they have at least 70% of common elements (Tambovtsev, 2003; 2005). L. Honti states that the differences between Mansi and Hanty are greater than between Permic or Finnic languages (JMUJ1993: 280). So, there some clues for further investigation into whether several dialects of Mansi and several dialects of Hanty should be put in the same subgroup at all. After calculating the distances between Hungarian and the Ob-Ugrian languages, R. Taagepera came to the same conclusion as K.E. Majtinskaja and B. Kalman, i.e., Hungarian severed from the Ob-Ugric languages earlier than the Finno-Ugric language taxon divided into the Permic and Volgaic groups (Taagepera, 1994: 166 - 167). Marcantonio describes in detail the battle of the linguists in the late 19th century concerning two competing interpretations of the origin of the Hungarians and their language, when one party supported the theory of the Turkic origin of Hungarians and the other the Ugric origin (Marcantonio, 2002: 35 - 37).

Estimating the degrees of closeness of related languages, S. E. Jahontov insists that only close languages have to be put in one group in any linguistic classification. Unfortunately he is quite correct to point out that usually subgroups and groups are not defined properly. Thus, the degrees of closeness are not taken into consideration (Jahontov, 1980: 148). Strictly speaking, subgroups should include closer groups. In their own turn groups should include more close languages than families, and so on. Therefore, every stage in classification fixes more and more distant relatives.

Rein Taagepera and Ago Kuennap analysed the distances among the Uralic and other Northern Eurasian languages based on 46 structural features. In their study Hungarian was also the most distant from the other Ob-Ugric languages. Not only that, Hungarian was in fact far away from the other Finno-Ugric languages while the Ob-Ugric languages were closer to Permic languages and Mari (Taagepera et al., 2005: 161). Their Ob-Ugric taxon was the closest, i.e., the most compact while Hungarian stands quite far away from them. They also measured the distance between Hungarian and Finnic languages. This

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distance looks approximately the same as the distance between Hungarian and Ob-Ugric languages. Therefore it is not wise to put Hungarian in the Ugric taxon.

This is vividly seen in their Figure 3 on page 173. Hungarian forms a separate taxon, according to their data. It stands apart not only from the Ob-Ugric languages, but also from Finnic and Volgaic languages. The greatest distance is found between Hungarian and Samoyedic languages (Taagepera et al., 2005: 172). In fact, their investigation also speaks for constructing a new separate group for Hungarian inside the Finno-Ugric family. It is interesting to see that R. Taagepera and A. Kuennap actually verified our finding that Ob-Ugric languages are typologically closer to the Permic languages. It is necessary to remark that the results of the statistical investigation of Taagepera and Kuennap seem quite solid and reliable since it was based on the 46 phonetic, morphological, and grammatical features (Taagepera et al., 2005: 178 – 179).

Taking into consideration all these doubts, it is important to reconsider the Ugric language taxon. It is necessary to understand if the Ugric language taxon is narural or artificial. This depends on the place of the Hungarian language. If Hungarian is too different from the Ob-Ugrian languages (Mansi and Hanty), then the Ugric taxon is artificial. In its turn, it helps to solve the problem of whether Hungarian is similar enough to enter into one group with Mansi and Hanty. We'll consider the Ugric taxon further, but before that we must understand which taxon is natural and which is artificial.

Natural and artificial taxa

Before tackling the problem of the Ugric taxon, we must understand that some language taxa are natural and some are artificial. The Ugric taxon with Hungarian inside it looks artificial. The Ob-Ugric languages and Hungarian are not close enough to be put in one taxon. Its density becomes too low.

One can give an example of a natural set of languages, for instance the East Slavonic language taxon, including Belorussian, Russian and Ukrainian. It is possible to prove the naturalness of the taxon because they have similar cognates. However, they are also typologically close and the direct communication of speakers is possible. It is a fact that the native speakers of Russian can understand both Ukrainians and Belorussians, while Ukrainians can understand Belorussians. Even if one takes Eastern, Southern and Western Slavonic languages, one can say that some sort of communication is possible. It is not so obvious with some other language taxa. The communication within some other language groups is not possible. Let us take the example of the languages and dialects which enter Ugric group of languages: Hungarian, Mansi and Hanty. Hungarians do not understand either Mansi or Hanty. The speakers of the languages of the Ob-Ugrian branch (Mansi and Hanty) of the Ugric subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family usually cannot understand each other, either. Even the communication of the native speakers of different dialects of Mansi often is not possible. The Konda and Sosjva (i.e., Northern) dialects of the Mansi language are so different that communication between the speakers of these dialects is not possible. One should expect that the speakers of different dialects of a language must understand each other. However, this is not the case with the Ugric languages. It is also true for many dialects of the Hanty language, not to speak of Hanty and Mansi as it is, since they are said to be separate languages. Maybe, in the case of dialects of Mansi and Hanty, one should speak about languages, but not dialects. At the same time, Mansi, Hanty, and Hangarian are united in one group of languages.

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In this article we try to construct a sort of taxonomy for different groups of languages. Taxonomy is always a sort of classification. So, we can say that classification creates taxa. Natural classifications create natural taxa and articicial classifications create artificial taxa. The example of an artificial taxon may be a set of languages beginning with the letter "m" in the alphabetic catalogue the library. Let us just give some of the languages which begin with the letter "m", taken at random: "Mabida, Macedonian, Madu, Magahi, Malay, Mangarayi, Mansi, Marathi, Mari, Maykulan, Mbaatyana, Megeb, Moldavian, Mongolian, Mordovian, etc, etc." One can see that these languages are from different genetic groups and families. Therefore, it is not a genetic classification. Thus, it is not natural, but artificial. Specialists in the theory of classifications usually think it quite essential to define first of all two types of classifications: natural and artificial (Rozova, 1986: 45). Summing up all the points of view on the constructions of the natural and artificial classifications, we can say that natural classifications are basic and fundamental, while artificial classifications are optional and subjective. However, one cannot help agreeing with S. S. Rozova, N. I. Kondakov, M. S. Strogovich, and other specialists in the field of theoretical classifications, who analysed many classifications in the sciences and humanities. They come to the conclusion that it is often hard to judge if the classification is natural or artificial, especially at the initial stages of some sciences or humanities (Kondakov, 1971: 151; Rozova, 1986: 46 - 49). They point out that usually scholars try to build a natural classification because they consider natural classifications most important and "good". However, they end up with a sort of an artificial classification. More often than not a natural classification is a sort of the ideal. Genetic classifications are said to be natural. Rozova shows that usually genetic classifications, which were built at the early stages of development of some science and were thought to be natural at the early stage, are not natural. In fact, they turn to be artificial at the later stages of the development and should be reconsidered and changed (Rozova, 1986: 84 - 98). Maybe this is the case with Ugric group now. Perhaps the Ugric group should be analysed again and reconsidered, or left as it is if it proves to be natural. Rozova warns against considering hypotheses as facts (Rozova, 1986: 87 - 92).

Some time ago, the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages were considered to be separate language families. However, now it is fashionable to unite them into one genetic family (Austerlitz, 1990: 569). Though some linguists believe the united set of Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages called "Uralic family" is a natural taxon of languages, some other linguists (e.g. Ago Kuennap, Angela Marcantonio, Kalevi Wiik, etc.) do not believe them to be a family. By a family linguists usually mean a genetically related language taxon, which can be called natural. It is necessary to remark, of course, that it depends on how a language family is defined. One may call a family some set of languages, which are not genetically related. However, it is more correct to understand a family as a genetically related language entity, that is, a close set of genetically related languages. It is supposed to form a natural taxon. Many linguists believe Turkic languages to form a natural taxon, since they are very similar and direct communication is usually possible. Some specialists in Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic studies are quite skeptical that all Uralic languages, especially Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic, are genetically related. That is they do not believe Uralic taxon of languages to be a natural language taxon. The demonstration of a genetic relationship depends on finding words of similar phonological shape having equivalent meaning, called cognates. That means that if languages are related, their speech sound chains are similar.

Usually the languages of the world are classified into some taxa on the basis of some words, which have similar or identical sound forms, at the same time having similar or identical meanings. We are

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trying to study some of the defined language taxa by a new method called typologo-metrical. Here, we shall touch upon the taxon of Uralic languages. The taxon of Uralic languages is known to include Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages. We should analyse the typological similarity of the sound chains of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic taxa to find out if they are similar enough to belong to one and the same language family. If they are not similar, then one should come to the conclusion that their combination into one language family is artificial.

Let us consider one point, which may be the same for natural and artificial classifications, the usefulness of these classifications. Sometimes this point, especially at the early stages of the development of some sciences or humanities, leads scholars astray. Thus, a useful artificial classification may be taken for a natural classification. Actually, it may sound strange, but both natural and artificial classifications are quite useful. A list of Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic, Turkic or the world languages in alphabetic order is a fair example of a useful classification, which is at the same time artificial. The order of the languages in these classifications, and thus the neighbouring languages, has nothing to do with the origin or typology of these languages. Moreover, this order may be different in English and in Russian because the order of the letters is different. Nevertheless, this artificial classification of languages is quite useful, especially for different sorts of catalogues or lists. In fact, in describing Turkic languages we employed the principle of alphabetic order since there are at least 15 classifications of Turkic languages, which may be called natural, since they take into account some important and essential typologo-genetic features. At the same time, the artificial language classifications select some arbitrary features, which are not important or essential for this or that set of languages (Tambovtsev, 2001-b). In this case, an artificial classification is more correct, because a natural classification may be misleading. Nina Z. Gadzhieva does not believe it is possible to yield one classification of the Turkic languages, which should be true from all aspects. On the contrary, she emphasises that different features may give different classifications. She strongly believes that the use of computers and the methods of mathematical linguistics may help to correct the existing classifications of Turkic languages (Gadzhieva, 1980: 125).

We shall study different language taxa on the basis of the new method in linguistics, i.e., the degrees of compactness of the main phonetic features. Let us discuss the notion of compactness and how to measure the degree of compactness of different language taxa. In this form the notion of typological compactness from the phonological point of view was introduced in linguistics in 1986. It was based on the frequency of occurrence of some certain important and essential articulatory features. Several criteria of mathematical statistics were used to measure the compactness (Tambovtsev, 1986).

Establishing the Strict Hierachy of Language Taxa

However, before discussing the degrees of compactness of different language taxa, one must establish the exact order of the language taxa. The ordered series of the taxa has to begin with the smallest taxon and end with the largest one. By the smallest taxon we mean the language taxon, which includes the least number of languages. It is quite logical to begin with the notion of a branch as the smallest language taxon. Thus, we can propose to define the following ordered series of language taxa from the smallest to the largest:

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1. branch

2. subgroup

3. group

4. family

5. unity

6. phylum

7. union

8. community

Language taxonomy is known to be tightly linked with language typology and language classification. Typology is considered to be the method of research, which is based on the separation of a set of some objects into certain types. The type is meant to be a taxonomic unit. As a result, one can receive a sort of taxonomy, which in linguistics can be understood as a sort of classification. Nickolai G. Zagorujko points out that the structure of a taxon is better if more similar objects are united into one taxon. The diversion of the individual characteristics of the objects from the mean is minimal. The requirements for "similarity" or "closeness" are based on the notion of compactness and are put forward by different scholars who deal with taxonomy (Zagorujko, 1972: 90).

One has to define a set of some languages as a branch, i.e., the smallest language taxon. One of the options is to define Ob-Ugric languages (Mansi and Hanty) as a branch of the Ugric subgroup of the Finno-Ugric group of the Uralic family. In its own turn the Uralic family may enter the Ural-Altaic language unity. It is quite logical, but may or may not be a natural classification of the languages in question. Unfortunately, in linguistics the notion of a branch, subgroup, group, etc. is not paid enough attention to, so their usage is often mixed. Thus, a branch is often wrongly called a subgroup or a group. Even a language family is sometimes called a group, though sometimes it is called a language unity. So, one can see that the definitions of language taxa are not stable. In fact, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the terms and the natural subdivisions or divisions, which are generally accepted and fixed.

Therefore, it is better to use for language sets some general term like "a taxon". We propose by a language taxon to mean some sort of a set of languages. Actually, by our typologo-metrical method we try to construct some sort of typologo-metric classification for Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages known as Uralic languages. However, it is still a great enigma whether they are a closely related family from a typological point of view. They may be a conglomeration of languages, mechanically put together, just for some sort of convenience to classify them. Thus, in this case, one should call them an artificial classification. If they are sufficiently close from the phono-typological point of view, then they should be called a natural classification. A natural classification is apt to be a genetic one with greater probability. After calculating Uralic compactness on the one hand, and Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic compactness on the other, one can draw certain conclusions, as we can receive the values of compactness for these taxa: a) Ugric; b) Ugric-Permian; c) Ugric-Volgaic; d) Finno-Ugric; e) Uralic; and many others.

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After that it is advisable to compare these values of compactness with those of the Turkic, Tungus-Manchurian and other taxa of the world languages. Thus, we are trying to build up some new sort of systematics of the Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic and other languages defined in accordance with their presumed or natural relationships based on some certain set of the selected features.

Recent Developments in Uralistics

It is obvious that not only the Ugric taxon should be reconsidered. It looks that recent developments in Uralistics are creating a sort of a crisis of a scientific paradigm in the field of Uralistics. One can notice the main features of this crisis, which were or are the same as in the other Sciences or Humanities. These features are well described by T. S. Kuhn in his book "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" as the crisis of the old scientific paradigm and the creation of the new scientific theories (Kun, 1977: 96 - 109). Kuhn is quite correct to stress that the old scientific paradigm never goes away peacefully. Usually, the scholars strongly and negatively react to new theories and to those scholars who introduce new theories. Kuhn points out that what the scholars never do is to rush to the support of the new theory (Kun, 1977: 110 - 119). We can see the similar negative reaction of the majority of the specialists in Uralistics to the new theories of Ago Kuennap, Angela Marcantonio, Wiik Kalevi and others, who reject the old scientific paradigm in Uralistics.

We have made up our mind to introduce some new data about the typology of sound chains in the Uralic languages. Our data may help either to make the old Uralic paradigm stronger or give new evidence for rejecting it. It is easy to explain psychologically why the old scientific paradigms are more stable and why many scholars would rather cling to false (but old) paradigm than switch over to the true (but new and unknown) one. It is quite cosy to remain in the embrace of the old and known paradigm. One can always close his or her eyes to its inconsistencies and drawbacks. Many Uralic linguists got used to the old classification, which they first studied as students. They do not want to think about it twice, since they usually work on some other linguistic problems which do not concern the classification of languages. Usually, many linguists do not want to disturb "sleeping dogs". They do not believe that this or that linguistic classification must be checked again and again. Fortunately, in Uralistics there are some other linguists who think that with growing linguistic knowledge the old linguistic classifications should be verified. That is every new linguistic fact should be used to verify the old linguistic classifications. If there more and more new linguistic facts which contradict the old classification, then it has to be reconsidered on the basis of the new level of linguistic knowledge. The linguists with modern linguistic thinking argue that the old linguistics classifications must be verified and checked again and again and reconsidered if necessary, again and again. However, in Uralistics, as well as in linguistics in general, old classifications are not reconsidered after an abundance of new linguistic facts has been received. One must bear in mind a simple idea: what was good and logical several centuries ago, i.e., at the old level development of linguistics, may be neither good nor logical at the advanced development of linguistics, of course, if we want to call this "science". Any linguist must understand the difference between a linguistic fact, which may remain true, though discovered several centuries ago, and a linguistic theory, which can be altered or rejected when abundant new linguistic facts are discovered.

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Some outstanding linguists like Boris A. Serebrennikov urged linguists to return to the established language taxa (classifications) again in order to verify them on the basis of certain laws of logic. He stressed that each established genetic language family (i.e., a language taxon or a classification) is not a fact but a hypothesis (Serebrennokov, 1982: 6).

Compactness of Language Taxa

We built our definitions and ideas about compactness on the fundamentals of pattern recognition in order to be able to solve some of the problems in Uralistics. Actually, the problems in other fields of linguistics are often similar and cannot be solved in any other linguistic way, i.e., by remaining inside the frames of reasoning and data of classical linguistics.

It is important to bear in mind that in this form the notion of *compactness* is usually used in the Sciences, not in the Humanities, though we omit mathematical formalism. We understand *compact* as "neatly fitted, firmly put together, closely united or packed, not gangling or spare; concentrated in a limited area or small space, compressed, condensed, having density". One should note that if we remove the unnecessary mathematical formalism of pattern recognition, then this notion is very similar to the notion of compactness in philosophy, science, technology, and everyday life (EK, 1975:457; Hornby, 1984: 115; Kondakov, 1975: 254; Ozhegov, 1970: 280; Webster, 1965: 168). In linguistics it was not used previously in the way we use it. It appears that we introduced it into typology for the first time in our own works in the seventies of the previous century. One should not mix the term *compact* in pattern recognition and in acoustics, which was later used in experimental phonetics. It is true that there the term "compact" was used in the acoustical sense, as one of the features of a vowel or consonant sound, invented and set up by Jakobson and Halle in their distinctive feature theory of phonology; compact sounds are defined acoustically as those which have a relatively high concentration of acoustic energy in a narrow, central part of the sound spectrum. This is a common notion in acoustic phonetics and is generally accepted.

We understand *compactness* as it is understood in pattern recognition with reference to languages, if a language is understood as an object. That is, we understand it as the degree of how compact the languages are placed in the language taxa: branches, subgroups, groups, families, unities and other language superfamilies from the point of view of the frequency of occurrence of certain groups of consonants in certain languages. In other words, it is the value of the total distance between the languages inside a language taxon, i.e., a branch, subgroup, group, family, or any other language superfamily. In fact, we believe that every language subgroup, group, family, superfamily, unity, or Sprachbund should be considered as a taxon. The taxonomic approach was taken from biosystematics and pattern recognition. This approach requires us to select certain linguistic features. We have selected the frequency of occurrence of certain phonological classes (vowels and consonants) and groups (labial, front, palatal, velar, sonorant, occlusive, fricative and voiced consonants). The compactness of a language subgroup, group or family is calculated on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of the mentioned features.

We found only two cases of the notion of compactness being used in linguistics in our way. We believe that in these cases, the notion of compactness, which we described earlier, does not differ from the meaning of this term used in their linguistic works. First of all, we mean the works of V. V. Martynov,

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T.V. Gamkrelidze and Vjach. Vs. Ivanov. Unfortunately they don't define the term *compactness*. We can presume that this term is used in its common logical sense that is in the sense reflected in the dictionaries. Thus, V. V. Martynov speaks about "a compact language massive", meaning that the native speakers of a certain language live together (Martynov, 1983: 6). Tomaz V. Gamkrelidze and Vjacheslav Vs. Ivanov speak about "the compactness of territorial language spread" (Gamkrelidze et al., 1984: 44).

Sometimes this term is used in the sense close to ours in archeology. So, Tret'jakov speaks of "compact heaps of ancient relics" (Tret'jakov, 1970: 81), "compactness of the territories of the peoples" (Tret'jakov, 1970: 3) or "compact settling" (Tret'jakov, 1982: 118).

It is necessary to emphasise that in our works we have used a more precise definition of *compactness* (Tambovtsev, 1986; 1991). It was possible to receive some new linguistic results because we based our investigation on the clearly cut and exact definition of compactness. It is accepted and used in pattern recognition and statistical methods of classification (Arkadjev et al., 1964: 29-34; 1971; Bongard, 1967: 30-31; Eliseeva et al., 1977: 9-14; Mirkin, 1976: 114-116; Vasil'jev, 1969: 16-18; Zagorujko, 1972: 21).

Some scholars speak about "condensation" which is in fact the same as *compactness* (Mirkin, 1976: 114-146). Yuri D. Apresjan uses the term *condensation* in linguistics. Based on condensations his algorithm, he constructs classes of verbs in Russian (Apresjan, 1966: 141-144). We consider that in this case both terms: *compactnes* and *condensation* mean the same.

Let us consider in detail what is compactness or condensation. B. G. Mirkin considers condensation to be such a set of objects in which any inner link is shorter than any outer link (Mirkin, 1980: 235). Further we shall se that the definition of compactness is more or less the same in the opinion of different scholars.

The first scholars who defined compactness were A. G. Arkadjev and E. M. Braverman, who dealt with methods of pattern recognition. They considered compactness as the set which satisfies the following conditions:

a. the number of marginal points is much less than the total number of points;

b. any two inner points may be linked by a rather smooth line coming only through the points of the same set; and as a consequence -

c. almost any inner point has only the points of the same set in a rather vast neighbourhood (Arkadjev et al., 1964: 28).

Arkadjev and E. Braverman developed the idea of compactness in their subsequent works. Actually, they remark, that if the group (set) is compact, then the objects inside it should be linked tightly, and on the contrary, the objects of different groups should be far away (Arkadjev et al., 1971: 27).

Another pattern recognition expert, V. I. Vasil'ev, believes that if the set of points is compact, then:

a. a smooth transition from one image to another is always possible inside one and the same pattern, so that all intermediate images are recognised as the images of one and the same pattern; on the contrary it is not possible to transit from the elements of one image to the elements of the other image without obtaining some intermediate elements which have uncertain origin;

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b.   if the deformation of the image in any direction is not great, then they remain inside the same image (Vasil'ev, 1969: 16-17). However, further Vasil'ev cites all the requirements of Arkadjev and Braverman, which we discussed above. Therefore, they are not provided here.

M. M. Bongard remarks that if the set of points is compact, then they all are situated in a space closely (Bongard, 1967: 30-31).

N. G. Zagorujko believes that one often operates with the notion of compactness in pattern recognition, by which one means that the realisation of one and the same image is reflected in geometrically close points of the sample space (Zagorujko, 1972: 21). I. I. Eliseeva and V. O. Rukavishnikov speak about compactness and condensation as about the places where the points concentrate (Eliseeva et al., 1977: 40).

Thus, it is easy to define a taxon as compact. One should find the inner and outer links of the languages inside it and check if the mean of the inner links is less than the mean of the outer links.

The majority of pattern recognition experts agree with the definition of compactness given by V. M. Glushkov and his co-authors in "Encyclopaedia of Cybernetics" who regard the hypothesis of compactness as a supposition that the subset of the images to be recognised is simple in a certain sense. The notion of simplicity may be realised differently. For instance, the classes of images are called compact if they may be separated from each other with the help of hyper-planes or when each class of images can be represented in the form of the unity of several convex sets.

The criterion of compactness reflects the idea that the images of one class should be more similar, than those of different classes (EK, 1975: 229). If a set of objects (in our case - languages) is compact, then it forms a taxon, i.e., a subgroup, group, family, or superfamily. This is why the notion of taxon is closely connected with the notion of compactness. In fact, the value of compactness may be regarded as the total of the inner distances inside a taxon.

Every language may be regarded as a separate object. We must analise this object and define some features on the basis of which we shall form taxa. The features must be basic. Simon G. Kordonskij states that there are two forms of theoretical descriptions. Classificational description introduces the notion of a taxon while the experimental description introduces the notion of a type. Taxa fix the objects, which exist. Types fix the functioning of objects, i.e., the way the objects exist (Kordonskij, 2001: 19). Languages may be regarded both as objects and as sets of functions. Thus languages may be both taxa and types.

Yuri A. Shreider understands languages as inner systems which could be classified. Therefore he understands the schemes of language classifications as the outer systems. In fact, by the outer system he considers some class of objects which have some common features. Moreover, he thinks that these object may be united because and only because of the fact that they form a natural system. Developing his ideas, S. G. Kordonskij adds that common features may be a part of both inner and outer systems. The outer system may fall into classes in the natural way (Kordonskij, 1983: 141). It is quite important for linguists to understand if existing language taxa are real (i.e., natural) or imaginary (i.e., artificial), and can be changed by the next generation of linguists. We believe that our investigation may help linguists to regard existing language classifications as natural systems. In our case the great value of compactness indicates that the classification is natural, thus the taxa are natural too. On the contrary, if the value of compactness

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is small, then the classification is not natural. This in fact may show that one should not unite some languages in one taxon (group).

When uniting some languages into subgroups, groups, families and superfamilies, we separate them from the medium of the rest world languages. As G. P. Mel'nikov correctly remarks, going over from the medium to the object, a subject discovers an object as a violation of the qualitative property, i.e., as the violation of the homogenious property of the quality (Mel'nikov, 1978: 22). In this case compactness may be an indicator of holism. In a sense, the value of compactness shows the limits of allowed differences between the languages in a taxon, which can be measured by the theoretical values of the "chi-square" criterion. If the introduction of a language violates the compactness of a taxon too much, then the obtained value of chi-square criterion is greater than its theoretical value. One can see that this certain language does not belong to this certain taxon (Tambovtsev, 1994-a: 23-69). G. P. Mel'nikov calls this the borders of the allowed diffusion of the functional states. Transferring his remark on a language taxon as a holistic object, one can speak about the limits of the changes under which the given object remains within the limits of stable functioning (Mel'nikov, 1978: 55).

In other words, the stability of a taxon as a holistic object aims at the influence on those languages whose occurrences differ too much from the mean of the taxon. It the language does not want to accommodate its typology, then it is ousted from the taxon. Sometimes only one language violates the compactness of the taxon. However, there may be cases when many languages greatly fluctuate from the mean. If these differences are greater than the theoretical values of the chi-square criterion, then one should not consider this taxon holistic. In this case it is not a group, but a mechanical mixture, i.e., random conglomeration of languages. It is not what can be called a natural class (taxon).

We believe that the value of the compactness of a language taxon may be the indicator of the measure of how much systemic this or that group is, if this group is a holistic object. In the opinion of G. P. Mel'nikov, any object may be regarded as a system, if it is defined how systemic it is (Mel'nikov, 1978: 68). Gennadij P. Mel'nikov underlined the importance of treating the languages of the world as some sort of a system, which should be studied by the methods of mathematical statistics (Mel'nikov, 2003: 278 - 281; 347, etc.).

As it was mentioned earlier, it is very important to select the most essential features in order to construct a taxon. The features chosen are the most basic for any language. They are the frequency of occurrence of the articulatory consonantal groups defined by:

a. the work of the active organ of speech: labial, front, palatal and velar; sometimes it is called the place of articulation;

b. the manner of articulation: sonorant, occlusive and fricative;

c. the work of the vocal cords: voiced.

This provides the most complete consonantal classification from the point of view of articulation. This is why we can call these features the most basic and essential for any human language. Therefore, we choose 8 feature for consonants: 1) labial; 2) front; 3) palatal; 4) velar; 5) sonorant; 6) occlusive; 7) fricative; 8) voiced. They have equal typological weights.

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The frequency of occurrence of the consonantal groups mentioned above is calculated in per cent to all the phonemes in the speech sound chain. The frequency of vowels is tacitly present, though in this work it is not vividly (exactly, explicitly, obviously) used. If it is not possible to determine the differences in the compactness of language taxa basing only on consonants, then the actual frequencies of vowels should be introduced.

The etalon for comparing typological similarities of speech sound chains of different languages is the value of compactness of different language taxa. This is quit clear now. However, it is not clear how to calculate the value of compactness. We must develop a certain method for linguistics since no one has done it before. We have developed several methods. Now let us consider them. The easiest method to calculate compactness is the calculation of the standard deviation. However, the easiest way is not always the best. We can't use it for reasons of commensurability. Nevertheless, one can use standard deviation if one studies the variability of a certain group of consonants in one and the same language. For instance, one can calculate the variability of labial consonants in the texts of different writers in English. If one wants to compare the data, which have various values of their means, then one should use the coefficient of variance, which keeps to the laws of commensurability. Actually, the coefficient of variance allows us to compare data of different sorts and origins.

We must emphasise that it is quite necessary to keep to the principle of commensurability. Usually this is not discussed in linguistics. Nevertheless, it is one of the most basic principles in any scientific investigation (Drujanov, 1982: 28 - 52; 101 - 115; Zagorujko, 1981: 32 - 34).

In comparing objects (in this case, languages) one should keep to one and the same principle and the comparison must use the universal parameters (Kondakov, 1971: 151). We believe compactness to be a universal parameter since we can measure it on the taxa of languages of different genetic origin and morphologic structure.

To measure compactness one should first measure its inverse, i.e., diffusion or deviation. Actually, many methods have been invented to measure deviation or variance. One is the coefficient of variance; another is the value of the T-coefficient. One should bear in mind that the values of both coefficients are inverse to the value of compactness. In other words, the greater their value, the lesser the value of compactness, and on the contrary, the lower their value, the greater the value of compactness. Before explaining how to calculate the coefficient of variance and T-coefficient, let us consider the calculation of the standard deviation, which is the basis for calculation of the coefficient of variance.

Very often linguists compare means of occurrence of some linguistic units and don't go further than that. Actually, the mean value is more reliable than the mode or median. One should take the mean because it represents the distribution better than the mode or median (Pavlovskij, 1967: 55). Nevertheless, to see the variance, a linguist should use the standard deviation because it is the measure of dispersion and changeability. Christopher Butler believes that the standard deviation is difficult to interpret in common-sense terms, but recommends it, for it has properties which make it very suitable for further statistical work (Butler, 1985: 37). Standard deviation measures how the values of some variable are grouped around their mean. The value of the standard deviation shows the degree of this variability. It is measured by the sum of the values of the differences raised to the second power. The greater the value of the standard deviation of some linguistic unit, the more dispersed the values around their mean. The

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greater dispersion, the greater the changeability of some linguistic phenomenon. And on the contrary, if dispersion becomes less, then the changeability is less (Tambovtsev, 1994: 33 - 37).

Let's discuss the properties of standard deviation in detail. Compactness is really closely connected to variability. Christopher Butler is quite correct to state that first of all we must answer this question: how closely do the data cluster around the mean. We must also answer another question before considering measures of variability in some detail: why do we bother to measure this property at all? We agree with him that variability may be of interest in its own right (Butler, 1985: 35). In this case, it is important because we attempt to find out the compactness profile of a language taxon. On the one hand, we can claim a difference in the typology of speech sound chains of some languages much more confidently if the values are widely spread. On the other hand, we can see typological similarity between languages if the values cluster closely round the mean of a language taxon. One must bear in mind that neither the range nor the mean of some linguistic values is evident enough while comparing two language taxa. It is quite necessary to calculate the value of the standard deviation to realise the true distribution inside a language taxon. Let us show it graphically on a simple one-dimensional case, though our conclusions are true for multi-dimensional cases. Theoretically one can imagine several cases (more details in Tambovtsev, 2003: 77 - 124).

It is easy to see that if two taxa have an equal number of members, then their means are equal to each other if the range is the same. However, the values of the standard deviation are quite different, and, thus, the values of compactness are quite different, too:

    A) [_[_[_[_[_[_[_[.   B) [_[_[_[_____[_[_[

This is the most complex case. Nevertheless, even in this case, one can measure the true difference between the values of compactness in these taxa.

Practically, in linguistics, one encounters the situation when the number of the members in the taxa and their ranges are different. We should consider these cases simpler. However, even then, it is better to calculate the value of the standard deviation in order to see how much their compactness values differ.

It is quite clear that if a taxon has the same number of members as another, then its compactness is less, if its range is greater:

    A) [_[_[_[_[_[_[.   B) [__[__[__[__[__[__[__[.

On the contrary, if the range in both taxa is the same, then the taxon with the greater number of members has the greater value of compactness:

    A) [_[_[_[_[_[_[.   B) [___[___[___[

We considered all the possible situations in which the value of standard deviation works better than the mean or the range.

One can easily find the formula of standard deviation in any book on linguistic statistics (e.g., Butler, 1985: 37; Tambovtsev, 2003: 11 - 16).

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Let's consider the properties of the coefficient of variation. As it was mentioned above, the coefficient of variation is used in such situations where it is necessary to compare the variability of distributions described in different units. In our case, it is not possible to compare the compactness of labial and front consonants with the help of standard deviation since their values differ too much. For instance, the value of the standard deviation of the labial consonants of the Ugric languages (Tab.3) is much less (nearly twice) than the standard deviation of the front consonants (cf. 1.49 and 1.90). However, the coefficient of variation of the front consonants, on the contrary, is less than half (cf. 12.65% and 6.09%). Actually, the value of the standard deviation of labial consonants of the Germanic group of Indo-European family is 1.14, while the value of standard deviation of the front consonants is 5.38. We shall see further that in fact the values of standard deviations of labial and front consonants are incommensurable, that is, they cannot be compared directly. There is no basis for comparison since the mean of the labial consonants in Ugric languages is 11.79, while the mean of the Ugric front consonants is 3 times greater (31.18). The same incommensurability can be observed in other language taxons. For instance, the labial mean in Germanic languages comprises 11.42 while the front mean is 37.78. We must use some sort of measure which takes into account the great absolute differences. Usually, to compare such great differences, the values of the coefficient of variation is applied, since it is a reliable relative measure (Richmond, 1964: 89 - 90; Tambovtsev, 2004: 11 - 16):

$V = S / M \bullet 100\%$

where   V — the coefficient of variation

S — the standard deviation

M — the mean value

In fact, Chris Butler, Raimond G. Piotrovski, Yuri Tambovtsev and others have shown that the coefficient of variance allows us to compare any data with any other data in linguistics by the values of the coefficient of variance without bothering about incommensurability of data (Butler, 1985: 37 - 43; Tambovtsev, 2004: 11 - 16).

If we reconsider the compactness of the labial consonants on the basis of the coefficient of variance, we can see that it is more similar to the actual facts. The coefficient of variance of labial consonants in the Ugric taxon is 12.65% while that of the front consonsnts is 6.09%, that is less than half, while their standard deviations are more or less the same, 1.49 and 1.90. Let us take another example. The coefficient of variance of labial (V=10.01%) and front (14.25%) consonants of the Germanic group, which shows the compactness is more or less the same (cf. 10.01% and 14.25%), though their standard deviations are quite different (cf. 1.14 and 5.38). One can see that coefficient of variation yields a more reliable result. One must not forget that the value of compactness is converse to that of the coefficient of variation. Thus, the taxon of Germanic languages is more compact, from the point of view of the labial (V=10.01%), than front (14.25%) consonants. It is also possible to compare the compactness of different language taxa from the point of view of labial consonants. For instance, the Iranian group of Indo-European (V=15.06%) is less compact by the parameter of the labial consonants while Indic group is more compact (V=6.85%). The coefficient of variation allows us to compare the labial compactness of the groups of the Indo-European family mentioned above with those of families: Mongolian (V=7.55%), Tungus-Manchurian (16.19%) or American Indian languages (29.89%).

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The value of the coefficient of variation as well as T-coefficient may measure the linguistic stability of a sample text. We can understand it in the way the notion of stability is used in cybernetics, i.e., stability is the ability of a system to return to some stationary state from any other different state (Glushkov, 1975: 468). Or in other words, stability is a property allowing some distortions to occur within certain limits, which are small enough (Glushkov, 1975: 478).

Actually, there arises a question as to how great these allowed limits should be. It is easier to determine such limits for the T - coefficient, as we shall see further. Now, let us explain how it is possible to calculate the T-coefficient (hereafter, *TMB coefficient* or *TMB*). We do it with the help of the theoretical values for the "Chi-square" criterion, given in statistical tables (e.g. Bol'shev et al., 1983). In order to calculate the TMB coefficient, it is necessary to divide the obtained Chi-square value by its table value taking into considerations the degrees of freedom (Tambovtsev, 2003). If the value of this TMB coefficient is less than 1 (a unit), then the set under investigation should be considered homogenous. If it is equal to 1 (a unit) or greater, then the set is not homogenous. It is necessary to point out that we can measure different degrees of homogeneity or dispersion by the values of the TMB coefficient.

However, it is more difficult to understand how great the allowed limits should be for the coefficient of variation since there are no theoretical limits for it. In linguistics, as well as in the Humanities and in all the Sciences connected with man and his activity, these allowed limits are derived empirically, i.e., from practice. Unfortunately, different scholars allow different limits. Some of them consider it tolerable to have its value up to 50% (Martynenko, 1988: 62). V. N. Sis'kov is sure that the taxon is homogenous and stable if the value of the coefficient of variation is less than 33% (Sis'kov, 1971: 10). G. Ja. Martynenko considers the set of texts of the writers of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century stable and integral by some of the syntax features because their coefficient of variation is much less than 33% (Martynenko, 1988: 150 - 154). R. G. Piotrovkij calculates the stability of the use of the English definite article (V=7.12%) and the German word "power" in the texts of FRG (V= 90.00%) and GDR (160.00%). He thinks that the distribution of the article may be called stable (Piotrovskij et al., 1977: 243).

G. Ja. Martynenko correctly points out that the greater the value of the coefficient of variation, the greater the probability that the set is not homogenous. He calls it the criterion of fluctuation (Martynenko, 1988: 62). V. I. Sis'kov believes that a high value of this coefficient may indicate to the mixture of some two distributions with quite different means (Sis'kov, 1975: 101). A. I.Venchikov and his colleagues think that the value of this coefficient should not be greater than 50% (Venchikov et al., 1974: 21). G. N. Zajtsev considers critical a value greater than 105%. Actually, he proposes the following scale: 1) small variation: 0% - 4%; 2) normal variation: 5% - 44%; 3) considerable variation: 45% - 64%; 4) great variation: 65% - 84%; 5) very big variation: 85% - 104%; 6) abnormal variation: 105% and above. Within the limits of normal variation he defines the so-called lower norm: 5% - 24% (Zajtsev, 1990: 39). So, his norm (44%) is greater than the critical value (33%) for other scholars.

In order to set up a crucial limit for our phonemic variations, let us consider how the coefficient of variation behaves in speech acoustics. Let us consider fluctuation of the acoustic duration of speech sounds. The value of coefficient of variation of the voiced part of English consonants is 26.56% - 27.49%; tempo of speech - 7.69% - 16.04%; duration of Russian vowels 14.97% - 27.83% (Bondarko, 1981; Bondarko et al, 1983). The value of the coefficient of variation of Kumandin vowel duration is within the limits of 5.49% - 18.04%; in Ket the range is 20.51% - 34.97%.

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Compactness of the Ugric Taxon in Comparison to Different Language Taxa

Further we shall use the value of compactness to judge if some taxonomy or clusterisation is made correctly. This is shown in detail in Tables (cf. Tab 1 - 3). We will calculate the compactness of some language taxon, then unite it with some other taxon, and measure if the value of compactness becomes greater or lesser. We will be able to notice that the value of the compactness of an artificial taxon which consists of two or more groups is less than of a natural taxon. One can use the fact that if two groups are mingled together, then the compactness of the mixture is usually greater than the compactness of each group. In this case, one can judge how homogenous a taxon is. One can measure it with the help of the value of the coefficient of variation or the TMB-coefficient. If the value of the coefficient of variation or the TMB-coefficient becomes smaller, then the language which is introduced in a taxon belongs to the taxon. If it becomes greater, then the introduced language does not belong to the group, since its sound chain is typologically too different. In fact, this coefficient verifies the similarity of the sound chain of a language to the similarity of the other languages in a language taxon. The more similar a language is to the other languages of the taxon, the greater it raises its compactness.

Usually, genetically related languages have similar sound chains. The most similar are the consonants. This is why we took consonants as the basis for our study. The classical comparative method is built on the comparison of sounds. In this sense our method gives similar results.

Let us show the sound similarities of the genetically related languages. The Eastern subgroup of the Slavonic group of the Indo-European language family shows very close similarity:

	mother	brother	sister	children	grand-child
Russian	mat'	brat	s'estra	d'et'I	vnuk
Ukrainian	mati	brat	sestra	d'iti	vnuk
Belorussian	matsi	brat	s'astra	dzetsi	unuk

We can take the compactness of the Eastern subgroup of the Slavonic taxon as a fair ethalon for language compactness. Its coefficient of variance is 7.72% and the TMB = 0.03. One can see that these 3 languages are really very similar. Further, we'll compare these values to the values of the other language taxa.

Approximately the same similar sound picture is found in other genetically related languages. Genetic relatedness shows typological closeness from the point of view of the sound chains. Therefore, if two languages have similar sound chains they may be genetically related, but at the same time they are typologically similar. We can judge typological closeness by the value of compactness. Sometimes, however, languages become typologically close due to contact over a long time. This is why, it is important to trace the contact of languages. We will compare the values of compactness of the groups in the language families where groups are well-defined (e.g. Finno-Ugric and Indo-European).

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Compactness of the Ugric Language Taxon

The compactness of the Ugric language taxon allows us to find the answer to the question of how natural the Ugric language taxon is. Actually, that is the main aim of this article, to consider the set of languages called Ugric languages. According to the modern state of the development of Finno-Ugric studies, the Ugric subgroup of the Finno-Ugric language family is said to include Mansi, Hanty, and Hungarian. As a matter of fact, it is necessary to point out that we compare Hungarian not only to Finno-Ugric, but also to Turkic languages, because during its long history of development, Hungarian close contact with Turkic languages. Daniel Abondolo, Bela Kalman and other linguists underline that Hungarian is not typical among the Uralic family (Abondodolo, 1990: 577).

We take for our anasysis 5 Ugric languages and dialects: the Northern (Sos'va) dialect of Mansi, Konda dialect of Mansi, Northern (Kazym) dialect of Hanty, Eastern dialect of Hanty and Hungarian (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1.: The Frequency of Occurrence of the Groups of Consonants and the Other Statistical Characteristics of 5 Ugric Languages and Dialects. Mean V%=27.66%; Mean TMB= 0.47.

Conson.Lang.	Labial	Front	Palatal	Back	Sonor	Occluss	Fricativ	Voiced
Mansi North.	13.56	30.08	6.79	10.64	32.03	17.00	12.04	2.74
Mansi Konda	12.29	29.72	12.30	8.46	30.07	16.56	16.15	4.50
Hanty North.	12.60	30.83	7.60	8.61	30.97	17.19	11.48	0.00
Hanty East.	10.45	30.81	5.19	13.53	21.83	24.20	13.95	10.51
Hungarian	10.04	34.47	4.07	9.44	22.53	22.62	12.87	12.70
Mean	11.79	31.18	7.19	10.14	27.48	19.51	13.30	6.09
S	1.49	1.90	3.17	2.09	4.90	3.61	1.85	5.34
SI	2.22	3.61	10.05	4.35	24.01	13.03	3.41	28.52
V %	12.65	6.09	44.08	20.57	17.82	18.49	13.88	87.69
TMB	0.08	0.05	0.59	0.18	0.37	0.42	0.11	1.97
Chi-sq	0.75	0.46	5.59	1.72	3.49	4.00	1.03	18.73
1\2 CI	1.42	1.81	3.02	1.99	4.67	3.44	1.76	5.09

The data in Tab. 1 show that the value of coefficient of variation of the labial consonants is 12.65% and TMB=0.08. Therefore, the front consonants of the 5 Ugric languages are dispersed less, as their values are 6.09% and 0.05 respectively. The most dispersed are the palatal consonants V=44.08% and TMB=0.59. We can compare every group of the consonants of the 5 Ugric languages in this way not only to each other but also to the other groups of languages. The labial consonants are dispersed in more or less the same way in the group of 7 Finnic languages (c.f. MV= 12.41% and MTMB= 0.08). However, they are more dispersed in the 4 Volgaic languages (MV=17.10% and MTMB=0.12). It takes much time and effort to compare each group of consonants. It is possible to find the cumulative value for all the groups. We should take the mean of the values in order to be compatible if the number of features (groups of consonants) becomes less or more. So, the mean value for the coefficient of variation is 27.66% and the

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mean TMB=0.47. They are greater then those of the Volgaic (V=17.90%; TMB=0.13) or Finnic (23.24%; TMB=0.35) groups. One must admit that the most compact is the Permic group (MV=11.65%; MTMB=0.07). In this group Komi-Zyrian is very close to Komi-Permian (MV=3.16%; MTMB=0.01).

What can this mean? It can mean only one thing, that the Ugric taxon is more dispersed and looks more like an artificial taxon. However, for this conclusion, we must consider Hungarian as a member of some other language taxa. Let us, consider the point of view of those linguists who claim that Hungarian must be considered a Turkic language. To prove it, we must introduce Hungarian into the taxon of the Turkic languages.

At the first sight it is quite striking that Hungarian makes the compactness of the Turkic taxon higher (MV= 18.42, MTMB= 0.21). However, if one takes into consideration the ethnic contacts of the Hungarians during their history, it is not so surprising. It may be because of the ancient contacts of Hungarians with Turkic peoples in Siberia and then for the period of the Hungarians living for more than one thousand years on the Volga river. Speech communication between Hungarians and the Ob-Ugrians, i.e., Mansi (Vogul) and Hanty (Ostjak), is not possible. We must point to the fact that the frequency of occurrence of the 8 consonantal groups turns out to be quite different. It is important to bear in mind that A. Marcantonio came to the conclusion that Hungarian is not a Uralic language. She writes about the history of attribution of Hungarian either to the Finno-Ugric family (J. Budenz) or to the Turkic family (A. Vambery). She points out that 52% of the Hungarian lexicon should not be considered Uralic. She finds only 19% of the Budenz core lexicon to be surely Finno-Ugric (Marcantonio, 2002: 37 - 48).

Let us indicate that the dispersion of the whole Finno-Ugric family (MV= 24.14%, MTMB= 0.47) is greater than that of its parts. Actually, this may be a sort of indication of the whole taxon having gaps, thus being rather dispersed than homogenous. Consequently, the Ugric and Baltic-Finnic languages obviously show different tendencies in the use of consonantal groups. The mean of the coefficient of variance (MV) in the subgroup of Ugric languages is 27.66%, MT = 0.47. The dispersion of the Baltic-Finnic subgroup is less (MV= 23.24%, MTMB= 0.35). The dispersion of the Volgaic subgroup (MV= 17.90%, MTMB= 0.13) is less than that of the Baltic-Finnic subgroup.

Let us make some experiments in mixing up different subgroups of the Finno-Ugric languages. Let us mix up the Ugric and Permic taxa. The dispersion of this united Ugro-Permic taxon (MV= 26.46%, MTMB= 0.46) is less than that of the Ugric taxon (MV= 27.66%, MTMB= 0.47). This fact indicates the similarity in the distribution of consonants in the Ugric and in Permic languages. One can state that Ugric and Permic languages are typologically closer to each other than to the other Finno-Ugric languages. Robert Austerlitz seems to have no solid foundation to put Permic and Volgaic languages into one taxon with the Baltic-Finnic languages (Austerlitz, 1990: 570). Our data show quite vividly that Ugric languages are closer to Permic languages (cf. Table 2, 3). The united Ugro-Permic group is more compact (c.f. MV= 23.99%; MTMB= 0.47). Our statistical analysis conferm the conclusions of Budenz, Zsirai, Moor, Haidu, Redei and Helimskij, who believe that Finnic severed from the Ugro-Permic group rather than on the contrary.

In order to prove this statement, we have to mix Ugric taxon with the Volgaic and Baltic-Finnic taxa.

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The united taxon of Ugric and Volgaic languages has a greater dispersion (MV= 26.35%, MTMB= 0.45), than the united taxon of Volgaic and Baltic-Finnic languages (MV= 23.22%, MTMB= 0.35). This means that Volgaic and Baltic-Finnic languages have more typologically similar tendencies.

It will be interesting to see if these tendencies are preserved if we put some isolated Asiatic languages into the Finno-Ugric family. It may reveal if these isolated languages naturally belong there.

Let us depict the ordered series (showing the increasing dispersion) after the introduction there the following languages: Ket (MV= 24.76%, MTMB= 0.49), Yukaghir (MV= 24.90%, MTMB= 0.50), Korean (MV= 24.91%, MTMB= 0.49), Japanese (MV= 25.06%, MTMB= 0.49), Nivhi (MV= 25.81%, MTMB= 0.54). Even Chinese shows a more similar typological tendency, than these genetically isolated languages (MV= 23.75%, MTMB= 0.46). The least likeness demonstrated with the Finno-Ugric languages is Sweet Grass Cree, an American Indian language of Canada (MV= 26.62%, MTMB= 0.56).

We agree with those linguists who think that the foundations of the language classifications should undergo closer attention and stricter verification (Sharedzenidze, 1982: 71). In fact, Ago Ku"nnap and Angela Marcantonio believe that it is high time to reconsider some of the language families. They consider it quite wrong to call the Uralic set of languages "a family", since their genetic relationship has not been properly proved (Marcantonio, 2002). One can hope that our phonostatistical typological data may give lots of new material to reconsider different language taxa. It may allow linguists to verify some language taxa and to reject others.

It is possible to draw the following conclusions:

1. The sound chains of the Ugric languages show that the Ugric taxon is not natural from the typological point of view, but rather artificial, i.e., created by linguists. It is high time to reconsider the place of Hungarian in the Ugric taxon.

2. The taxon of the Permic languages seems quite natural.

3. The Volgaic and Finnic taxa are less compact than the Permic taxon, but more compact than the Ugric taxon.

4. Labial, front, palatal, back, sonorant, occlusive, fricative and voiced consonants have rather strict limits of occurrence in Finno-Ugric languages.

5. The group of front consonants is used in different language taxa more compactly than the other 7 consonantal groups. The next compact group is occlusive consonants.

6. The frequency of occurrence of the voiced consonants is the most changeable and unstable feature among the 8 chosen features. It may be absent in some languages.

7. Usually, a language taxon is compact if its languages are typologically and genetically close.

8. Our typologo-metrical approach on the phonological level shows which taxon is natural and which is not natural. The artificial taxon may be a mechanical conglomeration of different languages of different origin, put in one set by linguists for classification purposes. However, any artificial language taxon is quite useful at the early stage of investigation.

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Our phonological data and the phonostatistical method may give linguists another impetus to reconsider the suspicious, i.e., disperse, language taxa.

Tab. 2.: The Frequency of Occurrence of the Groups of Consonants and the Other Statistical Characteristics of Permic Languages. Compactness of the Permic Language Taxon by 8 Features. The Permic Subgroup of the Finno-Ugric Language Family. Mean coefficient of variation (V%) = 11.65. Mean TMB=0.01.

Consonant Lang.	Labial	Front	Palatal	Back	Sonor	Occluss	Fricativ	Voiced
Komi-Zyrian	10.21	32.94	9.59	5.94	21.83	20.65	16.20	13.05
Komi-Permian	11.15	31.52	9.23	6.34	20.79	20.33	17.12	13.09
Mean	10.68	32.23	9.41	6.14	21.31	20.49	16.66	13.07
S	0.66	1.00	0.25	0.28	0.73	0.23	0.65	0.03
SI	0.44	1.00	0.06	0.08	0.53	0.05	0.42	0.00
V%	6.18	3.10	2.66	4.56	3.43	1.12	3.90	0.30
TMB	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
Chi-sq	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.02
1\2CI	8.39	12.71	3.18	3.56	9.28	2.92	8.26	0.38
Udmurt	13.66	29.47	6.94	8.71	25.10	21.98	11.70	12.90
Mean	11.67	31.31	8.59	7.00	22.57	20.99	15.01	13.01
S	1.78	1.74	1.44	1.50	2.25	0.88	2.89	0.10
SI	3.17	3.03	2.07	2.25	5.06	0.77	8.35	0.01
V%	15.25	5.56	16.76	21.43	9.97	4.19	19.25	0.77
TMB	0.09	0.03	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.01	0.19	0.00
Chi-square	0.54	0.19	0.48	0.64	0.45	0.07	1.11	0.00
1\2 CI	5.41	5.29	4.38	4.56	6.84	2.68	8.79	0.30

Tab. 3.: The Frequency of Occurrence of the Groups of Consonants and the Other Statistical Characteristics of 5 Ugric Languages and Komi-Zyrian. Compactness of the Ugric and Komi-Zyrian Language Taxon by 8 Features. Mean coefficient of variation (V%) = 13.46. Mean TMB=0.46.

N	Language	Labia %	Front %	Palat %	Back %	Sonor %	Occlu %	Fricat %	Voice %
1	Mansi Sos	13.56	30.08	06.79	10.64	32.03	17.00	12.04	02.74
2	Mansi Kon	12.29	29.72	12.30	08.46	30.07	16.56	16.15	04.50
3	Hanty Kaz	12.60	30.83	07.60	08.61	30.96	17.19	11.48	00.00
4	Hanty East	10.45	30.81	05.19	13.53	21.83	24.20	13.95	10.51

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5	Hungarian	10.04	34.47	04.07	09.44	22.53	22.62	12.87	12.70
m	Mean	11.79	31.18	07.19	10.14	27.48	19.51	13.30	06.09
s	Standard	01.49	01.90	03.17	02.09	04.90	03.61	01.85	05.34
sI	S-squared	02.22	03.61	10.05	04.35	24.01	13.03	03.41	28.52
V%	Coeff. Var.	12.65	06.09	44.08	20.57	17.82	18.49	13.86	87.69
χ²	Chi-square	00.75	00.46	05.59	01.72	03.49	04.00	01.03	18.73
TMB	TMB coeff.	00.08	00.05	00.59	00.18	00.37	00.42	00.11	01.97
Hlf CI	Half Confid. Interval	01.42	01.81	03.02	01.99	04.67	03.44	01.76	05.09
	Ugric + Komi-Zyrian								
	Consonant groups	Labia	Front	Palat.	Back	Sonor	Occlu	Fricat	Voice
	Komi-Zyrian	10.21	32.94	09.59	05.94	21.83	20.65	16.20	13.05
m	Mean	11.53	31.48	07.59	09.44	26.54	19.70	13.78	07.25
s	Standard	01.48	01.84	03.00	02.54	04.95	03.26	02.03	05.56
sI	S-squared	02.19	03.40	09.00	06.42	24.50	10.63	04.13	30.91
V%	Coeff. Var.	12.85	05.86	39.51	26.84	18.66	16.54	14.75	76.66
χ²	Chi-square	00.95	00.54	05.93	03.40	04.62	02.70	01.50	21.32
TMB	TMB coeff.	00.09	00.05	00.54	00.31	00.42	00.24	00.14	01.93
Hlf CI	Half Confid. Interval	01.22	00.95	05.02	02.05	01.65	00.54	00.43	03.82

Tab. 4.: The Frequency of Occurrence of the Groups of Consonants and the Other Statistical Characteristics of 5 Ugric Languages and 3 Permic languages. Compactness of the Mixed Ugric and Permic Taxon by 8 Features. Mean coefficient of variation (V%) = 23.99. Mean TMB=0.47.

N	Language	Labia %	Front %	Palat %	Back %	Sono %	Occlu %	Fricat %	Voice %
1	Mansi Sos	13.56	30.08	06.79	10.64	32.03	17.00	12.04	02.74
2	Mansi Kon	12.29	29.72	12.30	08.46	30.07	16.56	16.15	04.50
3	Hanty Kaz	12.60	30.83	07.60	08.61	30.96	17.19	11.48	00.00
4	Hanty East	10.45	30.81	05.19	13.53	21.83	24.20	13.95	10.51
5	Hungarian	10.04	34.47	04.07	09.44	22.53	22.62	12.87	12.70

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6	Komi-Zyrian	10.21	32.94	9.59	5.94	21.83	20.65	16.20	13.05
7	Komi-Permi	11.15	31.52	9.23	6.34	20.79	20.33	17.12	13.09
8	Udmurt	13.66	29.47	6.94	8.71	25.10	21.98	11.70	12.90
m	Mean	11.99	30.77	8.23	8.89	26.09	19.70	14.09	8.11
s	Standard	1.41	1.19	2.34	2.59	4.83	2.89	2.40	5.56
sI	S-squared	1.99	1.47	5.47	6.68	23.33	8.37	5.77	30.91
V%	Coeff. Var.	11.78	3.88	28.39	29.08	18.53	14.68	17.05	68.55
χ^2	Chi-square	0.99	0.28	3.98	4.51	5.37	2.55	2.46	26.68
TMB	TMB coeff.	0.08	0.02	0.32	0.36	0.43	0.20	0.20	2.12

Tab. 5.: The Frequency of Occurrence of the Groups of Consonants and the Other Statistical Characteristics of 5 Ugric and 4 Volgaic Languages. Compactness of the Mixed Ugric and Volgaic Language Taxon by 8 Features.

N	Language	Labia %	Front %	Palat %	Sonor %	Occlu %	Fricat %	Voice %
1	Mansi Sos	13.56	30.08	06.79	32.03	17.00	12.04	02.74
2	Mansi Kon	12.29	29.72	12.30	30.07	16.56	16.15	04.50
3	Hanty Kaz	12.60	30.83	07.60	30.96	17.19	11.48	00.00
4	Hanty East	10.45	30.81	05.19	21.83	24.20	13.95	10.51
5	Hungarian	10.04	34.47	04.07	22.53	22.62	12.87	12.70
6	Mari Mnt	09.99	33.90	06.06	07.92	24.62	16.35	16.90
7	Mari Lawn	09.47	37.95	01.90	09.28	23.81	18.22	16.57
8	Mordo Erz	13.72	36.78	01.76	07.44	23.37	21.36	14.97
9	Mord Mok	11.26	36.70	01.71	08.90	20.78	20.86	16.93
m	Mean	11.49	33.47	05.26	25.56	19.37	14.65	07.75
s	Standard	01.61	03.21	03.46	04.27	02.93	02.15	04.31
sI	S-squared	02.59	10.30	11.97	18.23	08.60	04.60	18.58
V%	Coeff. Var.	14.00	00.58	65.66	16.72	15.13	14.64	55.64
χ^2	Chi-square	01.80	02.46	18.21	05.71	03.55	02.51	19.18
TMB	TMB coeff.	00.12	00.16	01.17	00.37	00.23	00.16	01.24
Hlf CI	Half Confid. Interval	00.99	01.99	05.26	02.65	01.82	01.33	02.67

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Tab. 6.: Compactness of the Volgaic Language Taxon by 8 Features. The Volgaic Subgroup of the Finno-Ugric Language Family.

N	Language	Labia %	Front %	Palat %	Back %	Sonor %	Occlu %	Fricat %	Voice %	Sum %
1.	Mari Mnt	09.99	33.90	06.06	07.92	24.62	16.35	16.90	09.43	57.87
2.	Mari Lawn	09.47	37.95	01.90	09.28	23.81	18.22	16.57	08.89	58.60
3.	Mordo Erz	13.72	36.78	01.76	07.44	23.37	21.36	14.97	11.42	59.70
4.	Mord Mok	11.26	36.70	01.71	08.90	20.78	20.86	16.93	09.52	58.57
m	Mean	11.11	36.33	02.86	08.39	23.15	19.20	16.34	09.82	
s	Standard	01.90	01.72	02.14	00.85	01.66	02.35	00.93	01.11	
sI	S-squared	03.61	02.96	04.58	00.72	02.76	05.52	00.86	01.23	
V %	Coeff. Var.	17.10	04.73	74.83	10.13	07.17	12.24	05.69	11.30	
χ²	Chi-square	00.97	00.24	04.80	00.26	00.36	00.86	00.16	00.38	
T MB	TMB coeff.	00.12	00.03	00.61	00.03	00.05	00.11	00.02	00.05	
H lf CI	Half Confid. Interval	03.49	03.16	03.93	01.56	03.05	04.32	01.71	02.04	

Tab. 7.: Compactness of the Balto-Finnic Language Taxon by 8 Features. The Balto-Finnic Subgroup of the Finno-Ugric Language Family.

N	Language	Labia %	Front %	Palat %	Back %	Sonor %	Occlu %	Fricat %	Voice %
1.	Veps	11.11	24.87	10.46	11.52	19.30	24.71	13.95	13.97
2.	Vodian	11.95	33.62	02.68	07.66	20.71	21.93	13.26	08.50
3.	Estonian	10.21	35.18	01.62	07.69	22.45	20.45	11.80	09.82
4.	Karelian (Tihvin)	09.66	24.79	09.83	09.89	21.73	20.36	12.08	08.02
5.	Karelian (Livvik)	09.66	24.79	09.83	09.89	21.73	20.36	12.08	08.02
6.	Karelian (Ludik)	08.66	34.53	01.43	10.38	19.01	21.67	14.32	11.80
7.	Finnish	08.73	34.44	02.19	08.75	23.32	18.00	12.79	03.57
M	Mean	10.21	31.03	04.69	09.49	21.20	20.82	13.41	09.29
S	Standard	01.27	04.59	03.87	01.49	01.60	02.23	00.88	03.31
sI	S-squared	01.61	21.07	14.98	02.23	02.57	04.96	00.77	10.96

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V%	Coeff. Var.	12.41	14.79	82.58	15.73	07.56	10.69	06.54	35.60
χ²	Chi-square	00.95	04.07	19.16	01.41	00.73	01.43	00.34	07.08
TMB	TMB coeff.	00.08	00.32	01.52	00.11	00.06	00.11	00.03	00.56
Hlf CI	Half Confid. Interval	00.93	03.36	02.85	01.09	01.18	01.63	00.64	02.49

Tab. 8.: The Frequency of Occurrence of the Groups of Consonants and the Other Statistical Characteristics of Volgaic and Balto-Finnic Languages. Compactness of the Mixed Volgo_finnic Language Taxon by 8 Features. Mean coefficient of variation (V%) = 23.22. Mean TMB=0.35.

N	Language	Labia %	Front %	Palat %	Back %	Sonor %	Occlu %	Frica t %	Voice %
1.	Mari Mnt	09.99	33.90	06.06	07.92	24.62	16.35	16.90	09.43
2.	Mari Lawn	09.47	37.95	01.90	09.28	23.81	18.22	16.57	08.89
3.	Mordo Erz	13.72	36.78	01.76	07.44	23.37	21.36	14.97	11.42
4.	Mord Mok	11.26	36.70	01.71	08.90	20.78	20.86	16.93	09.52
5	Veps	11.11	24.87	10.46	11.52	19.30	24.71	13.95	13.97
6	Vodian	11.95	33.62	02.68	07.66	20.71	21.93	13.26	08.50
7	Estonian	10.21	35.18	01.62	07.69	22.45	20.45	11.80	09.82
8	Karelian (Tihvin)	09.66	24.79	09.83	09.89	21.73	20.36	12.08	08.02
9	Karelian (Livvik)	09.66	24.79	09.83	09.89	21.73	20.36	12.08	08.02
10	Karelian (Ludik)	08.66	34.53	01.43	10.38	19.01	21.67	14.32	11.80
11	Finnish	08.73	34.44	02.19	08.75	23.32	18.00	12.79	03.57
m	Mean	10.54	32.96	4.02	9.09	21.90	20.23	14.47	9.48
s	Standard	1.50	4.55	3.35	1.37	1.83	2.30	1.71	2.65
sI	S-squared	2.25	20.70	11.22	1.87	3.33	5.30	2.91	7.00
V%	Coeff. Var.	14.22	13.80	83.27	15.04	8.34	11.37	11.79	27.90
χ²	Chi-square	2.13	6.28	27.91	2.06	1.52	2.62	2.01	7.38
TMB	TMB coeff.	0.12	0.34	1.52	0.11	0.08	0.14	0.11	0.40
Hlf CI	Half Confid. Interval	0.82	2.48	1.83	0.75	0.99	1.26	1.23	1.44

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Tab. 9.: The Total and the Mean Values of the Variance Coefficient and the TMB Coefficient by 8 Features in the Ugric Language Taxon. Introduction of Permic and Volgaic Languages into the Ugric Language Taxon.

Language Taxon	Total V%	Mean V%	Total TMB	Mean TMB
Ugric	221.27	27.66	3.77	0.47
Ugric + Permic	191.94	23.99	3.73	0.47
Ugric + Volgaic	210.78	26.35	3.63	0.45

Tab. 10.: The Total and the Mean Values of the Variance Coefficient and the TMB Coefficient by 8 Features in the Volgaic Language Taxon. Introduction of Balto-Finnic Languages into the Volgaic Language Taxon.

Language Taxon	Total V%	Mean V%	Total TMB	Mean TMB
Volgaic	143.19	17.90	1.02	0.13
Volgaic + Balto-Finnic	185.73	23.22	2.82	0.35

Tab. 11.: The Total and the Mean Values of the Variance Coefficient and the TMB Coefficient by 8 Features in the Balto-Finnic Language Taxon.

Language Taxon	Total V%	Mean V%	Total TMB	Mean TMB
Balto-Finnic	185.90	23.24	2.79	0.35

Tab. 12.: The Total and the Mean Values of the Variance Coefficient by 8 Features in the Finno-Ugric Language Family in Comparison with the Other Language Taxa.

Language Taxon	Mean V%
Ugric	27.66
Balto-Finnic	23.24
Volgaic	17.90
Western Slavonic	10.07
Eastern Slavonic	7.72
North-West Iranian	6.48

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UCHIRALTU

Reconstruction of Several Hunnic Words Found in Ancient Chinese Chronicles

In this paper the Inner Mongolian linguist Uchiraltu presents the findings of his investigation concerning some Hunnic words (*khu, khudu, khupiuen* and *sudu kupuen*) found in ancient Chinese Chronicles. First, he obtained the Middle-Chinese version of these words, and then he compared them with Mongolian words from the Middle Ages. According to his investigation, the Mongolians, who occupy the ancient territory of the Huns, preserved well some expressions and words of them. He found that each word contained the word '*son*' in various forms, but the meaning is rather the same; i.e. khu — son, khudu — son of the Heaven, khupiuen-köbegün — son, and sudu kupuen — majesty son.

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也。[1]

《玄晏春秋》曰：《士安读『汉书』，不详此言，有胡奴在侧，言之曰：『此胡所谓天子』古书所说附会奴谓天为『撑犁』，谓子为『孤涂』，单于者广大之貌也，言其象天单于然也。》《史记·匈奴列传》索隐引《》曰：《单于遗汉书云：『南有大汉北有强胡。胡者，天之骄子也。』》《》曰：单于姓挛鞮氏，其国称之曰『撑犁孤涂单于』。匈

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【】upun [uŋun]

胡［□u]·孤涂》[kudu]·《孤债》[kupiuen]·《苏屠胡本》

《胡》：《孤涂》·《孤债》·《苏屠胡本》

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[illegible][2] [illegible] 《孤涂》 [illegible] 《胡》 [illegible] 《胡》·《孤涂》 [illegible] 《胡》〔 u 〕 [illegible] 《孤涂》〔kudu〕 [illegible] 《胡》〔 u 〕 [illegible] 《孤涂》〔kudu〕 [illegible] 《孤涂》 [illegible] 《胡》 [illegible] ᠃

[illegible] 《子》 [illegible] 《孤涂》 [illegible] 《胡》 [illegible] 《孤涂》 [illegible] 《胡》 [illegible] ku (ᠬᠦᠦ) [illegible] 《子》(ᠬᠦᠦ) [illegible] 《胡》·《孤》 [illegible] 《ᠬᠦᠦ》

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胡

孤涂

[kudu]

涂 [du]

可兀 [kuu]

可兀 [kuut]

可兀 [kuu]

kuud kuuhd

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[k]

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[Body text in traditional Mongolian vertical script. Notable legible markers: « §138 », [2], and footnote number 4.]

(Traditional Mongolian vertical script text — columns read right to left)

胡

胡

东 胡

胡

胡

[5]

[4]

[3]

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《孤债》

（胡者，天之骄子也。）

（孤债之君）

[kupjuen]

《孤债》

《史记·匈奴列传》云：考惠、高后时，冒顿寝骄，乃为书，使使遗高后曰：『孤债之君，生于沮泽之中，长于平野牛马之域，数至边境，愿游中国。陛下独立，孤债独居。两主不乐，无以自虞，愿以所有，易其所无。』

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弟屠耆阏氏子卢浑为右贤王。

《苏屠胡本》 … [sudu kupiuən] [7]

乌累单于咸立，以弟舆为谷蠡王，乌珠留单于子苏屠胡本为左贤王，以

〈 太子 〉

《 胡本 》

《 速图 》〔 sutu 〕·《 胡本 》·《 可温 》〔 kuun 〕

ku · kuke · kubun · kubuu · kuken

〔 n 〕 〔 h 〕 〔 k 〕 〔 b 〕 〔 d 〕 〔 t 〕 〔 p 〕 〔 kubun 〕 《 胡本 》

可温 〔 kuun 〕

$k + e + e = kuke$

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［7］ ᠁

᠁ ᠁ 1980 ᠁ 216 ᠁

［6］ ᠁

［5］ 吴荣曾：《战国胡貉各族考》，《先秦史研究》云南民族出版社 1987 年版。

［4］ ᠁ 1988 ᠁

［3］ ᠁ 1988 ᠁

［2］ ᠁ 1965 ᠁ ᠁ 1962 ᠁

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LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODOLOGIES

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MOLNÁR, Zsolt & MOLNÁRNÉ CZEGLÉDI, Cecília

The Creative Hungarian Language and Its Special Teaching Method

Part 8. : The MCz Language Teaching Methodology[1]

In part 6 and 7 of this series we have introduced the history of the Hungarian language teaching and briefly the history of teaching reading and writing. In this part we present the foundations of our own (Molnár-Czeglédi: MCz) language teaching methodology.

Basic principles

The MCz methodology is based on the basic features of Hungarian language; it takes into consideration its agglutinating nature, the system of phonemes, roots, creators (derivators). We consider all these as fundamental additions to the so far taught theories and practices.

We examine the meaning in parallel with form. We trace the origin of the meaning, its transformation; we let children discover it starting from the smallest linguistics elements.

The primal teaching principle is "discovery" beside creation and free use. This means discovery of content and of form.

We realize the harmony of experience, theory and practice, in both directions of communication (understanding and speaking/writing) on both noting levels (verbal and written).

We emphasize the development of attitude, fun and that children should enjoy the subject.

We take philosophical linguistics and cognitive science as theoretical base, beside the widely used general linguistics and teaching theories and practices. We take the Czuczor-Fogarasi Dictionary as the primal of Hungarian philosophical linguistics.

From philosophical linguistics we use the theories of nature of phonemes, the system of roots and derivators.

From today's cognitive science we use primarily the theories on perception, thinking and action, the results on concept origin, creation and use, and the role of language in all of these. We use the achievements of practical cognitive science in the representation, analysis and management of knowledge.

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[1] Authors´ homepage is: http://www.tisztamagyarnyelv.hu/

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We accept the requirements to make the transition from nursery school to elementary school more step-wise and prolong it for a longer time. Because of this – and because of the theoretical and practical bases – detailed and long phoneme teaching period precedes the teaching of letters.

We take over a lot of practical methods and procedures from speech development practice; we build them into phoneme teaching and into the subsequent education as well.

Because of the stronger cognitive, text understanding and creativity skills – and because of theoretical reasons – we let children examine the basic concepts of our system. They do it with sensational experience, discovery and reflection.

The formation of created (derivated) concepts, examination of meaning changes are executed in experiential, joyful, systematical way.

The representation of meaning-building is performed by the results and tools of cognitive science and by the general teaching elements. These serve the base of sentence and text understanding and creation as well.

Beside the above the curriculum contains all the classical elements, too.

The MCz methodology accompanies the makeup characteristic of sounding-analysis-synthesis methods and the meaning centrality feature of the word-form based (global) methods.

New contents

Learning phonemes

The teaching of phonemes serves the discovery of the world of the most basic elements of language: phonemes. Our linguistic activities are based on them, if children do not know them thoroughly, later language learning and use will be suffered. This field was not emphasized in language education until today, but it is the basis for all subsequent language learning and language activities. We learn the phonemes according to their features.

Acquaintance with the world of phonemes starts with a full phoneme teaching part, where we also extensively use the practices and methodologies of speech developers. A learning period of about three month completely contains all the phonemes. We teach/learn the followings in case of every phoneme: recognition, method and place of formation, accent, mood, relationships, and phoneme-family. This is done playfully with exercises. Often we turn to the world of poetry, we draw and play with children. The sequence of learning of phonemes follows the practice of speech developers. At first we learn the vowels according to the sequence of height and later the consonants according to their phoneme-family.

The specific features of phonemes have to be studied by every child because with this we lay the foundation of subsequent work in language learning. In the period of letter learning children already know the phonemes; they know their pronunciation, formation, features, and relations. Based on the

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thoroughly and deeply known familiar phonemes, it is much easier to learn the letters, the written images of the phonemes.

Phoneme-teaching, knowing them and the practice of pronunciation improve recognition and formation. This area in particular helps to reduce confusion in reading and writing: dyslexia, disgraphia. Those children, who thoroughly learn the phonemes, features, do exercises and comparings, later more easily recognize, pronounce, read and write them. This improves the reading and writing skills, reduce reading and writing disorders and reduce the number of troubled children. Speech perception, comprehension and speaking ability are improved as well with the exercises of phoneme-learning; this provides the foundation to the subsequent speech exercises.

This foundation brings significant results not only in the reduction of dyslexia and disgraphia, improvement of speech-perception, understanding and production, but by the learning of features, recognition and practice of relations, systems of phonemes, children view the phonemes in system, and the further linguistics analysis is based on this.

Letter-learning

The next period is letter-learning, similar to the conventional average education. (Read and write.) This is prepared by our journey into the world of phonemes, after which children have a thorough understanding and feeling of the nature of the phonemes, their basic features and their relationship. It is much easier now to fully concentrate on writing. On the hand-side we prepare the learning of letters with line exercises and fine movement improving tools, parallel with phoneme-learning. The order of letter-learning basically is defined by the order of phoneme-learning, according to the system of phoneme families, but we consider the conventional, average practices as well.

In the MCz system the letter-learning period is deeper and longer than in other methods. We build on the elements learned during the phoneme learning period, at first we revisit them, and from here we step forward to learn the written form of the phoneme, the letter. We teach/learn to recognize the letter, to write, to read; we read two-elements and three-elements lines, and later words in meaningful order; this prepares the later conception-learning. Occasionally, we get acquainted with the chain of derivation (creation). With all these exercises children not only learn to read or write the letters, but we also prepare them for the work of the later years.

At the end of the first year there is a brief period for practicing writing and reading. Naturally this is used not only in this period, but continuously, depending on the studied letters. In this we follow the traditional methods.

Discovery of our basic concepts

Children get acquainted with our basic concepts according to the root system. They revive experiences, play with them, bring into light the features, characteristics, semantic relationships, discover the common part in meaning. We go through all the major base conception groups, so they can see the system. Worthy

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to mention the onomatopoeic (and related) words, where the analysis of the origin, evolution is striking and "visible" (soundable!).

We do the above according to the order of starting phonemes, by which we repeat the phonemes as well. We examine the word-bush (without demand for exhaustiveness); look for similarity, common meaning, analyze the relationships. We do it suggestively, playfully through exercises.

Examination, learning of our derived (created) concepts

Creation of words is the basic phenomenon of the Hungarian language. In it two inherent features of our language manifest themselves: the tight, almost unambiguous link between content and form and the regular, but still freedom giving rich creativity.

The examination of word creation (derivation) covers the observation, discovery and analysis of vivid links of meaning (concepts) and formal changes. This area is taught deeply, systematically.

The word-chains (a series of creation) vividly show the changes in parts of speech, the system of words created from the given base concept. The word-bushes clearly show the semantic links of words.

The review of system of word-bushes proves the organically linked, network nature of our vocabulary.

The understanding of the parts of speech is very intuitive and easy with this method as well.

Examination of compounded and other connected concepts; sentence and text creation

In addition to the conventional methods the emphasis is on the creation and formation of meaning. We apply the methods and tools of the practical cognitive science, according to the age of students.

Language protection

We emphasize the need to protect the language, we also point out the reasons. We remake the foreign words and phrases into Hungarian; in case of need we try to invent new words playfully. We remake foreign-like sentence and text structures into Hungarian, or do short translation exercises.

All other, "traditional" grammar knowledge

The MCz method provides all other – not mentioned – conventional, average grammar knowledge and skills to children. They are not listed. The surplus is that the students get cognitive meaning base as well.

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Results

By applying the above described basic principles and by teaching the new contents the MCz methodology reaches the following results:

+ The perception of phonemes and understanding of speech improves stronger than in case of the conventional methods.

+ The deep phoneme-learning, the profound letter-learning helps reducing dyslexia and dysgraphia.

+ The conceptual analysis, the exhaustive examination, dissection and understanding of the base and the derived concepts induce that the vocabulary of the children is much broader, certain, understanding of texts improves, and creation of texts is much richer.

+ Because of deeper, longer foundation period transition between the nursery school and primary school is much easier and smoother, the future knowledge is more certain.

+ The reading comprehension and processing skill improves significantly.

+ The vocabulary and composition skills are strengthened radically.

+ Because of the discovery, lively, philosophical, language research type learning children are fond of the subject; they enjoy dealing with the secrets of our language. On the grammar lessons their minds are running on this, they enjoy exploring, thinking, working.

+ Because of meaning (cognitive) base the "traditional" grammatical knowledge, skills (spelling, knowledge of parts of speech, etc) are improving as well.

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(To be continued)

ECONOMY

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DAR, Mushtaq Ahmad

Impact of Inefficient Irrigation System on Crop Productivity in the Republic of Turkmenistan

Abstract

Turkmenistan is an agrarian country, as agriculture is the main stay of the people of Turkmenistan. Despite climatic limitation, agriculture is an important sector in the Turkmen economy. The importance of the agriculture lies in the fact that it provides the basic ingredients for the existence of mankind as well as most of the raw materials for other sectors of economic activity such as cotton textile industry. Turkmenistan is predominantly desert country (95%) in which climatic factors limit the agricultural potential. Agriculture in Turkmenistan is almost entirely dependent on irrigation. Expansion of the irrigation network, particularly since the late 1950s, has significantly increased the country's agricultural output, especially of cotton. Efficiency in application of water to the fields is low, but the main problem is leakage in main and secondary canals, especially Turkmenistan's main canal, the Karakum Canal. This has resulted in the problems of water-logging and salinization. Consequently, decline in the production and productivity of the major crops of the country has been reported. However, there is lot of scope for enhancing the productivity and production of different crops. Accordingly, positive and negative aspects of irrigation development will be taken into consideration and consequently amelioration of arable lands can be traced out within the Republic of Turkmenistan. This will help planners of the country in framing out better agricultural policies and in so doing priority for planning regions can be viewed out.

Keywords: Wastelands; Desertification; Waterlogging; Salinisation.

1. Introduction

By the time the Soviet Union collapsed, over 1.3 million hectares of land in Turkmenistan were cultivated, with agriculture comprising a vital component of the country's economy, accounting for 40 percent of GDP and employing over 44 percent of the work force. The Soviet era expansion of the agricultural sector was not without cost, however, land degradation now is widespread in the country and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Management reported that in 1993 nearly 50 percent of all agricultural soil was classified as unsatisfactory because of waterlogging and salinisation. Thus, at independence, Turkmenistan not only inherited an established cropping pattern and associated river withdrawal limits, but also a large amount of dilapidated and obsolete agricultural equipment, a highly inefficient irrigation system, as well as a vast area of land that has been degraded by decades of agricultural mismanagement. All of these features have implications for agrarian reform and the future agricultural performance of the country. The most irreparable type of desertification and wastelands are

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the salinization process that forms marshy salt flats. A major factor that contributes to these conditions is inefficient use of water because of weak regulation and failure to charge for water that is used. Efficiency in application of water to the fields is low, but the main problem is leakage in main and secondary canals, especially Turkmenistan's main canal, the Karakum Canal. Consequently, decline in the production and productivity of the major crops of the country has been reported.

2. Inefficient Water Use

A brief history of water use inefficiency particularly related to irrigation system in Turkmenistan leads to various stages of growth and intensity of wastelands in the Republic of Turkmenistan. During the Soviet and Post-Soviet periods, agriculture in the Central Asian Countries has been developing mainly in the direction of irrigation expansion. The economic and demographic conditions that had evolved in Soviet Central Asia demanded the expansion of agricultural production in general and cotton in particular. Once subsumed into the Russian Empire, teams of agriculture and engineering experts were sent to the region to assess its agricultural potential, particularly for large-scale cotton cultivation. In 1908, for example, the Russian engineer M.N Ermolaev suggested diverting the Amu Darya westwards to irrigate an additional 565,000 hectares of land in the Karakum Desert. Although there was a considerable increase in the amount of land irrigated during the Tsarist period it generally involved the expansion of existing irrigation systems with little development of wholly new lands.

The cropping structure of the region shows a significant increase in the area under cotton and a decline in the area under grain crops. (Table. 1.1)

Table 1.1. Irrigation, Cotton, Grain Production in Turkmenistan (1950 – 1990)

Year	Area irrigated (000, ha.)	Area sown to cotton (000, ha.)	% of total irrigated area sown to cotton.	Area sown to grain crops (000,ha)	% of total irrigated area sown to grain.
1950	348.8	153.0	43.9	128.0	36.7
1960	393.6	222.0	56.4	71.0	18.1
1970	668.1	397.0	59.4	84.0	12.5
1980	964.0	508.0	52.6	132.0	13.6
1990	1318	636.0	48.3	164.0	12.4

Sources: Compiled and computed on the basis of data available from Curzon, 1890; Statistika, 1923; Zaharchenko, 1990; IMF, 1997; and FAO, 2005.

The rapid development of irrigation in Turkmenistan was conditioned partly by population growth: the birth rate (3 percent) was the highest in the USSR in 1940-90s, the population increased by three times, and it was necessary to provide it with food. Nevertheless, the main reason of large-scale development of irrigation was the so called policy of "cotton independence", which is clear from the table given above.

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The table reveals that the irrigated land of Turkmenistan had increased at an average rate of 95,894 hectares/year from 1920 to 1990. At the same time water consumption in agriculture increased from 8.0 to 23.99 km^3. Similarly, the area under cotton cultivation showed an increasing trend from 10,000 hectares in 1920 to 110,000 in 1930 hectares thereby an increase of 100,000 hectares. (Fig. 1.1)

Fig. 1.1 Irrigation, Cotton, and Grain Area (in 000 ha) in pre-independence Turkmenistan

(1950-1990)
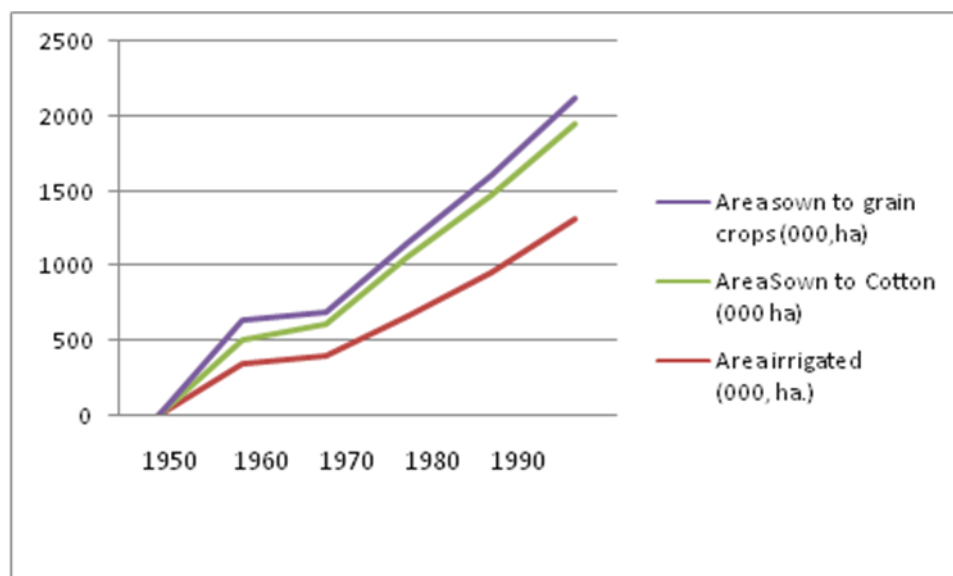
Besides, shortly after Independence, the government of Turkmenistan launched a number of programmes aimed at achieving complete food self sufficiency and increasing production of technical crops designed for the export market. Grain production was assigned particular importance. (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Changing Cropping Pattern in Turkmenistan (1991-2010)

Year	Area irrigated (000, ha.)	Area sown to cotton (000, ha)	% of total irrigated area sown to cotton.	Area sown to grain crops (000, ha.)	% of total irrigated area sown to cotton.
1991	1330.00	600.00	45.11	170.00	12.78
1995	1700.00	555.00	32.35	660.00	38.82
2000	1800.00	500.00	34.24	675.00	37.52
2005	1800.00	476.00	26.44	843.00	46.33
2010	1800.00	450.00	25.00	850.50	47.22

Sources: Compiled and computed on the basis of data available from World Bank, Curzon, 1890; 1923; Zaharchenko, 1990; IMF, 1997; and FAO, 2005.

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A comparative analysis of Table 1 and 2 reveals that during the Soviet period the trend of cropping pattern was in favour of cotton while as cereals and non-cereals were neglected. The cotton being water-consuming crop, mostly the water volumes were diverted for cotton expansion leading to the water inefficiency. This inefficient water use continued almost till the republic got independence during 1991. A comparison of the two tables also depicts a quantum change in cropping pattern after 1991 onwards almost in favour of food crops. (Fig. 1.2)

Fig. 1.2. Changing Cropping Pattern in Turkmenistan (1991-2010)
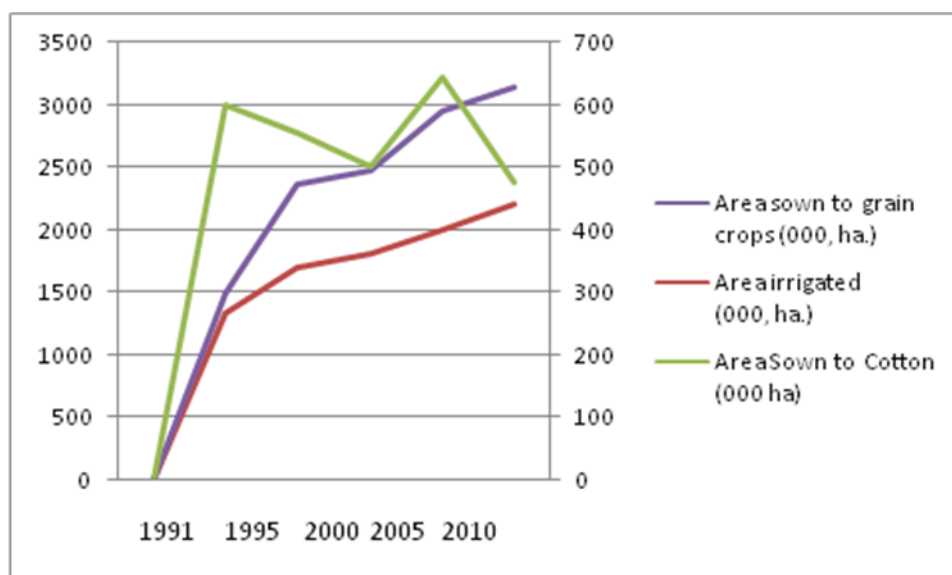
Although a lot has been done during the post-independence period, still a major part of the irrigation system in Turkmenistan is characterized by low technical level. The total length of irrigation network was about 39,131 km in 2010. The length of the main canals and inter-farm network was 7,166 km, of which 538 km (7.5 percent) consisted of concrete canals and 6,628 km (92.5 percent) of earthen canals. The on-farm network totalled 31,965 km, of which 2,525 km (7.9 percent) consisted of concrete canals, 2,365 km (7.4 percent) of pipes and the remaining 27,074 km (84.7 percent) consisted of unlined earthen canals (Figure 3). Consequently, the losses from infiltration reach upto 50 to 60 percent of water intake. The efficiency rate of irrigation system does not exceed 45 percent. Water losses during transportation to the fields come to 6.3 km^3, or 28.2 percent of the total water for irrigation. 99 percent of the fields are irrigated by furrow irrigation. As a result, annually 5.7 km^3 of water is lost by evaporation and infiltration directly from irrigation fields. The general efficiency of the irrigation system equal to 45 percent; the total annual losses of irrigation water both from infiltration and evaporation comes to about 12 km^3.

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Fig. 1.3. Drainage Infrastructure in Turkmenistan (2010)
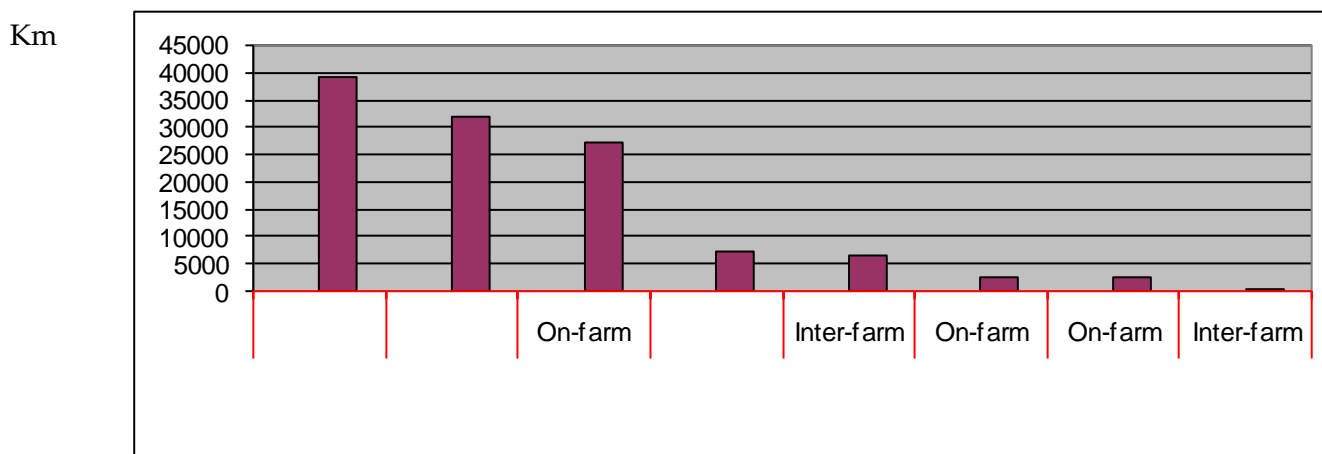
The irrigation practice in the study region, which is characterized by low coefficients of efficiency of water use together with intensive drainage, leads to the drastic activization of geo-chemical flows. Thus, irrational use of water resources, deterioration of their quality resulted in the rise of groundwater level and widespread development of soil salinization. By 1998 the irrigated lands of Turkmenistan were distributed in the following way by the depth of groundwater.

Depth of Groundwater	Thousand hectares
1.5m	232.2
1-2m	462.6
2 - 3 m	741.6
More than 3m	363.6

The area with groundwater less than 1.5 m constitutes about 12.9 percent of the total irrigated lands and between 1.5-2.0 m 25.7 percent; 41.2 percent lies between the depth of 2-3 m and rest of the irrigated lands is having a groundwater depth of more than 3 meters. (Fig. 3). In the 41 percent of irrigated area the groundwater has salinity 1-3 g/l, groundwater with the salinity less than 1 g/l was observed in the area of 60,200 hectares (3.5 percent), more than 5 g/l on the area of 688,000 hectare (39 percent). The highest salinity rate of groundwater was observed in Akhal Oblast - more than 10 g/l on 37 percent of its area, while in Lebap and Dashoguz Oblast the salinity of groundwater in irrigated lands is relatively low. The area of secondary salinized irrigated lands in Turkmenistan in 2000 was 95.9 percent of the total, from this moderately salinized are 985,880 hectares, heavy and very heavy salinized 199,528 hectares. The area of non-salinized soils was reduced from 10.6 percent to only 4.1 percent of the total arable lands. Balkan and Dashoguz Oblast suffer from soil salinization at a greater extent. The process of secondary salinization is developing along with the further development of drainage (Table 1.3).

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Table 1.3. Dynamics of Secondary Salinization and Extension of the Drainage Network (1976-1995).

Oblasts	Extension of drainage network m /hectare.		Heavy and moderately salinized (%).		Extension of drainage network m /hectare.		Heavy and moderately salinized (%).	
	1976	1995	1976	1995	2000	2005*	2000	2005*
Ahal	4.6	33.2	32.0	76.6	33.5	34.0	78.4	80.2
Mary	12.2	29.7	38.0	46.0	31.6	32.0	47.5	48.3
Lebap	22.4	44.3	24.7	51.7	45.0	45.6	53.3	55.3
Dashoguz	29.2	43.8	18.8	86.6	18.0	18.4	87.6	89.0

Source: Compiled and computed on the basis of data from Nasonov and Ruziev, 1998.
*Estimated on the basis of previous data.

There exists a positive correlation between extension of drainage network and increase in the percentage of salinity in Turkmenistan. As it is evident from the table above, the percentage of salinity in Ahal Oblast has increased from 33.2 in 1976 to 80.2 percent in 2005 as a result of extension of drainage network which increased from 4.6 million/hectares in 1976 to 34.0 million/hectares in 2005. Mary as well as Lebap Oblast have also shown increase in salinity due to extension of drainage network. While Dashoguz Oblast is the exception, which suffers from soil salinization at greater extent, the reason is not the same as discussed for aforesaid Oblasts. It is clear from the above table that the salinity of irrigated lands of Dashoguz Oblast is increased from 43.8 percent in 1976 to 89 percent in 2005 but its drainage network has reduced from 29.2 millions hectares to 18.4 million hectares in 2005. Thus, the salinity of the irrigated lands in the Dashoguz should have been reduced but it is increasing at an alarming rate. Therefore, the cause for its increase in salinity lies in the fact that the said Oblast lies very close to the Aral Sea. Hence, the wind blowing from this sea carries large amount of salt. Consequently, salt is accumulated in the irrigated lands of Dashoguz, which has made its soil so salinized that there is hardly any non-salinized area in this Oblast. The highest salinity in the irrigated lands of Southeastern Turkmenistan apart from Dashoguz is mainly due to inefficient and excessive irrigational practices. During the period of only four years (1990-1994) the salt entry into the Karakum Main Canal has increased by 38 percent. Similarly, the salinity of the Amu Darya water is 0.9-1.0 g/l in its upper part, while in the delta area reaches 2.3 g/l. Before, large scale development of irrigation Amu Darya was receiving about 23 million tons of salt per year, 83 percent (19 million tons) of it went to the Aral Sea. Now the Aral Sea receives only 1.5-3.0 million tons of salt per year only and about 42 million tons of salt comes from the Amu Darya to the irrigated lands. In turn, from these lands more than 100 million tons of salt are washed and carried into desert depression by drainage flow or return to river. So, the drainage carries not only the salts from the soil solution, but also the salt storage of the rocks and groundwater. (Fig 1.4)

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Fig. 1.4. Salinity Map of Turkmenistan (Only For Four Oblasts 2005)

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from FAO, Orlysky N, Lerman Zvi, 2005.

Irrigated land constitutes a small part in the structure of available land; nevertheless, it is used with high capacity load on environment in Turkmenistan. Prior to independence, the land in Turkmenistan had largely degraded due to cotton cultivation as it is high water consuming crop variety and was cultivated at large scale without proper land and water management. After independence, a law was passed by the president of Turkmenistan in 1995 that the leased land will become the farmer's property, if the output performance of the land is considered satisfactory after two years of lease. Hence, the farmers try to seek quick returns through unsuitable practices from the available land without keeping its consequences in mind. The ensuing exploitation of natural resource led to land degradation. Though the latter practice has not contributed much to the land degradation, however, such practices need to be checked at this stage. Thus, the excessive use of water has raised water table and salinity in the farmlands. The main reason for high development of salinity is the poor supply with artificial drainage, which on average is 42 percent in the country, accompanied by irrational use of mineral fertilizers, pesticides and defoliants, and insufficient system of crop rotation.

2.1. Wasteland Development

The sprawl of wastelands is considered a great menace, which has resulted in great socio-economic and environmental problems. Such issues are more serious in environmentally fragile ecosystems. This can be observed through recent observations in different agro-climatic zones and can be attributed to both natural as well as artificial factors, the latter, however, playing the dominant role. Land degradation,

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misuse of water, desertification and other associated unhealthy man-nature interactions leading to imbalanced eco-systems, are the result of some of the direct as well as indirect human activities. Although the issue of wastelands has a long chequered history with different stages of evolution, the changing climate and growing human needs and deeds have deteriorated the situation. At present all over the world this problem is threatening the future of humanity and the rate of fertile lands being converted into wastelands is alarming. Therefore, it is the need of the hour that certain concrete measures are undertaken with immediate effect to control the land that is already under degradation, and simultaneously to stop the further expansion of wastelands.

Table 1.4. Sprawl of Wastelands due to Inefficient Water Use (1985-2007).

Indicators	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2007
Water consumption for agricultural use km^3.	20.95	24.43	24.89	24.92	24.66	25.99
Loss of water in transport along irrigation systems %	16.4	19.0	24.60	24.90	22.17	19.75
Land degradation due to salinization and waterlogging (% of Total Cultivable land).	1.5	1.8	2.40	2.55	2.15	1.87

Source: Compiled on the basis of data from Rossyskaya Gazeta, Vedomstvennoye, Prilozheniye, Ekonomiehesky Soyoz and N-Orlovsky and L-Orlovsky.

Table 1.4 demonstrates that water consumption on agriculture had increased from 20.95 km^3 to 25.99 km^3, meaning thereby using about 90 percent of the total water for agricultural practices. It is also evident from the table that loss of water through transportation had shown increasing trend from 16.4 percent in 1980 to 24.6 percent in 1995 due to dilapidated, earthen canals and mismanagement of water; it has, however, declined from 24.6 percent in 1996 to 19.75 percent in 2005 because the area sown to cotton has being reduced since 1991and some steps have been taken for the improvement and management of drainage system in the country. Besides, more recently, with the shift of land privatization, water losses have reduced slightly, to levels similar to those of the pre-revolution period. The table also reveals that the sprawl of wastelands had shown increasing trend from 1.5 in 1985 to 1.8 percent in 1990. There should have been reduction in the sprawl of wasteland due to less infiltration losses since independence but it has still shown increase from 1.8 percent of total cultivated land to 2.4 percent in 1995. The reason for the increase in the wasteland sprawl is that the degraded land cannot be rehabilitated within short period of time therefore it took some years to show some improvement in recovering from damage. That is why there is some reduction in area of wastelands from 2000 onwards, which is clear that post-independence developments in this thrust area have started yielding encouraging water consumption due to change in the cropping pattern i.e. shift from cotton cultivation towards grain farming. The irrigation efficiencies are improving. The source preservation, decreasing conveyance losses, reducing wastelands and other relevant achievements are major indications of better planning of water resources as well as desirable management policies.

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2.2. Desertification

Desertification is the long-term degradation of drylands, resulting either from overuse by man or his animals or from natural causes such as climatic fluctuations. It also leads to the loss of vegetative cover, loss of topsoil by wind or water erosion or loss of useful plant productions, as a result of salinization or excessive sedimentation associated with sand dunes and sheets, to torrents. In the early 1980s, use of water from the Amu River was 70 km^3 of the 79.5 km^3 of all its water (87.6%). In the 1960's the Aral Sea received an average of 55 km^3 of water from Amu River, which decreased in the years 1978-1981 to 9-10 km^3. In 1982, for the first time, water from the Amu River did not reach the Aral Sea. In 1976, the same phenomenon happened with the Syr Darya. The situation of continued decreasing inflow into Aral Sea from Amu and Syr Darya persisted after independence. However, during post-independence phase, owing to different water management institutions, the irrigation efficiency level has shown some signs of improvement whereby the inflow into the Aral Sea receded from an alarming rate to a stage of stabilization. It was only after the second half of the 20th century that the inflow into Aral Sea marked some positive signs. But the impact of these developments will have far reaching consequences, which cannot be measured for the existing development.

The most irreparable type of desertification is the salinization process that forms marshy salt flats. A major factor that contributes to these conditions is inefficient use of water because of weak regulation and failure to charge for water that is used. Efficiency in application of water to the fields is low, but the main problem is leakage in main and secondary canals, especially Turkmenistan's main canal, the Karakum Canal. Nearly half of the canal's water seeps out into lakes and salt swamps along its path. Excessive irrigation brings salts to the surface, forming salt marshes that dry into unusable clay flats. In 1989 Turkmenistan's Institute for Desert Studies claimed that the area of such flats had reached one million hectares.

According to estimates, as a result of desertification processes and pollution, biological productivity of the ecological systems in Turkmenistan has declined by 30 to 50 percent in recent decades. The Karakum and Qizilqum deserts are expanding at a rate surpassed on a planetary scale only by the desertification process in the Sahara and Sahel regions of Africa. Between 800,000 and 1,000,000 hectares of new desert now appears per year in Central Asia.

3. Consequences of Inefficient Water Use

3.1. Loss of Agricultural Production in Irrigated Farmlands

Agriculture, which forms the basic link between man-nature, is the main stay of the people of Turkmenistan. The importance of the agriculture lies in the fact that it provides the basic ingredients for the existence of mankind as well as most of the raw materials for other sectors of economic activity. Turkmenistan is an agrarian country where agriculture dates back to historical iniquity and where this sector has always remained one of the cornerstones of the regional economy; it will continue to be the most important source in triggering the future chain of inter-related developments owing to the fact of being region specific bio-inexhaustive resource. Presently, it nearly contributes 40 percent towards regional GNP, provides employment directly or indirectly to 44 percent of the population of

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Turkmenistan. It has been a source of raw materials to a number of industries, particularly cotton industry. This sector of primary activity being the back-bone of the national economic scene, improvements in the agricultural standards can greatly contribute to the prosperity of the entire region. Relating to the available cultivable land and pressure of population, the demand for foodgrains is very high because the population growth has outstripped the rate of increase in agricultural products. On the other hand, pressure of population growth in Turkmenistan and the demand for available cultivated land is not corresponding with each other. The limited available cultivable land has to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing population, whereby an increase in agricultural production becomes inevitable. Cotton which was given main priority in Turkmenistan before independence has led to the massive expansion of the irrigation system. It was because of the same crop that the construction of the Karakum Canal was made possible in 1950's. However, due to lack of proper irrigational means and methods consequently led towards land degradation and as a result losing fertility of the soil. In the initial stage degradation of land makes slow momentum, which ultimately causes the failure of the production and productivity of major crops. The sown area, yield and production of major crops in Turkmenistan between 1987 – 2005 is shown in Table 1.5:

Table 1.5. The sown area, yield and production of major crops in Turkmenistan (1987 - 2005)

	1987			1992			1997			2005		
Crop	Area, 000,ha.	Production, 000, tons	Yield, Tons/ha.	Area, 000,ha.	Production, 000, tons	Yield, Tons/ha.	Area, 000,ha.	Production, 000, tons	Yield, Tons/ha.	Area, 000,ha.	Production, 000, tons	Yield, Tons/ha.
Cotton	602.8	1266.9	2.1	623	1426.	2.29	579	1005.	2.00	500	855.2	1.55
Wheat	43.1	92.2	2.14	197.0	376.6	1.91	431.0	711.2	1.65	594	481.	0.8
Rice	-	-	-	28.0	64.1	2.29	48.0	110.2	2.28	40.0	85.2	2.13

Source: compiled by the author from the statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture, Turkmenistan; World Bank, 1994; and FAO, 1996.

It is with the help of this table that I am able to show how the production and productivity of major crops grown within the Republic of Turkmenistan are effected by the mismanagement of irrigation and desertification. Cotton and wheat are the major crops cultivated in Turkmenistan but increasing salinity and waterlogging due to mismanagement of irrigation has caused decreased production every year, leaving half of the demand unfulfilled. It can be seen from above that the area under different crops have increased tremendously owing to the expansion of irrigation in Turkmenistan, but at the same time the table witnesses that yields of the major crops are declining rapidly. Although a number of factors such as land quality, seed quality, amount and type of agricultural inputs play a role, the irrigational mismanagement and desertification are considered as important factors. As soil becomes saline, for example, yields particularly of cotton, rice and wheat decrease markedly. Thus, the volume of cotton production has fallen gradually due to decline in yields, which decreased from 2.1 ton/ha in 1987 to 1.5 ton/hectare in 2005. Cotton output was only 30 percent of the planned total of 1.4 million tons. A

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similar trend is evident for rice production, with sown area nearly doubling between 1992 and 1995, before declining again by 2005, with decline in yields from 2.29 tons/hectare in 1992 to 2.13 tons/ hectare in 2005. Although wheat has enormous expansion in the area since independence, with the overall upward trend in output masking a steady decline in yields. The failure of the harvest has been attributed to various factors such as land quality, seed quality, amount and type of agricultural inputs, but irrigation management also influence yields. For example, as soils become more saline, yields particularly cotton and wheat decreases markedly. Indeed, in many areas of Turkmenistan, the soils are so saline that few crops can actually be grown and the significant increase in salinization noticed in recent years does not bode well for future agricultural productivity.

The direct loss of agricultural production can be calculated from the decreased productivity of cotton, the main agricultural crop in Turkmenistan. Information on losses of other crops is not available. Calculation in cotton production in terms of money is given in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6. Economic loss due to decrease in cotton yield on irrigated farmlands of Turkmenistan in 2002.

Degree of soil salinization.	Size of area 000, hectares.	Decrease of cotton yields percentage.	Loss of raw cotton, MT.	Loss of cotton fibre, MT	Economic loss US $
Slight	166.5	15	49,976	16,658	17,057,8
Moderate	211.2	30	188,428	0,628	64,316,4
Severe	76.5	50	91,816	30,605	31,339,5
Total	454.2		330,220	47,891	1,12,713,7

Source: compiled on the basis of data from the 'Turkmenistan Country Situation Paper'.

3.2. Loss of Animal Production on Grazing Lands

Cattle population is showing a declining trend with slight decrease in sheep and sizeable decline in goats between 1990 and 2001 in Turkmenistan. This problem is characterized by overgrazing in nearby village pastures and undergrazing in remote areas. Annually about 30,000 hectares of rangelands fully loss their productivity. In the past, livestock grazing was carried out in a semi-nomadic manner with frequent changes in pasture allowing regeneration to occur. Today permanent grazing is often practiced in the vicinity of villages and artificial wells constructed during the Soviet era and this has caused local overgrazing extending many square kilometres. On the other hand, other pastures have been under-utilized for many years, resulting in a build-up of a soil crust and reduced water absorption and the displacement of valuable pasture flora by lichens.

Despite the fact that official figures show a dramatic reduction of the total number of animals in the region, herds are concentrated in pastures near villages and exceed the safe carrying capacity. This has been exacerbated by an increase in private livestock holdings and the reduction of pasture areas due to desertification, soil erosion, pasture allocation for cultivation, construction and development of mineral resources.

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3.3. Decline in Fish Production

The quality of water available to agriculture is as important as the quantity. Depending on the crop, crop production decreases with increasing salt concentration in water and soil. The same applies to freshwater fish. Salinisation of surface waters resulting from reintroduction of drainage and wash water from irrigated fields is a common problem in arid and semiarid zones. While water with salinity over 1 mg/litre is considered unsuitable for the usual crops, more water salinity levels are harmful to especially the young of the native fish of arid and semiarid climates. Antagonistic interactions between the agriculture and fishery sectors arise from the application of pesticides and herbicides which can be harmful to aquatic living organisms. Agro-chemicals used against pests or for defoliation, such as in cotton production, contribute to serious water quality problems and represent a hazard to fish and the end consumers — birds and man. Sometimes drainage and wash waters are diverted into desert depressions without an outflow.

4. Indirect Consequences

4.1. Impact on Environment

As a result of the expansion of irrigation, the withdrawal from the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, which represents the major input to the Aral Sea, dramatically increased. The volume of water reaching the sea has reduced from 56 km^3, which were the characteristics of the period 1911-1960, to 3.5 km^3 during the years 1981-87. Furthermore, during the latter period, input fell to zero on three occasions. A catastrophic decline in the sea level followed. In the period 1960-1995 the level of the sea fell by over 17m, its area halved and it lost two thirds of its volume. Due to desiccation, in 1986, for the first time, the Aral Sea separated into two parts, the Large Aral and the Small Aral. The block of such significant volumes of highly saline drainage water to Aral Sea has resulted in increased salinity of the rivers' water, which is particularly manifested in their middle and lower parts. Salinity of water in the Karakum Canal doubled during the last years. During a period of only four years (1990-1994) the salt entry into the canal increased by 38 percent. The salinity of the Amu Darya's water is 0.9-1.0 g/l in its upper part, while in the delta area has reached 2-3 g/l. Before large scale development of irrigation the Amu Darya was receiving about 23 million tons of salt per year, 83 percent (19 million ton) of this amount went to Aral Sea. Now the Aral Sea receives only 1.5-3.0 million tons of salt per year, and about 42 million tons of salt come from the Amu Darya to the irrigated lands. Hence, the drainage carries not only the salt from the soil solutions, but also the salt storage of the rocks and groundwater: it serves as it were the pump bringing to the surface the deep-laid salt solutions.

4.2. Climatic Change

Land has the function of sequestering carbon as a terrestrial store. Land degradation almost always involves loss of soil organic matter and lost capacity of land to sequester carbon. Land degradation therefore has a possibility to accelerate emission of carbon from soil into atmosphere. The conducted researches to draw up national inventory of emission and sinks of green house gases have shown comparatively large amounts of antropogeneous emission of green house from the territory of

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Turkmenistan. The magnification of the contents in atmosphere of CO_2 and methane is a major cause of climate change in Turkmenistan as well as in Central Asia as a whole for the last 60 years. There is widespread agreement within the scientific community that with the reduction of sea level, the regional climate has changed for the worse and became more extreme. Precipitation and humidity have naturally diminished and it is reported that the number of rainless days has increased from 30 a year in the 1950s, to 150 a year, and the lack of rain has contributed to desertification and invasion by sand. At the same time, temperatures have become more extensive with higher summer temperatures and lower winter temperatures.

4.3. Health Consequences

Extensive methods in agricultural production had led to an excessive application of pesticides, herbicides and mineral fertilizers whose significant portion had been swept away by surface water into rivers, irrigation channels and water reservoirs while the remainder of these pollutants had penetrated into subsurface water-bearing interlayer horizons. The issue of providing the population with potable water of adequate quality is one of the topical ones in the environment health area. As a consequence of insufficient access of the population to the centralized water supply system, on the one hand, and the wear out of the main water supply facilities and water pipeline network available for the urban population on the other, water problem turns out to be a fairly dangerous cause of mortality among the population.

A negative health impact is also exerted by a sharp decrease both in quality and quantity of agricultural products produced in many oblasts of this country; massive importation of food products, often under-quality ones, from other countries; street trading (without license) of food stuffs at unapproved retail outlets; violation of rules of food product transportation, storage and trading, virtually all these factors contribute to additional health risks associated with higher mortality of the population. Consequently, one can observe a downward trend in such areas as life expectancy, birth rate and infant mortality. Overall respiratory mortality is on the rise in addition to higher incidence of cancer, communicable and parasitic diseases, and tuberculosis. Every year, cases of anthrax in animals and humans are recorded in this country. Cases of anthrax were found in the Oblasts viz. Ahal (45%), Mary (32%), Lebap (17%), and Dashguz (5%).

Table1.7. Showing Direct and Indirect Losses Caused by Wastelands (2008).

Denomination	Losses US $'000
Direct losses (income foregone)	
A. Losses of animal production.	160.6
B. Losses of cotton production.	112,713.7
C. Losses of grain production (rice, wheat and other crops).	55,252.4

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Total A+B+C	168126.7
Indirect losses D. Expenses on rehabilitation of degraded rangelands E. Expenses on rehabilitation of degraded farmlands F. Expenses on forest regeneration G. Expenses on control on wind erosion.	 157,780.0 64727.9 768.0 11,724.7
Total D+E+F+G	234,001.5
Total A+B+C+D+E+F+G	402,128.2

Source: Turkmenistan Country Situation Paper 2002.

It is, therefore, evident from the above table that total economic losses from wastelands are about US$ 402.12 million a year that makes more than 4 percent of the national income. Thus it is clear that wastelands reduce agricultural productivity by making it unpredictable. Hence it has a direct impact on the food security of the people in the affected areas. People develop a survival strategy in order to attend to their most urgent requirements, and this in turn helps to aggravate wastelands and hold up development. It also reduces bio-diversity since it contributes to the habitats of animal and vegetable species and micro-organisms. It encourages the genetic erosion of local livestock and plant varieties and species in a fragile ecosystem. Wastelands considerably take their share in climate change, political crisis, environmental and economic crisis. Due to them thousands of people are displaced from their homes. This in turn, exacerbates poverty and political instability, which has a direct impact on the living standards of the people.

Conclusions

A radical approach to Central Asia's agricultural practice is clearly needed to achieve sustainable economic growth and remediate environmental abuses. The Kara-Kum canal requires a complete refurbishment to fix its leaks. The canal also needs to be essentially roofed as well, to minimize evaporation loss and increase its efficiency. In many areas of Turkmenistan, irrigation leaks have killed the soil. Irrigation canal repair should therefore be undertaken in concert with land reclamation. The irrigation network should be completely analyzed, and then revitalized under a phased approach. If Turkmenistan substantially reduces losses from its irrigation network and makes better use of existing water resources, the area of land could be increased by as much as 20-25 percent merely by rehabilitating the existing irrigation system, although at present the cost would be prohibitive without international support.

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DÍAZ-DIEGO, José & MÁRQUEZ-DOMÍNGUEZ, Juan Antonio

Difficult Aging in Rural Romania:
Peasants, Pensions and Agriculture[1]

ABSTRACT

The article looks at the contribution of different groups that make up the national pension system in Romania as well as indicators from which the system calculates retirement pensions of pensioners. It focuses especially on the low pensions paid to farmers once they retire and the relationship between the current model for calculating pensions, the model applied during the communist regime, the agriculture developed by rural farmers who now retire and the extending of their working life in the countryside.

Key-words

Romania, Pensions, Ageing People, Work, Agriculture.

1. Introduction

Nowadays, Romanian society is living an intense period of changes and they are not only economic. A great number of socio-cultural apriorisms is being reconsidered. Recent history has very much to do with it, especially changes from the communist system to the democratic state imbued in a capitalism perhaps not that atrocious as the Russian one, but undoubtedly much less social than the Spanish one. Suffice it to take a walk, with a watchful eye, on the boulevards of Bucharest, Timișoara, Brașov or Iași, and their neighbouring streets, to confirm how this moment of social juncture is projected over the most daily realities: clothing, cars, houses and flats... The contrast between generations and between social classes occurs in everyday life more marked than can be perceived in Spain, Portugal or England, for example. Romania is experiencing social and territorial changes in a very accelerated way, almost in a hurried one.

On the streets, one can see ageing people with a communist aspect next to young people who dare to wear, including in smaller cities, clothes and hairstyles that are rare to find in Madrid or Barcelona, styles which are well ahead of the seasonal trend in Spain. The horse-drawn street cars from rural environment surprise the foreigner who walks and sees how top notch cars fill up the cities' entire avenues in a greater proportion to what happens in more occidental cities. The blocks of residential and administrative buildings rise in the centre of the city above houses with brass roofs and badly illuminated streets at two or three corners away. It seems that Bourdieu thought about Romania when he defended the theory that distinction represented the social base of the taste (1998). Without any doubt, the distinction stands behind a great number of economic overstrain that sustains many of these identification referents, mainly from Romanian young people: clothes, gyms, restaurants, cars, flats... To be means having a lot.

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A social dynamics that consolidates itself and in which one of the most valued referents is the economic flaunting success faces trouble in becoming compatible with a social dynamics of population sectors whose social, cultural, geographical, working, family, etcetera circumstances remain aside the enrichment possibilities, very especially of ageing people, whose resorts, but whose ideal of life too, do not go through business risk or through professional rise. It is not that that time has gone for them, but that many of them just never took it into account.

Even though the official Romanian numbers are little strict concerning the migratory statistics (Gordo-Márquez, 2009), we can trace in Spain and Italy, among other countries, an important number of Romanians who have left behind their country of origin and who get on the board of the migratory adventure in pursuit of better working horizons. In fact, the largest percentage of European emigrated population because of economic reasons belongs to Romania and Bulgaria. While the Polish name economic reasons as responsible for their migrations in a 19.5% of the cases, the Hungarians, the Czechs and the Slovaks in a 27.1%, the Estonians, the Latvians and the Lithuanians in a 32.7%, the percentage rise up to a 54.1% of the cases when the polled ones are Romanians or Bulgarians (Stanciu, 2006).

Counting Romanian workers and their families, the Statistical Bulletin of Aliens and Immigration (*Boletín Estadístico de Extranjería e Inmigración*) from February 2009 estimated that the Romanian community in Spain was about 718,844 persons, that is to say, a little more than the 16% of the total of foreigners. A great part of this community, especially working-age women, take care of ageing people and, in a large number of cases, they do it apart from the Special Scheme of Social Security Domestic Employees (*Régimen Especial de Empleados del Hogar de la Seguridad Social*), an area where the submerged economy is an outstanding characteristic. This fact, which is known thanks to fieldwork, together with areas better assessed, concerning Romanian people who work in the building industry and who are employed to work in agriculture (Viruela, 2006 y 2009; Márquez-Domínguez, Gordo-Márquez y García-Delgado, 2007; Jurado-Almonte y Gordo-Márquez, 2008; Pajares, 2008; Gordo-Márquez, García-Barroso y Díaz-Diego, 2009; Díaz-Diego, 2009) can make one think that an important part of the elderly Romanians are estranged from their sons, receiving money from them as remittances.

An academic research of the authors from the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, from Iaşi (Romania), in the summer of 2008, allowed better knowledge of the demographic structure of the Romanian population, its ageing and the country's migratory history. Moreover, reading, travelling through the country and interviewing economic, political and social Romanian figures helped to understand how the shortage of pensions, the inflation of the basic products and the very absence of the youngest relatives were favouring the prolongation of the working life of the ageing people over 64 years, especially in the agriculture rural environment (Díaz-Diego y Márquez-Domínguez, 2009).

The following text goes through some of the causes of the difficult situation of many of the elderly people in Romania, who suffer the consequences of migrations, being left alone and badly assisted or accompanied by grandchildren whom they must now take care of as if they were their own children. All this is getting worse because of the faults in the Romanian pension system which, apart from providing the retired people with poor pensions, is raising the retirement age in order to prolong working life and the contributions to the social welfare state.

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2. The Romanian pension system

The legislation that now governs the Romanian pension system is Law number 19, 17 of March 2000, of the Pension System and Other Rights of Social Security (Sistemul public de pensii şi alte drepturi de asigurări sociale), published in Monitorul Oficial al României, no 140, from 1st of April 2000. During its 9 years, this legislation has suffered more than 50 changes from rectifications, emergency ordinances and auxiliary laws to the actual text that the Government uses today, published by the Centrul Teritorial de Calcul Electronic de Piatra-Neamţ on 26th of June 2008.

Such a considerable number of changes in the law reports the importance of a legislation that has seen the way it should adjust to the European Union legal framework requirements, since the 1st of January 2007 when Romania became part of it. In this regard, the country has come under pressure both politically and socially by two fundamental variables: the economic inflation and the ageing of the population (Giannakouris, 2008). Moreover, it must be taken into account the fact that the ageing of the population has not only been accelerated by the low natural growth rate, but also by a strong migratory flow that, especially in the rural areas, is creating problems in the generational change whose individuals should be contributing nowadays to the public herald.

These variables are unbalancing the tax system of the Romanian pension system. The number of working-age Romanians who are abroad, emigrated, makes the number of pensioners in Romania equal to that of the contributors, with the consequent damages regarding the economic fluidity that this yields to its national pension system (Chiriac, 2000; Aon, 2008) (Figure 1).
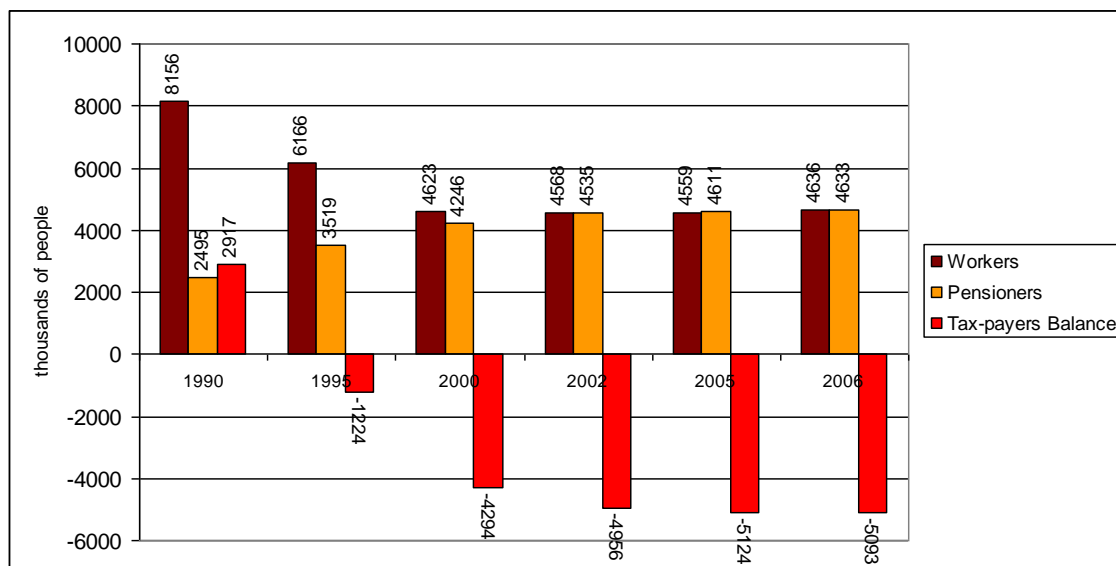

Fig. 1. Balance of the Romanian pension system in number of assets. The contributory balance shows the surplus or the occupied population deficit that the system needs every moment in order to cope with the payment of the pensions. The contributory balance is calculated hereto over the necessity of 2.10 contributors per every pensioner. Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Diaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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This situation is related to the one of the remaining countries in Occidental Europe, where life quality manages to keep the workers in good, productive working conditions for a few more years. However, the increase regarding life expectancy, the low birth rate, and the social and medical costs that entails a great proportion of citizens older than 65 years hampers the economic sustainability of the pension systems of most of the European countries (Meseguer and Conde-Ruiz, 2007). This point of view makes comprehensible the newest controversy caused by the declarations of Miguel Ángel Fernández Ordóñez, Governor of the Bank of Spain, about the weakness of the surplus of the Spanish pension system and about the urgent necessity of making the retirement age more flexible in order to prolong the working life of the workers and, this way, keep sustaining the own system. (El País, 2009a and 2009b).

3. Prolongation of the working life in Romania, stages of contribution and gender

The current Romanian pension system foresees an increase concerning the retirement age of 3 years during a period of 14 years, from April 2001 (month and year when the complete text of the law came into effect) to December 2014 (foreseen moment to complete the calculations about the retirement age). In 2001, date when these demands of prolonging the retirement age began, men had the right to process their pension at 62 years old and women at 57. In September 2008, men could not retire before they were 63 and 5 months, and women not before they were 58 years and 5 months. Finally, on the horizon of December 2014, men will have to have turned 65 and women 60. The increase concerning the retirement age, as it is depicted in the following table, is directly accompanied by a relative increase in the years of contribution, both for full pensions and for the minimum ones (Table 1).

Table 1

Retirement age, full and minimum stages of contribution

Period	Women			Men		
	Age limit for retirement (years/months)	Full period of contribution (years/months)	Minimum period of contribution (years/months)	Age limit for retirement (years/months)	Full period of contribution (years/months)	Minimum period of contribution (years/months)
April 2001/ March 2002	57	25	10	62	30	10
April 2002/ Sep. 2002	57/1	25/1	10/1	62/1	30/1	10/1
Oct. 2002/ March 2003	57/2	25/2	10/2	62/2	30/2	10/2
(…)*	(…)	(…)	(…)	(…)	(…)	(…)
Aug. 2008/ Nov. 2008	58/5	26/10	11/10	63/5	31/10	11/10
Dic. 2008/ March 2009	58/6	27	12	63/6	32	12
(…)*	(…)	(…)	(…)	(…)	(…)	(…)
Dic. 2014/ March 2015	60	30	15	65	35	15

*In these periods, the gradual increase concerning the retirement age and the contribution periods continue. Source: CTCEP-PN, 2008. Elaboration: Diaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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As it can be proved, the Romanian pension law establishes different ages and contribution obligations depending on the contributor's gender. There is clear gender discrimination, positive for women and negative for men, that requires them a superior age and, consequently, a superior number of contribution years in order to be able to retire, while women are being legally remitted thanks to the housework that is being added to the traditional cultural coordinates and that the Administration recognize.

Authors' interview section to a technician from the Iaşi County House of Pensions (*Casa Judeţeană de Pensii Iaşi*):

- Researchers: Why this difference between men and women?
- Interviewed: *It is supposed that women develop a double activity unlike men. They have to get in charge with raising their children. In Romania, women dedicate a lot of time to their family. Regarding housing, they take care of their children, they wash, they iron, and, moreover, part of them also works as men do.*
- Researchers: And the government recognizes this task by allowing them to retire before?
- Interviewed: *There are proposals and studies that want to equate the situations, that is to say, both men and women to retire at the same age. It is a study and also a project.*

Authors' interview section to a technician from the Work Department of Spanish Embassy in Bucharest:

- Researchers: In your opinion, why do businessmen prefer to hire more women than men?
- Interviewed: *They* [business men] *consider that women are more responsible than men, which in part is true. Here, at least in Romania, currently, they* [women] *are more responsible because, from the psychological point of view, they think their job is to keep their family.*

Apparently, there is an explicit acknowledgement of the Government concerning the excessive family burden that women suffer in Romania for the mere fact of their existence. And the Romanian socio-cultural system, as well as the Spanish one, has been dragged on a long sexist tradition that grants, on account of genders, different tasks concerning the material and the symbolical aspect of its social status. The tasks and jobs are maintained in webs of significances and they have gone through numerous cultural logics that give social value to gender, class, nationality, ethnic, geographic differences, etc. It can be assured that working logics, and therefore the sociopolitical system that underlies them, reproduce the constant desire to organize the social universe where they develop. This way, neither the social agency is devoid of subversion means, nor do the given structures dissolve in the chaos that, both daily life and the ritual festive one, they introduce in the social relations and dynamics. Even though Romania is a country full of contrasts, undoubtedly, from its profound social restructuring to a modern country, to the European one, one can keep perceiving numerous hindrances that work against gender equality, for instance. The law in itself is a reflection of a system of values that projects different obligations to men and women.

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4. Type and value of pensions

Before April 2001, the Romanian public pension system was doing a division between state pensions and rural pensions on account of the two different models of contribution that maintained each of these areas during the communist period. Since 2001, with the entry into force of Law 19, the two pension models unify and the Romanian system begins to basically foresee 4 types of economical rewards regardless of the economic sector from which the contributions might have come:

I.   Pension for full, partial or minimum retirement (*pensia de limită de vârstă*).

II.   Pension for early retirement (*pensia anticipată*).

III. Pension for of 1st, 2nd and 3rd invalidity degree (*pensia de invaliditate*).

IV.   Pension for orphans or survivors (*pensia de urmaş*).

Next, we will describe and comment upon the first two types as they express, in a way, the basic model of the Romanian pension system when the worker develops his complete wok life, although quantitatively, for instance, the invalidity pensions suppose that the Romanian coffers might spend much more than the quintuple for early retirements' costs.

The contributors who gain access to the retirement pension are those who have reached the age established by law for that purpose and that, as it has been pointed out previously, is raising month after month on account of the interest of the Romanian Government in establishing the retirement limit later, from 62 years for men and 57 years for women that the law required in April 2001, to 65 and 60 years that is pointed out in the legislation as an objective for December 2014. In turn, the retirement pension can be full, partial or minimum in relation to the number of months of insurance which the contributor can have coped with. In the 2014 objective, women should have contributed with a *stagiul complet de cotizare* of 30 years in order to gain access to a full pension, and with a *stagiul minim de cotizare* of 15 years in order to be able to require a minimum pension. In the case of men, they should have contributed with a full stage that, for them, is calculated in 35 years or reach the minimum stage of contribution, which is marked in 15 years. These stages of contribution point out the range over which the Romanian pension system makes the basic calculations of the economic payment of the monthly pensions of the retired people, both the full and the partial and minimum one.

Finally, the exact pension is calculated taking into account the annual gross salary of the person to retire, his/her contribution stage and a constant (*valoarea punctului de pensie*) that the Government uses to check a few times a year and that determines the pensions' increase (Table 2). This constant, which is being shared by the equations for the calculations of all the pensions of the Romanian public system, is not based on the CPI increase, but on the average annual gross salary of the country, which is of 161.38 €, according to Article 14 of Law nº 387, 31st of December 2007, for the pension calculations.

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Table 2

Evolution of the *valorea punctului de pensie*

1/07/2005	82.05 €
1/01/2006	89.70 €
1/09/2006	94.19 €
1/12/2006	109.99 €
1/09/2007	115.49 €
1/11/2007	150.19 €
1/01/2008	161.38 €

Source: CJP-I, 2008. Elaboration: Diaz-Diego, J., 2010.

On the other hand, only those contributors who do not reach the legal age to retire are entitled to the early retirement pension (*pensia anticipată*). Nevertheless, this is not allowed for those who are 5 or more years away from reaching the legal age for retirement. That is to say that in 2014, men over 60 years and women over 55 years are the only ones who can take an early retirement. This early retirement has also distinct requirements concerning the periods of contribution. In order to take an early retirement, you need to count, in any case, on a minimum of 10 years of contribution plus the full contribution period that the law requires for the month when the application for early retirement is made.

Obviously, these requirements are not fulfilled by any worker, either a woman or a man, who on account of her/his personal circumstances would want to take the early retirement with a right to a full pension, as the law calculations demand that, in some cases, the workers must have begun their working and contributing life when they were 16 years old. This degenerates into the fact that most of the early retirement pensions are partial pensions (*pensia anticipată parţială*) within which the contributors are not entitled to a full pension as if it happened if they retired a year later.

Early retirement, apparently, does not seem an attractive retirement option as the requirement of 10 more years of contribution for the full period diminishes a lot the age when the individual sees himself/herself in the obligation of having begun working and contributing, which is practically impossible in the case of qualified and well-qualified workers – on account of their period of secondary and university education. However, if the worker must inevitably take an early retirement, even though the age is very rigid, the one of the 10 years contribution period over the *stagiul complet de cotizare* is not the same. Nevertheless, not fulfilling this rule means that one is bound to lose the full pension calculated as for any other retired person; it also means finding how the penalties that decrease the final pension for not having contributed are applied.

Such a law does not seem to have been driven forward by an interest in encouraging early retirements to adjust the working market and rejuvenate companies and institutions. Romania does not rely upon unemployment rates (currently, they are less than 5%, National Social Security Institute – INSS –, 2008) to force the Administration to take measures in this aspect and which the private company's world could benefit from as it happened in the 90s in Spain on account of many dismissals. Rather on the contrary, the economic growth in Romania and the abundant job offer has some industries on the rack, such as the building one, whose specialists are abroad and whose unqualified jobs are still not attractive enough,

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from the economic point of view, so as to put an end to part of the migratory flow towards abroad. Still, because of economic aspects, this flow of young workers keeps moving towards other countries, such as Spain or Italy, in order to get a job in these mere economic sectors or in other socially less valued as the agriculture one[2] (Figure 2).

Fig. 2. How do you find work in Spain? Source: Vidu.ro [Online]. The 6th of August 2006. <http://www.vidu.ro/index.php?cat=caricaturi&pag=capsunari-la-munca-in-spania&sendable=1>. [Last access the 3rd of November 2009].

In the same way, the Romanian working market has been able, until now, to offer outstanding working advantages so as to redirect part of the rural population towards areas such as that of buildings. Many of these farmers nowadays boast about continuing with the traditional, smallholder and, practically, subsistence farming; however, this does not seem too enslaving so as to change it for a low-paid job on scaffolding. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out here a change in tendency concerning the age profile, as it is true that it starts to be noticed, especially in urban areas, including small and medium-sized cities, that young people who incorporate themselves for the first time in the working market would rather do it before in the building industry than in the farming one to which their parents are connected.

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[2] Romanians rely on a word to disqualify national emigrants, who leave abroad, especially those who do it for working in agricultural campaigns: *căpsunarii*. The term comes from the noun *căpsune* (strawberries) and it literally means strawberry picker. Its use began to expand among the press in 2004 and 2005 to designate the Romanian women and men who went, primarily, to Huelva county (Southern Spain) to work in the strawberry campaign. Quickly, the term became widespread to speak about other types of international migration and it became so pejorative that the description became an insult. Although it is used in other means, nowadays it is a word forbidden by the chief editor of many of the newspapers of the main Romanian cities.

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Probably, this law, hard on early retirement conditions, is trying to correct the historic crisis the Romanian pension system is going through, a system that is not aggravated because of the ageing demographic tendency and by the migratory flows that bleed dry the country's contributors – and not the remittances – , but a system that has been dragging since Ceaușescu's times until liberal governments subsequent to 1996, in a form of an increased number of pensioners thanks to the previous more flexible legislations (Vasile and Uegaki, 2003).

This way, the early retirement model puts pressure on the contributors' personal strategies almost preventing them from choosing this solution of retirement from active working life. With a legislation of such characteristics, early retirement is always a disadvantageous solution that, as you can check in the table for pensions and pensioners in the *judet* (province) of Iaşi, is chosen by only 2.6% of the retired people and out of these, those who manage to take a full early retirement do not reach the 0.2% of the total of pensioners of the province of Romanian Moldavia (Table 3).

Table 3

Pensions and pensioners in Iaşi county

Type of pension		Number of pensioners*	%
Retirement	Full pension	59,940	43.12
	Incomplete pension**	34,650	24.93
Early retirement	Full pension	271	0.19
	Partial pension	3,389	2.44
Invalidity	1st Degree	1,360	0.98
	2nd Degree	16,066	11.56
	3rd Degree	6,498	4.67
Orphans and survivors	Pension for orphans and survivors	16,830	12.11
TOTAL		139,004	100

*The table collects all the pensioners who processed their pension from 2001 plus those who belonged to the division of state pensioners before that Law 19 about the Public Pension System unified state and rural pensions this year. ** Concerning incomplete pensions, inside the model for the retirement pension, all of them, both partial and minimum, are included. Source: CJP-I, 2008. Elaboration: Diaz-Diego, J., 2010.

5. Pensions calculation depends on the national salary fluctuations

Choosing the annual gross salary as calculation constant of the Romanian pensions and, consequently, as indicator of their increase does not lack importance because of this indicator's weakness in moments of crisis. It must be pointed out that in Romania, if this indicator has experienced constant increases since1938, the annual gross salary is not supported by a minimum salary as in the case of Spain. In Romania, at least since the fall of the communist system in December 1989, the Government does not tightly legislate in the minimum salary beyond the estimate of a minimum quantity as the Government's

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decision (*hotărârea guvernului*), which, not having the status of law, faces many subterfuges in order to avoid it afterwards.

This way, the workers' salary is practically up to the businessman and his negotiation with the individual worker, that is to say, up to the free market. Even officials are conditioned by this salary dynamics, as for the calculations of their salaries this indicator uses to be taken into account too, and, thus, this latter group of public workers is submitted to it too. The almost absolute absence of a firm legislative body about minimum salaries is a clear proof about the complete interference of the capitalist system in all the nooks and crannies of the Romanian working framework, up to the opportunities where workers, especially those who are not qualified, are weaker in front of the businessmen, and where they can see themselves more seriously damaged: salary negotiation. This is getting worse if we consider the incompetence itself of the union workers in the Romanian working life, at least since the disappearance of the great industrial companies. Finally, the absence of collective agreements with regulations weight must be added to all this too.

M. Gordo, J. M. Jurado and J. Díaz's interview section to the administrator of the Workforce Occupation Office in Iaşi County (Agentia Naţională pentro Ocuparea Fortei de Muncă):

- Researchers: Which is the role that syndicates play here?
- Interviewed: *The role was more important before 2000, I think.* (...) *But now, as there are almost no industrial companies, you can find businessmen with businesses not that big and those do not have syndicates.*
- Researchers: Syndicates participate together with businessmen and the Administration when negotiating working conditions?
- Interviewed: *Yes, they do. I can give you an example. Here, in our agency, I am the advisor; we have an advisory board and the national agency as well, with 5 representatives of the State, 5 representatives of the syndicate and 5 representatives of the personnel from Iaşi. And I always make my decisions after I have got the information from the market. Every month, every week I discuss with representatives of the syndicate and they tell me that there is a problem, that next month it is possible to have unemployed people, what measures we have to take, etc.*
- Researchers: This committee decides the workers' salary, the number of hours too?
- Interviewed: *No, it does not. At this moment, free market is the one that decides salaries. For instance, we do not know what salaries. I send an unemployed person to a businessman and* (...) *it depends on that person the way he/she negotiates with the businessman. It is up to him/her and to how much the businessman can offer.*

As it can be observed, syndicates play only a role of observers with a low importance concerning the decisions made by the Working Administration. This one makes its decisions rather in function of the supply and the demand, advising the workers about the possibilities of negotiation in front of the businessman, but without much capacity to establish working conditions beyond the worker's preparation for the private negotiation in front of the company that asks for him/her.

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In this aspect, thanks to financial programmes such as Phare, developed in 1992, the Agenda 2000 for the joining of future member countries, development programmes and European convergence as SAPARD and ISPA4, the European investment in the Romanian economic weave after its full joining and the remittances of Romanian emigrants, among other actions and situations, Romania is experiencing a phase of economic development that allows an optimistic sight towards the increasing evolution of the average annual gross salary, indicator, as it has been said, of the constant that allows the periodic increase of the pensions. However, it is a very weak indicator in front of the crisis because, as we could verify it in Spain since summer 2007, the working weave is one of the first affected in unstable economic outlook and, consequently, the workers' salaries too.

6. Pensions and pensioners

As it has been said before, the working instability that generates the absence of a minimum salary that should influence, in turn, the stability of the national medium gross salary directly affects the pensions of the Romanian retired people and, thus, their life quality because for the calculations of their pensions, the medium salary is taken into account. This system of calculations makes pensions go up and down depending on the economic situation without taking into account, for example, the price inflation and, generally, living costs. This way, even though in the last years, the Romanian Government has made a considerable effort to raise the national average of the pensions, about 285% from 2001 until 2006 (National Social Security Institute –INSS –, 2008), the pensioners' purchasing capacity has not improved at the same rate because the inflation of basic products, such as water, electricity or gas, has risen more than a 145% in the same period (Table 4).

Table 4.

Increase of prices in Romania

							Previous year = 100
Goods/ Period	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Increase 2000/2006 (%)
Sewer system, water, electricity, gas and others fuels	134.2	136.5	119.8	121.5	119.1	114.39	145.49
Hotels and restaurants	143.9	127.4	116.6	114.1	113.1	107.87	122.97
Transports	139.2	131.1	118.0	112.9	114.0	106.18	121.38
Tobacco and spirits	131.1	117.4	122.1	116.2	112.1	117.91	116.81
Education	140.7	121.8	111.8	112.0	106.1	109.49	101.89
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	136.1	118.3	114.6	109.4	106.1	103.83	88.33
Others goods and services	130.3	121.3	113.6	109.3	106.5	104.19	85.19
Household furniture and repairs	127.7	118.3	110.6	107.5	105.6	102.65	72.35
Culture and leisure time	126.3	119.9	102.0	109.7	107.2	105.49	70.59
Public health	137.6	119.5	113.9	98.2	102.0	98.79	69.99
Communications	135.6	112.4	113.4	110.4	98.0	98.62	68.42

Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Diaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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Price inflation, including the consumer one, that has been largely motivated by the development of the country's economic sectors, especially the building one, and because of the liquidity emigrants injected as remittances, has made that, with monthly pensions situated at a high number between 60 and 70 Euros, basic food products over 10 Euros has to be faced at least in 16 of the most important cities of the country (Table 5). Even though this is true, reality is more inflationary. It must be pointed out that the data from the table makes reference to 2006 and that from the own experience of the Romanian land during summer 2008, 2006 prices have practically tripled. In its official statistics, the Romanian Government calculates for Bucharest, the most expensive city, the next prices: 0.36 Euros for 1kg of potatoes, 0.57 for 1l of milk and 2.8 for 1kg of cheese. However, in 2008, in smaller and cheaper cities as Iaşi, Vaslui or Suceava, potatoes exceeded 0.90 Euros/kg, 1l of milk was about 1 Euro and 1kg of cheese exceeded 7 Euros. Thus, we are talking about basic food products that exceed in many of the cases 25/30 Euros, with pensions that barely exceed 70 Euros/month (Table 6).

Table 5.

Price of basic products in Romanian markets*

City	Basic food products (€)	City	Basic food products (€)
Braşov	11.29	Baia Mare	9.62
Miercurea Ciuc	11.18	Râmnicu Vâlcea	9.60
Bucureşti (Municipality)	11.09	Târgovişte	9.59
Bucureşti (Ilfov)	11.09	Târgu Mureş	9.54
Suceava	10.80	Arad	9.43
Oradea	10.66	Ploieşti	9.43
Cluj-Napoca	10.66	Giurgiu	9.37
Timişoara	10.61	Slatina	9.37
Piatra Neamţ	10.59	Craiova	9.36
Sfântu Gheorghe	10.42	Zalău	9.33
Satu Mare	10.33	Buzău	9.32
Tulcea	10.33	Constanta	9.30
Deva	10.32	Vaslui	9.16
Sibiu	10.31	Bistriţa	9.12
Focşani	10.25	Călăraşi	8.83
Galaţi	10.10	Brăila	8.81
Alba Iulia	9.98	Târgu Jiu	8.80
Iaşi	9.95	Alexandria	8.42
Piteşti	9.85	Reşiţa	8.20
Braşov	9.82	Botoşani	7.72
Miercurea Ciuc	9.81	Bacău	6.20

*The basic food products are composed here by food that the Romanian Government selects in order to analyze the daily prices in agro-food markets. This batch contains: 1kg of potatoes, 1kg of onions, 1kg of beans, 1kg of cabbage, 1 kg of tomatoes, 1kg of apples, 1l of cow milk, 1kg of sheep cheese, a dozen chicken eggs and 1kg of honey. Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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Table 6.

Value of the pensions regarding the kinds of pension, in Euros

Kinds of pension	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Increase of the pensions 2001/2006 (%)	% to national average pension
National average pension	24.76	31.67	37.14	48.57	58.57	70.95	286.55	100
State pension	31.19	38.81	44.52	55.24	63.57	74.05	237.42	104.37
Rural pension	6.43	8.1	9.05	17.62	20.95	27.86	433.28	39.27
Average pension for age limit	36.67	46.19	53.81	67.86	80.95	94.05	256.48	132.56
Full pension for age limit	41.9	52.86	63.1	80.71	96.19	111.67	266.52	157.39
Incomplete pension for age limit	22.14	27.62	30	35.95	43.81	53.1	239.84	74.84
Early retirement pension	56.67	69.29	73.57	86.9	93.1	104.76	184.86	147.65
Partial pension for early retirement	32.14	35.71	41.67	51.67	58.1	68.33	212.60	96.31
Medium invalidity pension	25.95	32.86	36.67	44.29	50	59.76	230.29	84.23
Pension for 1st Degree of invalidity	31.67	38.57	42.14	49.29	54.76	61.43	193.97	86.58
Pension for 2nd Degree of invalidity	27.14	33.81	37.38	44.76	50.71	60.71	223.69	85.57
Pension for 3rd Degree of invalidity	18.33	26.9	33.33	42.14	48.33	57.62	314.35	81.21
Pension for orphans/survivors	15	19.29	23.1	29.29	35	40.71	271.40	57.38

Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

7. Agriculture and the restitution of agricultural land in Romania

Romania is a country counting on a large and established agricultural tradition that, as the vast majority of the States which after the Second World War were left under the influence of the former Soviet Union, suffered from tumultuous agricultural changes, related especially with the private ownership of agricultural land. This affected, among many others matters, the type of crops, their yield, the economic productivity of cultivated areas, the destination markets of the agro-food products and the daily life of the men and women who remained linked to the job in the agricultural field.

In 1945, the Romanian Government implemented the land reform that would end with the private ownership of the agricultural land. Only in mountain environments, such as the Carpathian areas, did the private ownership have an opportunity to continue. Nevertheless, this area did not mean much more than 20% of the arable lands in Romania. The rest of it directly became cola public good, property of the State or it was collectivized for its use and exploitation by the *comune* (group of small villages). The exploitations covered an area of more than 1,460,000 ha, of which more than 1,100,000 were distributed between 918,000 peasants. The ratio of cultivable area per farmer was limited to 1.20 ha. By the end of the

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communist period, in the entire Romania, there were 3,776 collective farms that represented an area of about 9 million hectares and 411 State farms that extended over more than 2 million hectares. This supposed collective farms with medium areas superior to 2,300 ha and State farms with areas over 5,000 ha each one (Bălteanu, 2006).

The fall of the communism marked the difference of this model from the communal property and introduced in agriculture the capitalist system's own logics. The Law of the Land, of 20th of February 1991, recognized once more the right of the private ownership over rural goods and, consequently, the privatization of the agriculture. The National Commission for the Restitution of Agricultural Land, divided into provincial commission and these ones in local commissions, recognized the rights of property for 4.7 millions of Romanians. However, not all those citizens had been owners or heirs of former owners whose properties were expropriated, but that during the restitution process of the properties participated also those with real capital or political weight to purchase the shares in which the Government distributed the State farms. Thus, not all the land returned to their former owners, peasants or to their sons and grandsons in their vast majority, but that a significant number of them, especially from areas more productive, such as the Danube Valley, were transferred to personalities of the Communist Party, which after the fall of the system, chose to keep the most profitable assets of the Romanian economy. This information does not appear in the official statistics, but it does in all the informal conversations that, during the fieldwork, have been held with technicians and political representatives of the Romanian Administration related to the agricultural world.

After the completion of the restoration of the land ownership, Romania became a smallholding country. Nowadays, the country relies on about 47 million parcels whose medium surface is about 2 ha (Figure 3). Thus, the result of the restoration was: micro-fragment the rustic parcels and diminish the familial business and the agricultural exploitation (Bălteanu, 2006) (Figure 4).
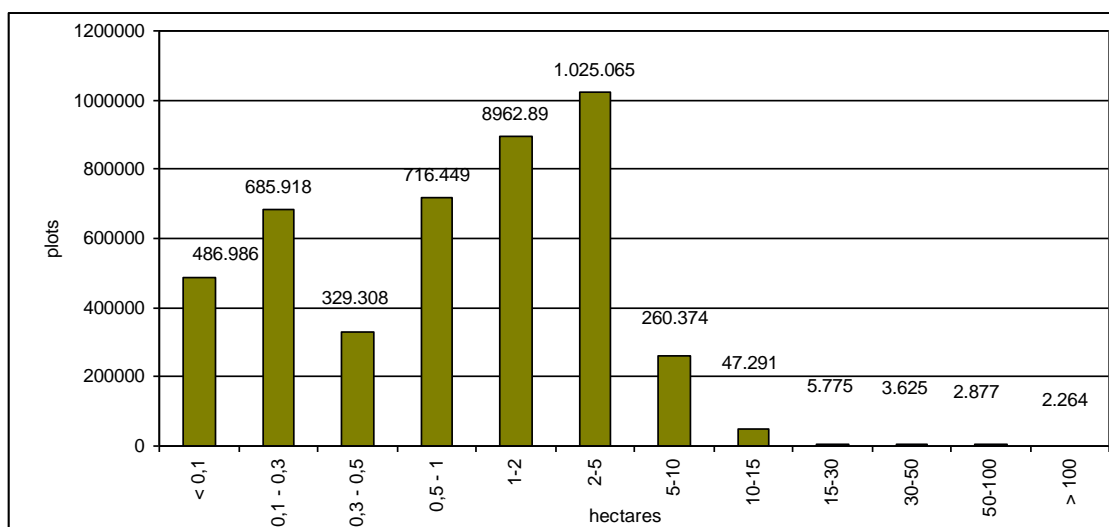

Fig. 3. Number of plots by extension. Source: Baltasiu, 2006. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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Fig. 4. Detail of plots fragmentation and morphology in Neamt (Romania). Source. GoogleEarth, 2010.

From an agricultural point of view, Romania is one of the European countries with the highest percentage of surface useful for farming: about 62% of the total surface. This percentage rises up to 80% if we talk about its plains. Pasturelands, cereal fields, fruit trees and vegetable gardens can be found in Romania in almost every type of relief, even in the interior and exterior Carpathian plains, and in the centre and south of the Dobrogea plateau. More specifically, the fields are arable of about 80% of the Romanian plains, the Banat-Crișana plain and the south of the Dobrogea plateau, apart from the valleys of Siret, Prut, Olt and Mures rivers. The percentage decreases in order to situate in an interval of between 60 and 80% in the Romanian plains adjacent to the Getic Piedmont and the Subcarpathian hills, in the Moldavian plain, apart from the Bârlad plateaus and the centre of Transylvania. The arable surfaces decrease more and more, up to 40-60%, in fragmented regions of the Getic Piedmont, Transylvania, the Subcarpathian areas of the Romanian Moldavia and the depressions of Făgăraș, Sibiu and Hațeg. The arable percentage decrease a little more in the mountain region of Apuseni and, finally, up to 20% in the strictly mountain areas of the Carpathians and in the Danube Delta (Bălteanu, 2006).

Even with this high percentage of cultivable lands, the expanses finally cultivated have not stopped decreasing since the fall of the communism in 1989. In only 10 years, between 1990 and 2000, more than 9.3 million of cultivated hectares stopped producing. Bălteanu (2006, p.231) points out as causes of this dynamics, among others, the insecurity that produced the process of restitution of the land ownership, the low economic power of the new owners, the absence of machineries and money to exploit the parcels, the difficulty of selling the products at prices that could cover the production costs and the absence of expectations on account of the adverse economic situation of the country and the poor assistance that the State provided farmers. To the negative context of the agriculture's backward step, we must add the micro-fragmentation of the property, the dismantling of the irrigation structures, the substitution of agricultural technology by gross workforce (Figure 5), the regression of the agronomic management

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(necessarily going back to peasant methods and techniques of farming) and the subsequent impoverishment of the agricultural rural world. This disastrous situation was baptized by the Romanian authors as *dezastrul agricol postdecembrist* (Dropu, 2007:427).

Fig. 5. Peasant family working with a draught animal. Fălticeni (Suceava, Romania). Archive: Díaz-Diego, J., 2008.

During these first years of political transition, especially those ruled by the prime ministers Petre Roman (1989-1991) and Teodor Stolojan (1991-1992), the population employed in the agriculture sector increased in comparison with 1989, but decreased concerning the number of remunerated farmers, that is to say, rose the number of peasants who worked their land on their own. At the same time, the reduced number of exploitations and the deindustrialization of agriculture diminished the volume of agricultural productions, both crop and livestock; this way, the milk production went down and the meat one went up. Romania relied on an average of 1 tractor for each 74 hectares while the European average oscillated around a few more than 1 tractor for each 13 hectares those years. In this context, the country lost agricultural competitiveness in comparison with its neighbours, especially Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland, which made it lose the international market and reduce the volume of its agro-food exportations (Table 7). Such was the situation that, in 2002, Romania had a negative agro-food balance of 1.269 million dollars (Baltasiu, 2006, p.100-105).

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Table 7.

Fall of the agricultural production after the fall of the communist regime (agricultural production in thousands of tones, production in thousands of heads)

Crop group	1989	1990	1991	1992	Fall of the production, 1989-1992 (%)
Cereals	18,379	17,174	19,307	12,289	33.14
Legumes	256	112	80	75	70.70
Oilseeds	1,034	739	823	920	11.03
Sugar beet	6,672	3,278	4,703	2,897	56.58
Potatoes	4,420	3,186	1,873	2,602	41.13
Vegetables	3,727	2,358	2,214	2,632	29.38
Fruit trees	1,580	1,453	1,165	1,167	26.14
Vine	915	954	849	505	44.81
Bovine	6,291	5,381	4,355	3,683	41.46
Pig	11,671	12,003	10,954	9,852	15.59
Sheep	15,435	14,062	13,879	12,079	21.74
Hen	113,968	121,379	106,032	87,725	23.03

Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 1993. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

Obviously, the vanguard agriculture is still present nowadays in Romania and still increasing. Modern fruit tree plantations, especially of apples, as well as vineyards, can be found, for instance, along the extracarpathian region from the northeast border with Ukraine and Moldavia until the Black Sea or large plains of cereals, especially of wheat and soya, sunflower and other oilseeds, in the depression of the Danube on its way through Călăraşi, Ialomiţa and Constanţa.

8. Rural context, agricultural production and low pensions

The 44.8% of the Romanian population lives in rural environments, that is to say, about 9,670,000 persons. Of this population, many people over 64 years old have to continue their working life because of their low pensions. In Romania, more than 456.000 persons over 64 years old are still working. Even though they are present in all activity sectors, their job in the countryside stands out, especially the agricultural one. Specifically, the population over 64 years old that is working in the agricultural sector represents 88.4% of the total of those who share a job and the same group of age (Table 8).

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Table 8.

Structure of the working population concerning activity sector and group of age

Employment	Population (thousands)	Group of age (%)					
		15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and more
Total of sectors	9,313	8.6	27.3	26.0	23.1	10.1	4.9
Político, of legislation and executive bodies	269	1.7	23.5	34.1	30.4	9.5	0.8
Intelectuals and scientists	864	2.5	35.7	24.3	25.4	11.3	0.8
Technical staff	860	5.4	32.1	26.3	27.2	8.7	0.3
Administrative officials	391	6.5	29.2	31.9	25.8	6.5	0.1
Trade and services personnel	915	11.8	34.7	29.7	19.5	3.9	0.4
Peasants, agricultural labourers, forestry workers and foresters	2,319	10.5	19.0	16.6	17.4	19.1	17.4
Artisans	1,538	8.1	25.6	31.3	29.2	5.7	0.1
Other occupations	2,157	10.6	29.1	29.3	22.3	7.2	1.5

Source: National Social Security Institure (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

The strong connection of the old people group with agricultural activity and the emigration of the young people shape a very aged rural world. Out of more than 2,300,000 Romanians working in the agricultural sector, those over 64 years old represent 17% of the total. This means that, from the point of view of the sectors, agriculture gathers together the biggest proportion of persons who are still working after having retired.

Actually, the agricultural activity is intimately associated with the property of exploitations, which does not disappear when the worker reaches the age for retirement. On the contrary than in other sectors, in agriculture the explicit obligation to abandon the agricultural activity does not exist, at least when the activity is realized as self-employed worker or on own parcels. A priori, it seems that when the production means are their own and accompanied by the workforce, the activity prolongs beyond 64 years; however, only this does not explain the working life of the Romanian old people in the agricultural sector. The percentage of old people who are still active in craftwork allows proving that the hypothesis that explains the prolongation of the agricultural activity beyond the retirement age, because of the domain of land ownership, is not maintained (Table 8).

Romania relies on more than 1,538,000 artisans. As well as it happens with farmers, artisans use to be owners of their production means, develop their activity on their own and, generally, in rural environments, they are inserted in value schemes similar to those of farmers, at least regarding age and gender roles. Nevertheless, they do not prolong their working life beyond 64 years, neither because they continue having the tools and feedstock, nor because they are still accompanied by forces, nor because they feel and understand that keep working is keep being what until now they have been and because they need to keep being that: useful, valid, productive, authorized, famous… Artisans between 45 and 54 years old represent the 29.2% of the total while the percentage decreases until 5.7% when talking about artisans between 55 and 64 years old, and, finally, it reduces to 0.1% when they reach the retirement age.

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Thus, what makes that farmers prolong their working life beyond 64 years old, apart from factors related to environments' property and socio-cultural aspects of lack of enthusiasm for work and land that, on the other hand, share with other workers who do retire? The answer has been pointed out at the beginning of the epigraph: low pensions.

Farmers, over 44% of the total Romanian population, suffered during their retirement, at least until 2000, from the discrimination of the Romania national pension system, which made categorical difference between State pensioners and rural pensioners. It is about a hindrance of the communist pension system that changes Law 19 of Pensions and Social Pensions thanks to which the retired people from 2001 onward are part of the same model and of calculations for the salaries which do not relate the retirement pensions to the productive sectors where they have worked. On account of this, a gradual fall concerning the number of rural pensions in Romania can be proved, a number that has decreased with more than 43 points from 2001 to 2006. Given that since 2001 no farmer retires in the group of "rural pensioners", but in the "homogenized" one, in 2006 rural pensions had gone down regarding their number from about more than 1,760,000 to only 1,000,000. No group of contributors has experienced such fall (Table 9).

Table 9.

Number of Romanian pensioners by kinds of pension, in thousands of persons

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Increase of pensioners 2001/2006 (%)	% about the total of pensioners in 2006
TOTAL	66,351	66,378	66,306	66,233	66,067	55,806	91.42	100.00
Pensioners (homogeneized group)*	44,426	44,535	44,570	44,597	44,611	44,633	104.68	79.80
Rural pensioners	11,767	11,677	11,572	11,474	11,292	11,005	56.88	17.31
Age limit pensioners	33,206	33,216	33,178	33,158	33,146	33,142	98.00	54.12
Age limit pensioners with full pension	22,352	22,381	22,296	22,258	22,223	22,194	93.28	37.79
Age limit pensioners with incomplete pension	8,854	8,835	8,882	9,900	9,923	9,948	111.01	16.33
Early retired pensioners	11	88	110	112	112	112	1,200.00	0.21
Early retired pensioners with partial pension	99	663	992	1106	1113	1119	1,322.22	2.05
Invalid pensioners	6,660	7,706	7,751	7,790	8,827	8,866	131.21	14.92
Pensioners with 1st degree of invalidity	227	228	330	332	335	337	137,04	0.64
Pensioners with 2nd degree of invalidity	5,536	5,553	5,557	5,552	5,552	5560	104.48	9.65
Pensioners with 3rd degree of invalidity	97	125	164	206	240	269	277.32	4.63
Persons with orphan or survivor pensions	688	672	672	665	652	641	95.96	11.04

* In this group all State pensioners are counted, apart from the rural ones who retired after 2000. Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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Even though nowadays pensioners who are still bound to the agricultural model go down from the 17% of the total Romanian pensioners, their salaries keep being the lowest of all. Rural pensions are 2.5 times lower than the pension system average, that is to say that they receive only 39.27% of a medium pension. If, on the contrary, we compare them with State pensions, the difference is obviously much bigger. A medium State pension is 2.7 times bigger than a rural one (Table 7). All this has an obvious effect on the purchasing power and on the quality of life.

From a spatial point of view, if we compare, on the one hand, for example, , the provinces where pensions are lower and, on the other hand, the provinces with a higher percentage of rural population, we will quickly notice that there is a well defined relation between Romanians' pensions and their environments. This can be clearly seen in the provinces of Satu Mare and Sălaj in the northeast of the country; Bistrița-Năsăud, Suceava and Botoșani in the north and northeast; Vaslui and Tulcea in the east; and Vâlcea, Olt, Teleorman, Dâmbovița, Giugiu and Călărași in the south and southeast (Figure 6).
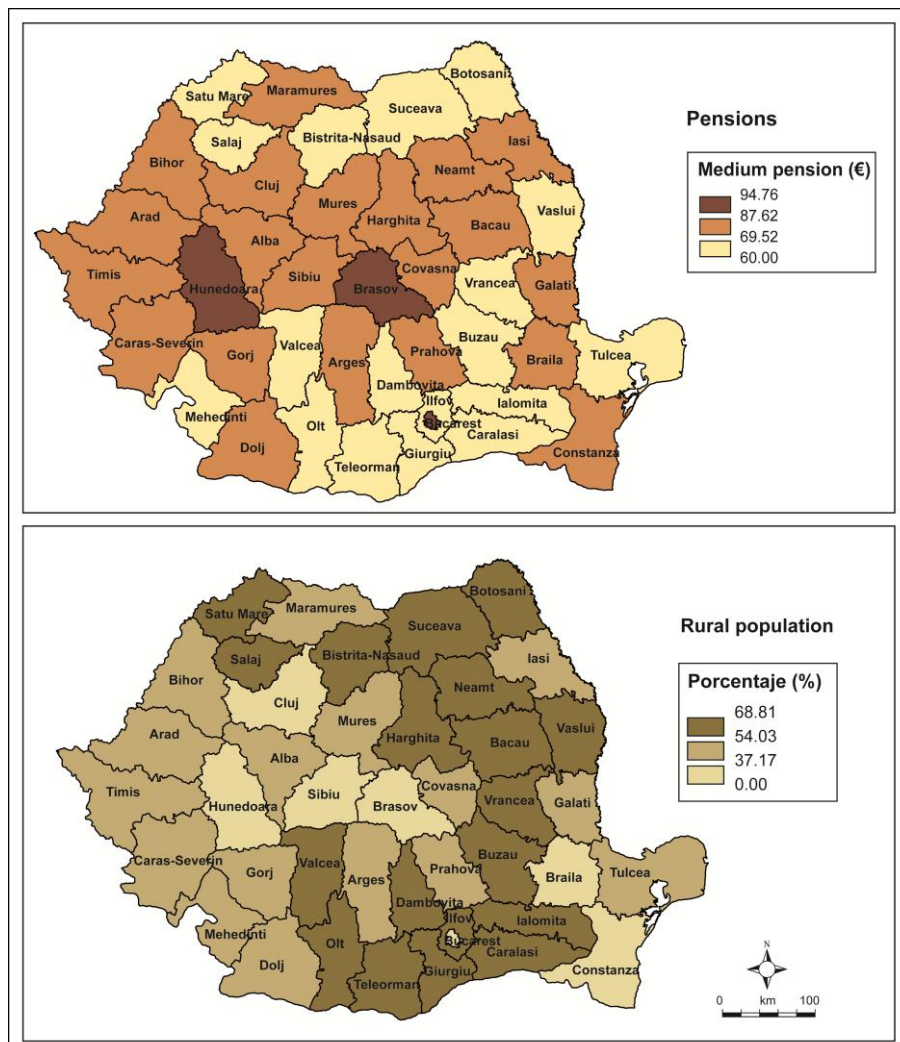
Fig. 6. Spatial distribution of pension value and rural population in Romania, 2006. Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

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There where the weight of the agricultural activity stands out, the pensions go down below the average, primarily, on account of the fact that the Romanian pension system does not equate the pensions of the pensioners who retired during the former agricultural model. This is of vital importance as, still with the convergence that the Government required itself when unifying the two pension models in only one, the pensions of one and other groups are not equated because of other factor that is detrimental to the farmers, and that is directly related to their work in the agricultural sector: that of medium salary.

It has been mentioned that the three main indicators for the Romanian pensions' calculations are the contribution stage, the value of the pension's point (*valorea punctului de pensie*) and the salary. If we observe the table about the agricultural numbers in Romania, specifically the column about productivity, we could notice how the economic production per hectare is intimately related to the lowest pensions. In other words, the provinces with the lowest retirement salaries in Romania coincide not only with those that rely on an important percentage of rural population, which significantly dedicates to the agricultural sector and which, thus, has been marginalized because of unfair retirement models; but besides that, in the current model of convergence towards pensions more egalitarian, it is about a population that is equally harmed by the low productivity of its fields. This happens, for instance, in provinces such as Călăraşi, Giurgiu, Olt, Teleorman, Tulcea or Vaslui (Table 10). The pensioners of these provinces have been doubly penalized regarding their retirement pensions, firstly because they are farmers and, secondly, for maintaining production and profitability levels below the Romanian average, that is to say, because they are peasants.

Table 10

Romanian agriculture by county

County	Value of the agricultural production (mil €)	Cultivated area (ha)	Total agricultural production (T)	Yield (T/ha)	Productivity (€/ha)
Alba	151,995	104,134	225,705	2.17	1,460
Arad	213,350	264,912	679,098	2.56	805
Argeş	196,987	142,503	326,221	2.29	1,382
Bacău	198,012	158,244	317,616	2.01	1,251
Bihor	212,069	258,218	568,565	2.20	821
Bistriţa-Năsăud	152,429	77,621	124,447	1.60	1,964
Botoşani	198,772	229,748	348,998	1.52	865
Brăila	152,691	294,258	580,819	1.97	519
Braşov	169,217	88,596	90,901	1.03	1,910
Bucureşti	6,194	1,458	1,140	0.78	4,248
Buzău	172,030	247,808	485,167	1.96	694
Călăraşi	147,211	374,255	707,278	1.89	393
Caraş-Severin	162,872	91,568	185,767	2.03	1,779
Cluj	269,133	127,006	216,968	1.71	2,119
Constanţa	248,054	400,472	713,279	1.78	619
Covasna	139,109	81,051	121,737	1.50	1,716
Dâmboviţa	252,882	156,088	350,547	2.25	1,620
Dolj	233,640	400,890	906,936	2.26	583

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Galaţi	239,796	244,367	495,032	2.03	981
Giurgiu	113,795	238,262	442,000	1.86	478
Gorj	122,496	93,315	246,569	2.64	1,313
Harghita	146,275	69,821	61,059	0.87	2,095
Hunedoara	119,885	60,536	127,494	2.11	1,980
Ialomiţa	165,278	317,213	506,680	1.60	521
Iaşi	273,997	223,182	447,619	2.01	1,228
Ilfov	96,072	79,248	176,707	2.23	1,212
Maramureş	195,424	73,805	88,001	1.19	2,648
Mehedinţi	121,258	157,036	404,222	2.57	772
Mureş	219,188	178,591	351,612	1.97	1,227
Neamţ	175,664	147,768	261,843	1.77	1,189
Olt	202,872	331,377	679,332	2.05	612
Prahova	133,265	128,695	278,186	2.16	1,036
Sălaj	118,577	93,403	161,733	1.73	1,270
Satu Mare	168,706	168,276	378,288	2.25	1,003
Sibiu	128,588	62,653	121,409	1.94	2,052
Suceava	285,490	165,848	239,220	1.44	1,721
Teleorman	196,951	427,494	878,341	2.05	461
Timiş	325,581	434,918	1,143,201	2.63	749
Tulcea	117,651	236,573	304,251	1.29	497
Vâlcea	137,484	72,963	212,864	2.92	1,884
Vaslui	182,721	247,848	524,503	2.12	737
Vrancea	195,198	131,932	277,985	2.11	1,480
ROMANIA (Average)	177,592	187,713	375,222	1.93	1,283

Source: National Social Security Institute (INSS), 2008. Elaboration: Díaz-Diego, J., 2010.

9. Final conclusions

The purchasing power of the Romanian pensioners bound to the agricultural activity is much below the rest of the retired pensioners in other economical sectors. Among others, two causes are important in this situation: on the one hand, the hindrance of the bi-modal Romanian pension system that made a difference between rural pensioners and State pensioners. In this context, the rural pensioners receive salaries 2.7 times inferiors in comparison with the State pensioners average.

On the other hand, even though in the last years the Romanian Government has been trying to put an end to this differentiation by joining the two models in only one, this has not triggered the expected effects because in the pensions' calculations, the worker's annual gross salary and his/her contribution stages are valued (matter explained in the "Type and value of the pensions" section). This matter affects in a negative way the pensioners from the agricultural sector, in comparison with those of the industrial or services sectors, on account of the fact that the agricultural incomes are very low, especially, those of peasants.

Moreover, the Romanian agriculture is suffering a process of separation from former communist structures and a traumatic rebuilding of peasant survival strategies, as well as the introduction of the capitalist agriculture. The obsolete of the agricultural machinery linked to the disintegration of a good part of the agro-productive structures are leading small and medium owners towards considering

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agriculture as a low intensity activity, of maintenance, that is expecting solutions from abroad. The privatization of land ownership micro-fragmented the Romanian agricultural parcel and restructured the intensive agricultural production into familial exploitations, of small size, without barely a capital to face the necessary investments which could made the 2 ha medium exploitations profitable.

Main crops such as strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, redcurrants or blackberries, for example, exploited in an overly intensive way, could suppose market alternatives for farms of this size. However, investments in greenhouses, irrigation systems and phitosanitary make this enterprise unviable for many Romanian peasants. On the contrary, many of them have oriented themselves towards traditional production systems, local markets and cropping diversification as only means of survival. This way, many of the exploitations have micro-parceled for the mixed-crop subsistence: sweet corn, wheat, hay, cabbages, beans, potatoes, fruit trees…

The future of this peasant agriculture is difficult, but not all of it lacks horizons. The European market opens up possibilities for ecological productions. Indeed, the highest price of the products under eco-certification, especially that of vegetables, could suppose a development opportunity for certain rural areas in Romania. Nevertheless, apart from the first investments, the reduced sized of the exploitations requires a necessary agricultural cooperation. However, 42 years of communism have left a pronounced anti-cooperative mark in the collective subconscious of the Romanian rural population, which distrusts any project that, in relation to its properties, especially the rustic ones, could suppose sharing capital, job, strategies and horizons. Moreover, the ecological productions, because of their lower yield and higher price, do not happen so often in the local Romanian trade having necessarily to be led towards export if certain profitability is required from them. Currently, Romania relies on a loss-making road network that makes it impossible for the productions to reach, by means of the dual carriageway, and, consequently, quickly and in good state of conservation, the economic heart of Europe. The option of by plane transportation is not appropriate because, even though Romania counts on a large number of airports which link even small cities with their international surroundings, the costs of by plane transport keep making the use of this means little profitable for the commercialization of agricultural productions if these do not already have or rapidly achieve an important volume of sales at high prices.

Unfortunately, the possible alternatives for the rural development are closer to the opportunity of being exploited only for the younger generations and not for those already of retirement age or those who are at the edge of reaching it. Its technical requirements, the commercial complexity, the investment effort and the risk culture do not enter in the expectations and capacities of a large spectrum of peasants who already receive the retirement pensions or are about to receive it. This group of age, with its peasant agriculture and the calculation logic of the Romanian pension system, receives very low salaries that force them to prolong their productive activity beyond the retirement limit.

The migratory context that lives in Romania, with the younger population working abroad, makes the elderly dedicate themselves to the agriculture not only for cultural reasons, but for need. There is a lack regarding help, both state and family help, as capital and as assistance too.

A serious approach about rural development, in order not to reproduce an evil model of low productivity and rural exodus, requires a reform of the pension law that should dealt with humanitarian and dignity tasks, along with the young farmers' future.

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LITERATURE & ARTS

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Cultural Structures in Turkish Society in the 80s

1. Competence, Social Groups, Formation of Cultural Identities and Integration

Cultural pluralism, which is one of the most important aspects of the 12th September changes[1], shall be examined in relation to the issues of popularization of culture, formation of socio-cultural groups, competence and searching for identity of groups and individuals [2]. Among them, the issue of searching for identity is pivotal and is directly influenced by the other three. According to Sennett "the dominant image in the minds of those, who are unsure about their identities, who lost the traditional images of themselves and who belong to a new social group that does not have a clear label yet, is the image of a stranger" (Sennett, 2002: 75).

When examining the process of searching for identity we shall also consider parallel processes outside Turkey. Furthermore, we shall inevitably consider the effects of mass media because of its decisive role in the formation of culture and identities. Next to it, we shall mention the urban agglomerations which have an acceleration effect on the formation of identities due to rapid changes in the physical and cultural environment which usually lead to competence problem in people and subsequent adaptation efforts.

According to Anderson, nations and national identities represent "enlivens" or socially and culturally organized societies and their forms of competence (1983). National identities and cultural forms should be comprehended dynamically, or -as stated by Schlesinger-, should be described with "activist" expressions (1987). Since cultures and identities are exposed to historical changes, their redefinition and even "rediscovery" is in order.

The formation and continuity of cultural identities and the feeling of competence in individuals and indirectly in groups and societies, depend upon certain conditions. The first of these conditions is the existence of common physical residences particular to the members of that group. The second factor is the experiences which are particular to a certain group and which the members of that group went through together. These experiences appear as "information" to the group members, upon which internal traditions can be founded. The third factor is the confidential face of the group, which is only exposed to the members of the group. This confidentiality greatly attributes to the feeling of competence (Meyrowitz, 1985).

Post-war capitalism went through its greatest crisis between 1973 and 1975. It created a series of changes which first affected the people in capitalist countries and then the people living in countries under capitalist influence. Under the military and economic hegemony of the USA, the world was

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[1] The 12 September, 1980 Turkish coup d'etat (*note from the editor*).

[2] About the study on cultural integration in multi-cultural societies, refer to: (Wood, 1986). About the study on the concept of cultural minority, refer to: (Güzel, 2001). About the study on the complementary role of mass media of social components in multi-cultured societies, refer to: (Wilson and Gutierrrez, 1985).

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divided in two in the cold war period. Policies depending on systems of power in national governments, capital, interfering governments, mass consumption and (Fordist) serial production were implemented. Despite some difficulties, based on power dominance, it was a relatively safe world. However, with the '79 to '81 crisis stability tottered; the Berlin wall was pulled down and the USSR broke up. The cold war came to an end, production moved to Japan and to newly industrialized countries. As a result, the rapid changes in the currencies and the searching for new values (developing feminism, ecological movements, movements against racism and movements for cultural independence), as well as the increasing competitiveness made people more and more concerned about material prosperity and production (Kale, 2002).

Individual and collective identities exist in real time and place; but when the time-space coordinates slip or lose their reliability, it becomes hard for each to define who he is. With the changes of the international world, the identities with which individuals and the society identified themselves began to slip away from their hands; and the coordinates of social life began to break up because of losing their basis. Consequently, individuals and societies began a search for re-forming their identities. David Harvey summarized it as: "Today's world, where international stock-exchange and global trade are dominant, the rapid changes in time and space create such a condensation of experiences that it could be called a space-time compression" (Harvey, 1993: 55-59)[3].

In Turkey all segments of the society, which could not define a new identity on their own until the 80's, which experienced problems of competence, took advantage of the liberalist atmosphere and sought ways to express themselves publicly. However, their appearance coincided with the emergence of centrifugal forces aiming to gain power. The Turkey government successfully reduced the centrifugal tendencies (based on ethnical, religious, "nationalist", etc. concepts) and applied modernization. Great masses approved the aims of the government. However, it soon became obvious that the national government was partly constructed on debris, which again strengthened the centrifugal tendencies.

The economic integration on global scale brought division on local scales. The search for new identities gave advantage to supra-national competences (e.g. emphasizing religious congregation membership) in some cases while in other cases preferred the infra-national, regionalist aspect. In any case, the horizontal line where the national government stood, altered. It led to a contradiction with the official compatriotism code which had been valid since the beginning of the Republic. In the definition of patriotism, the Republic had been unsatisfied with the idea of belonging to a social totality; and drove compatriotism from the political (compatriot as part of a national-ethnic culture) to the cultural field (Üstel, 1995).

As the governmental crisis became obvious towards the 90's, opposition increased. Conventionalism ruled the politics. While the century was about to end, in an atmosphere where cultural differences were oppressed, patriotic claims appeared in the guise of cultural demands (Üstel, 1995: 24). The searching for identity, which began well before the '80s, now yielded novel, more volatile identity groups. In cities among young people new identity groups emerged which depended on empathy (for example listening

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[3] According to Harvey, post-modernism emerged as a reaction to this compression; and it is a comprehensive series of assertions. Both the things offered by post-modernism and also the variety of criticism directed to post-modernism can be explained by search for identity in a world where time-place horizons changed, since identities are based on reliable time-place coordinates.

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to the same music, dressing similarly and sharing the same atmospheres)[4]. In general, the process of searching for identity exceeded the socio-economic frames. Those who found the possibility to express themselves defined their new identities within the socio-cultural context. As a result, the public area, which had been dominated by political worries and schemes until early 1990s, got ruled by cultural affairs. The media played the most important role here, for two reasons: at the one hand, the media is the most influential mean of the modern world, at the other hand it helped to strengthen certain values nourished by the post-modern period, namely the emphasis on the local[5]. The mass media not only helped in the organization of this searching but also made its values widespread. The most striking evidence for it is the Islamic movement which started rising around this period.

In addition, the media was able to make the people of different age, education, profession, ethnicity, religion and social position, etc. part of a shared "information pool"[6]. Each of these groups saw and learnt about "the others" through the media. Hall stated: "while social groups and classes were leading lives which were gradually breaking up and changing in parts in their 'social' relationships if not in productive relationships, the mass media (a) became more and more responsible for providing a basis for groups and classes to build up a life, meaning, practice and value 'image' relating to other groups and classes; (b) for providing images, symbols and thoughts through which social totality is comprehended as a 'whole' out of all these separate and divided parts" (Hall, 1999b: 233).

Meanwhile there was a great leap forward in the means of communication, the society's desire to depict, display and disclose, was provoked (by the media and advertising). These two closely related areas brought about the display of the –till then thoroughly guarded- confidential face of the identity groups. Witnessing other groups' confidential aspects influenced each group in two different ways. Either it was discovered that the ones regarded superior were as ordinary as others and their privileges were not accepted anymore; or, that certain previously negatively considered, marginal groups became 'legalized'. The discovery of each other's confidential face resulted a common feeling of competence in all groups. However, the integration based on confidential information and feeling of competence remained on cultural fields and was not experienced on social grounds.

With their increasing economic influence, some groups asked for social integration and equality. They contested what they believed their natural right even in a forcing manner. However, the distinguished did not regard these demands positively. They did not want to share social places, physical areas which they had been considering as their own for a long time. This caused a great tension among the groups, leading to open or secret conflicts in the 80's and 90's. Another reason of the tension among the groups was the common modern identity defined by the Kemalizm. Kemalizm was not accepted by all parts of the society. Some wanted integration regarding possibilities and social grounds rather than common identity.

When the political and economic capacity of the country was depleted by socio-cultural conflicts, the people's confidence in the society diminished. When problems on the national level added up, worries at the individual level increased. People became more defensive and presented a more sheltered feeling of

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[4] For a unique analysis on new identity groups, refer to: (Akay vd, 1995).

[5] Regarding the analysis of the media's influence on the formation of social identity, refer to: (Reimer, Rosengren, 1989).

[6] Regarding the analysis of the media's influence on socio-cultural integration, refer to: (Graber, 1988; McLeod, 1988).

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competence. Since there were no political-social institutions to provide an appropriate organization for support, people showed increasing solidary with those whom they considered the closest to themselves and a sort of "congregation spirit" flourished. (For instance, rising of religious movement occurred in this period.)

In this context, we should also mention the concept of congregation. Because of the connection it provides among people, the concept of congregation was an answer, an alternative to the dissociation in the modern city and to the disappearance of "a public area belonging to everyone". In simple words, the idea of congregation arises in cases when the existence of a group is threatened. Against this threat, people move collectively, feel themselves close to each other and look for images which would tightly attach them to each other. In societies with active public life "the feeling of congregation" arises from common actions and the establishment of a collective ego (Sennett, 2002: 289-290)[7].

According to Sennett, "the efforts to organize congregations in cities are the efforts to transfer psychological values to social relationships" (Sennett, 2002: 383) and "the idea of congregation arises from the belief that when people expose themselves to others, a texture is formed which attaches them to each other. If there is no psychological sincerity between them, there cannot be a social connection, either. Congregation is at the same time 'a collective identity'; a manner to express 'who we are'" (Sennett, 2002: 289); "congregation is a mutual exposure" (Sennett, 2002: 17).

Similarly to other countries, in Turkey people eased their anxieties about the future through solidarity with the people whom they thought to be the closest and the most similar to themselves and by gathering in congregations. With the definition of the form created by these gatherings, groups and cultural identities emerged. In other words, when the closest, the most reliable, the most supporting, the most congregational identity was formulated, the identity of that social section formed. However, these new identities depended upon the negative definition of "the other". Therefore, even those new identities who opposed to totalitarian ideologies cherished the belief that the only truth was in themselves. Everybody imposed his own truth on the other (Kentel, 1995). And this delayed the elimination of tensions and conflicts.

In addition to the delayed social compromise, the system prohibited any kind of cultural, ethnic or religious based identity to operate openly in civilian social field, to express and organize itself; so the demands in this direction could not be carried out on the political field. Thus, the liberation and expression requests changed their channels and flowed to the cultural field. When they found the opportunity to express themselves, they defined their identities from a socio-cultural point of view. The public area went under the dominion of cultural affairs.

2. The Media and Advertising

In Latin, media is the plural form of medium (means). It is used to describe the products of electronic and electric technologies from radio to satellite, written and published materials and all communication means (Baldini, 2000).

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[7] Regarding the birth of the idea of congregation which is not based on earthen ground and the influences of individual culture in the 19th century on this understanding of congregation, refer to: (Sennett, 2002: 285-325).

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The media has an important influence on various sections in a society to perceive themselves, to form specific identities and to express themselves. This is valid for each society and each period; however, it is increasingly true for the Turkish media round the 80's.[8] The media played the most important role in the Turkish society's self-discovery. The media contributed to the society's increasing sensitivity towards issues of democracy, human rights, individual freedom and cultural identities. It prepared the grounds to the discussion of certain political, cultural, personal, sexual, etc. matters which had not, could not been expressed "in view" a short while before.

Although in the 80's the governmental pressure and control on the press increased, there were many novelties in communicational field, the investment and capital accumulation in press sector increased more than ever. Many newspapers and magazines appeared on the market, a great variety of which was published on a weekly basis. The traditional Turkish "weekly political news magazine" expanded their field of interest. Aktüel, Tempo and Nokta periodicals assumed a new publication policy focusing on daily life, environment, problems of women and youth as well as politics. Newspapers and periodicals addressing to a more defined and restricted group of readers (women, young people, businessmen, working women, "Muslim section", etc.) appeared on the market. Many periodicals specialized in economics as well as publications focusing on hobbies (computer, yachting, automobile, outdoor sports, etc.) emerged. With the early 90's members of many different social sections (women rights activists, Kurdish people, homosexuals, young businessmen called 'yuppies', etc.) could be encountered in press.

The Turkish press had to overcome a series of political and economic restrictions after 12th September 1980. In the early 80's the greatest difficulty was experienced at the political level. In addition to the pressure and censorship applied by the military direction, newspapers applied self-restrictive regulations on themselves in fear of being closed down or in fear of losing their readers who –in the polarized atmosphere of the period preceding 12th September- preferred to keep away from politics. Newspapers and periodicals favored non-political matters, for instance magazine news and public or private fields (sexuality, private life, different identities, etc.). With the new subject matters an expansion was experienced as far as content was regarded. However, the way these matters were dealt with also changed. In place of the inner logic, the way of presentation got more emphasis (Oktay, 1987a)[9].

In the early '90s, the first private TV channel was opened in Turkey. Telecommunication substructure was developed and made widespread. Satellite link (and integration to the Western axial world) became a part of daily life. With the foundation of Magic Box in 1990, the effort to break government monopoly in broadcasting, worked out in a short time, as there was no legal organization between 1990 and 1994 regarding this matter. Taking advantage of this legal gap, the first Show-TV and Tele-On were opened, followed by a private radio. Merely on September 1994, 70 radio and TV companies were founded in 25

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[8] For a study on different aspects of media influence (and sociological models of the media influence), refer to: (Fejes, 1999: 317-324). For the detailed analysis of studies on mass media, refer to: (Curran vd., 1977; Gurevitch vd., 1982).

[9] According to Gouldner, television news consists of the total of events and contexts which are objective, but not connected with each other. The news does not create false consciousness, but the inability to make a meaningful whole out of the information (Gouldner, 1976). Stuart Hall says that information is mediated through restricted title selection of strategic control and more generally the unique reconstruction of social and political realities (Hall vd., 1980b). Regarding the study on the perception of the viewer of the topics which are taken to the foreground in the news, refer to: (Gerbner and Gross, 1976).

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cities and 18 towns. It was said that in the same period, the total number of radio stations reached 2000 and the number of TV channels approached 400[10].

From the very beginning, private television channels diffused great amounts of talk, discussion, debate and open session programs. One of the visible reasons of this increase was the relatively low production cost of these programs; but the main reason was the Turkish society's desire, even hunger to express itself in every platform. Especially during live programs, the Turkish society was expressing its variety and polyphony.

Although at the one hand the media contributed to the society's getting to know and expressing itself, on the other hand it was treated with suspicion by the society. However, both written and electronic media strengthened their technological substructures and made efforts to stay close to the society. But all these developments brought together the distrust of the society towards the media. The primary reason for the distrust was the media's speaking in the name of the people, and its appearance –next to the government and army- as one of the three forces that were directing the country[11]. The media presented as the mouthpiece of the society (e.g. "fellow-citizens" is a frequently used term). The media even undertook some governmental functions. For instance it intervened in juridical questions by displaying crimes and naming criminals. In cases when educational institutions were not competent, it would cut in, would give preparatory materials for the exams and exam results. The media's intervention became more and more indispensable in politics. Especially after 1990, the media cooperated with political and financial representatives[12]. Realizing ythis, the society felt discontented and lost the reliance it felt for the media. However, in the preceding period, surely in the course of the 80's and 90's the media and the society were in an intimate relationship and they mutually helped each other[13]. In those years the media and the advertising sector took upon an important role to emphasize the promises of the period and to present them in a striking way[14]. They emphasized that everybody could take a share from the new values and opportunities that the change brought. In all sections they created hope, excitement and expectation. By emphasizing "compromise" and "moderation" in every matter, the media played an important role in the oppression of social opposition, criticism and radicalism and thus helped the quick spread of the change.

The concept of "hyperreality" which Charles J. Fox and T. Miller defined in their book entitled "Postmodern Public Administration" dated 1995 and which can be translated as excessive-reality, expresses that the discrimination between real and unreal has become so dimmed that it cannot be distinguished any more. Accordingly, the one that is no longer real is presented as if it would be more

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[10] Since The Radio and Television Superior Board, which was brought about by the Law On Radio and Television Organizations and Broadcasting numbered 3984 issued on 13 April 1994, had not yet prepared a frequency-planning, it is impossible to get definite and accurate information.

[11] Regarding "the role of the media in the circulation and reinforcement of dominant ideological definitions and representations", refer to: (Hall, 1980a: 118-119).

[12] For the analysis on the relationship of the media with the government regarding "independence" and ideology, refer to: (Hall, 1999: 122-124; Althusser, 1971).

[13] Concerning the analysis on the relationship between the media and social change, refer to: (Rosengren, 1981; McQuail, 1987).

[14] Ewen considers advertisement as a creation of a reality which was premeditated in order to direct masses to consumption. This creation happens in communal level, in dominant economic interests (Ewen, 1976: 69-76). For an analysis on how advertisements impose economical and patriarchal ideologies on individuals, refer to: (Williamson, 1978).

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real than the real one (Fox, C., Miller, H., 1995: 7, 46). From this point of view, politics is also built on symbols. Now the media is in a very important position in the political discussion (Fox, C., Miller, H., 1995: 43). As a result of information bombardment, masses are manipulated.

According to Fox and Miller the results of this are as follows:

1. Demands and requirements of individuals are influenced and manipulated by the media.

2. The discrimination between reality and unreality has now become dimmed.

3. The image became more important for political rhetoric and symbols dominate over ideas and projects.

4. The discussions are taken out of their contexts and are connected to a hyper-reality. Therefore, they do not describe the reality any more but regard a hyper-reality (Fox, C., Miller, H., 1995: 39).

Some of the views about the media's re-creation of reality can be summed up as such: According to Hall, the media did not only reproduce "reality", but also created it. New realities were produced through linguistic practices and subsequently were the selected re-definitions of the 'real' presented (Hall, 1999: 88). The most important cultural function of the modern media is to reconstruct social information, to provide images about the 'worlds of the others' and 'experienced realities'; where their lives and ours are experienced as a dream of a totality (Hall, 1999b: 233).

As Bachrach and Baratz put it, the media systematically and coherently confers values, beliefs, ceremonies and institutional dexterities operating to the advantage of specific individuals and groups, at the cost of others (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970: 43-44).

According to Benjamin, the mass media provides existential forms organized around information which is independent and devoid of emotions (Benjamin, 1990; quoted in Sholle, 1999: 294).

According to Sholle, similarly, television creates a visual culture where visible reality becomes the single rational criterion. This visual culture is created by breaking existing experiences into pieces, by leaning on coarseness and morbidity, spreading the cliché and a linear time understanding (Sholle, 1999: 294).

Gallagher advocates that the media merely reflects dominant economic ideology (Gallagher, 1981). Kuhn assumes that the media has an almost autonomous power in creating and transferring culture (Kuhn, 1982).

In Turkey, in the 80's the media played the main role in the serial production and spread of new values and concepts which have no depth, and they were imposed on the society with a kind of "new" marketing strategy: "Image is important" was one of these slogans[15]. Other slogans similarly produced and circulated by the media were: consumption, consumption-based status, "yuppie", English, America, computer, young businessman, youth, dynamism, ambition, etc. With time these slogans became accepted values.

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[15] Hall marks three hypothetical positions for the decoders of mass media: Dominant hegemonic position, consultation position, opposing position. Regarding the decoders of mass media, refer to: (Hall, 1980d: 137).

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In this period, the media both formed and created identities which had not existed up to that time (arabesque, the female city dweller living alone, intellectual, maganda[16], etc.) and also named, transferred, classified the existent identities. It raised the concepts (such as English, gusto, business, stock-exchange and financial concepts, computer) which it identified with citizen culture, and also emphasized city values as giving the direction and the main elements of the change. In this period the advertising sector was characterized by a serial-production rush, homogeneity of appearances, and a replacement of attributes of confidential personality by material objectives.

3. Public Space and Private Space

Another aspect of the change that began in the 80's was a change in the perception of "private" and "public". At this point, it is useful to have a closer look at the concepts of private and public. The word "private" which is more widely used in our days compared to "confidential". In the dictionary private is defined as "that which concerns only one person, belongs to one person"[17].

According to Richard Sennett, private life is when the individual "is let alone with himself, with his family and close friends" (Sennett, 2002: 16). Private sphere is a world where an individual can express himself directly; a world where mutual interaction goes on, but which should be concealed (Sennett, 2002: 198).

The concept of 'public' is a bit more complicated. In the dictionary 'public' is defined as "the entire nation in a country"[18]. According to Richard Sennett, "public sphere in general represents the togetherness among people who have no close or family links, and represents mutual obligation links; rather than a link to friendship or family, it is a link belonging to a mass, a 'nation' or a political practice and today public existence has turned into a formal obligation… Public sphere is at the same time a geography; it exists in its connection with private sphere. It is part of a large balance in the society" (Sennett, 2002: 16, 125). In the West the term "public" is used (since the 18th century) in the sense as open to the supervision of everybody, whereas "private" is applied for a conserved area of existence that is restricted to a person's family and friends[19].

The concept of "public" in the official ideology in Turkey bears the influence of the Republican culture. It practically defines a domain that exists under the protection and control of the government. In a sense, this definition unifies the concept of "public" with the concept of "governmental".

According to Sennett, the relation between public and confidential is as follows: "Proportional to public sphere's being evocated and abandoned, the attraction power of the point of view which has the confidential relations in the basis, increases… The environment, in the physical level, pushes people to think that public sphere is non-sense. This is a case seen in cities in place arrangement… One of the reasons why in an unfamiliar atmosphere people search for the things they were deprived of in

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[16] Maganda signifies in Turkish slang a man expressing excessive masculinity; synonym with the words macho or bully.

[17] (Devellioğlu, 2001)

[18] Turkish Language Institution, Great Turkish Dictionary.

[19] For the analysis on the history of the words "public" and "personal" in Western culture and their relations to social facts, refer to: (Sennett, 2002: 32-37).

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confidential relations is dead public spheres…The change of the proportion between public and private life involves many dimensions such as 'the erosion of public areas in cities, the interpretation of political pronunciation to psychological terms, the rise of stage artists into a special status as public personalities, labeling impersonality as a moral evil'" (Sennett, 2002: 27, 31, 48)[20].

On the base of the above definitions, it is possible to say that in the mentioned period in the Turkish society social interest slipped from the public to the private field and that the language of the individual interconnected with the language of the public and together formed a kind of civilization. The combination of two processes played a role here: (a) through the establishment of many workplaces, foundation of private televisions and radios, publishing of new periodicals and newspapers, a "civilian" public arose from the social segments that were not directly supervised by the government, so to say, the public was personalized; (b) the private life turned into an area where everybody showed interest and thus everybody was talking about it or anybody could be a subject of talks, that is to say, the person was publicized.

In this period, political pressure and censorship directed people to fields other than the political. The dominant voice in the society of the 80's was the voice of discovering private life and individualism because the society had enough of the pressure and the slogans of the government. Under the direction of the media which gained power simultaneously, people exposed their private spheres which they thought they had been neglecting until then, to the public. While people became less and less interested in political matters and the traditional anxieties were lessened, even disappearing; a desire for individualization was provoked by the media. Accordingly, people rushed to express themselves; making the boundary between private and public dim. People's private lives created curiosity, were talked about, written about and broadcast in mass media more than ever.

Private life which had been shortly before ignored by politics became interesting for politicians. Individuals who regarded themselves outside institutions and organizations, outside formality and politics, began to claim rights with great vehemence. Sexuality was one of the most interesting objects, and many were chewing the fat about it with great appetite. Not only the private lives of public personalities, but also that of ordinary people was found interesting. People and their life styles were classified, named; comprehensive types and groups were created; such as "women living alone", "intellectuals", "couples without children", "those from the year 68", "young businessmen", "the marginal", "bisexuals", "young politicians" "intellectuals fond of arabesque". Experiences and life styles were thus reduced into symbols formed on the base of outside appearances.

There was one exceptional aspect of this slip in the 80's; the slip of interest from the public to the private. Usually, in situations of pressure people are forced to "introvert": to withdraw from open places and to stay at home; individualism and loneliness is favored over the company of friends and family. However, in the 80's, in contempt of pressure, no withdrawal occurred. On the contrary, there was an outburst of opening up all contents previously assumed as private and confidential. With Nurdan Gürbilek's words: what happened in this period was "the transformation into the news, information and appearance; the turning into a public matter; the melting of the discrimination between the public and private spheres and the discrimination between the "interior" and the "exterior"; the interconnection of

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[20] Concerning city planning, architecture, residences and the use of public area, refer to: (Sennett, 2002: 27-31).

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the language of the objectivity and the language of the subjectivity, and the imperceptibility of the difference between them"(Gürbilek, 1992: 55).

In this period the Turkish cinema faithfully documented the social processes by producing films on introversion, personal matters, private life and sexuality as well as on the classification of life styles and their reduction into specific symbols. "Private life" films were so popular in the 80's that they almost formed a genre. People were hungry to see the camera slowly rambling inside houses and private places. The film owed its success to making the interior of houses and private relationships worth watching and then providing the audience an opportunity "to peep" into them[21]. Consequently, in order to dissect "the spirit of the 80's" appearing in various channels from newspapers to advertisement slogans, from films to periodicals and dialects, we should focus on the desire to "peep" and to "open up".

Taken together, the gap in the public sphere of the 80's was filled up by private matters as a result of the slip of the private to the public sphere. In the exposure of private lives to the public, the promises of liberalization and individualization played an important role. If people had not believed in these promises, they would not expose their confidentialities to the public so easily and the advertising sector and the media would have been less successful. Another very interesting aspect is the co-existence of two opposite movements: an introversive movement provoked by social and political pressure and an extroversive movement manifesting as the publication of the private.

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[21] According to Metz, the ritual of watching a film had a confidentiality which made it possible for "the peeper audience" to identify entirely with the curtain in the dark hall (1985a: 547). For "the culture of peeping" and "The Series of Sorrowful Turkish Home Culture Films", refer to: (Irgat, 1990).

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MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

The Context Matters

Impressions of the 54ᵗʰ Venice International Art Exhibition

As a closing event of my three-day trip at the Venice Biennale, I was quietly climbing the stairs leading to the third floor of a Canal Grande private house to encounter the works of four Zimbabwe artists. It was quarter to six, and I enjoyed the unexpected quietness inside the building, so much in contrast with the hustle and bustle of the inner city. I realized how the environment helped to create an inner silence so much needed for valuing artworks.

Every second year, and now, for the 54ᵗʰ occasion, Venice has become an international art capital for about 6 months, between 4ᵗʰ of June and 27ᵗʰ of November. Such as every occasion, *La Biennale* is the place to meet first rank artists. Works from Anish Kapoor, James Turrell, Sigmar Polke, Maurizio Cattelan, Christian Boltanski, Cindy Sherman, Pipilotti Rist and many other renowned artists can be found at one place. The biennale itself has 89 national pavilions -- 30 permanent national pavilions in the Giardini, 10 in the Arsenale, and others all over town. In addition, there are the so-called "collateral events" organized by independent nonprofit organizations. In addition, again, are the many independent exhibitions and projects all over the lagoon city which altogether amount to at least 200 exhibitions.

It goes without saying that an event of such magnitude attracts hundred thousands of visitors. The Biennale is the place where interested individuals make their pilgrimage every other year. It is also a meeting place for the distinguished, who –within the bearing limits of the official non-trade policy– can take advantage of the occasion of making a primary deal with the artist.

It also goes without saying that an event of such magnitude entails enormous amount of mess: catering activities of all kinds (with the concomitant noise and tumult, thrown-away paper, plastic, bottles and long queues). And my experience is that in such a big beehive many artworks simply get dismissed. It was especially peculiar at the Arsenale. When I had to queue for half an hour in order to get into James Turrell's *The Ganzfeld Piece*, the strictly measured five minutes I could spend inside was insufficient to forget all the circumstances: the people next to me, the long waiting, the rustle of the plastic shoe covers… I would have definitely needed more time to experience the "presence of light itself as it occupies a space", whatever much I had learnt about this piece beforehand. Urs Fischer's monumental work, created on the base of Giambologna's sculpture *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (1582), was but a dirty heap of burnt candle by the day I saw it. All these impressions together made me thinking over the extent to which contemporary art was nourished by (our collective) garbage.

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Urs Fischer: The Rape of the Sabine Women (Photo by E. van Steenpaal)

Certainly, the Venice Biennale is not a place for artistic contemplation but looks rather as an inventory of artists and artworks. There is, however, a unique feature which makes it unmistakably different from other art shows: the much debated tradition of the national pavilions. Although the external location of artists and their mixed nationalities are often mentioned as an argument against the national pavilions, this 116–years old tradition usually offers a guarantee of quality, as well as the possibility to raise current national issues. Last but not least the practice of national representation also allows artists to work with broader budget.

National issues often appear as political questions. It is more so than ever. The pavilions of Poland, Egypt, Israel, Denmark, Korea, US – all refer to current political issues. We can see the Statue of Freedom lying in a sunbed, an upturned tank transformed into a giant, noisy treadmill, armed soldiers hidden among colorful flowers, military uniforms made of flowery textile, a film parody of the sterile discussions on Middle-East issues.

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J. Allora & G. Calzadilla: Track and Field (Photo by E. van Steenpaal)

Among them I found prominent the Danish Pavilion. The exhibition entitled "Speech Matters" is an exceptional initiation which groups the works of 18 artists from 10 countries. Drawings, paintings, photographs and films intend to shed light on various aspects of intimidation, surveillance or control of media – in the "free and democratic" countries.

Another pavilion that merits our attention is the pavilion of Switzerland which houses the work of Thomas Hirschhorn. This work, entitled "*Crystal of Resistance*", shocked me profoundly. Entering the pavilion, I felt like accessing a giant cave with many passages. It evoked the feeling of underground passageways; the slimy, viscous, gleaming and moist inner realms of the Earth, where the beauty of the dripstones and crystals make us momentarily forget the grim and dreadful depths, but as soon as the lights go out we are gripped by fear. Hirschhorn made visible the prolific, crystallized, dark underground world of the human mind. Deposits of all kinds of attributes of our consumer society: plastic chairs, tv-sets, cell phones, plastic bottles, newspapers, ear cleaners, Barbie dolls, etc.… all seemed to crystallize gradually, creating ever-growing formations. Among them, sets of terrible newspaper photos of all kinds of tortured men, women and children, burnt and wounded, bleeding body parts and faces twisted with pain reminded us that this underground garbage world is far from being a cool museum show. All this is real and bloody serious.

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Thomas Hirschhorn: Crystal of Resistance. (Photos by EP Murakeözy)

Next to all the blare and heaviness of human aggression we find the delicate melancholy of Mike Nelson in the British pavilion. The title, *I, Impostor* leads us back in time and space, where scenes of a photographic dark room are mingled with sections from a 17th century Istanbul caravanserai. It is dark, old and dusty; the air is really stuffy and suffocating. We sense a hidden story but there are no signs to help us unraveling the identity of the absent photographer or his connection to the caravanserai scenes. Comparable in subtleness is the Hungarian pavilion, where the installation of Hajnal Németh *Crash - Passive Interview* is based on the story of a car accident. The story unfolds gradually as we listen to the

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improvised opera whose librettos are composed of interviews with the crash survivors. A subtle tension builds up in the visitor while waiting for the drama to happen – which remains to be infrerred from the sight of a strongly deformed car bathing in red light. In this work the car is deprived of its attributed values meanwhile eternal human values are emphasized.

Hajnal Németh: CRASH - Passive Interview, video still, 2011, camera: István Imreh.

Next to the national pavilions I enjoyed most the "collateral events". Their separateness and limited rooms provide better conditions for contemplation on artworks. I hope it becomes a more extended project for the next biennial.

Finally, I must confess that I enjoyed to the outmost the three days spent in Venice. The Biennale exhibitions set against the wonderful landscape of the lagoons, the warm September nights with early sunset, the nice diners in the company of colleagues made for an altogether unforgettable visit.

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PLÁJÁS, Ildikó Zonga

Meeting Bollywood?

A friend informed me about the Indian Film Festival (http://www.indianffth.nl/en), which took place between 5 and 9 October 2011 in The Hague, the Netherlands. I welcomed the idea so I went to attend the festival in the movie theater *Filmhuis* in The Hague and to meet Bollywood, equipped with modest knowledge in film history but great enthusiasm.

During the festival I saw films, millions of little miracles, kites, goat herds, sparkling finery and colorful nudity, scummy and dark words, the imaginations of India with hundreds of facets, but I haven't met Bollywood. At least not in the way I imagined the one which I had like a stereotipical image of the Indian film industry. An audience used to the theatrical word of Bollywoodian films, usually characterized by traditional Indian costumes, dance and music inserts or dramatic twists, inevitably felt that the films screened in The Hague were much more attached to reality. We could see multifaceted independent productions which shape their narratives according to the stories of a plural society, sometimes poetically and often saturating these with social content.

In addition to being all related to India, the 13 films screened in The Hague, were impregnated with a common feature: love. His love for films was the reason Ricardo Burgzorg (Festival Director) went to Goa to the International Film Festival of India. When I asked him, what his standpoint in choosing these films was, he started to tell stories with sparkling eyes. Gangor was the first film he had seen there and he instantly decided that he has to show this film to the Dutch audience, no matter what.

The screening of the film entitled **Gangor,** directed by Italian director Italo Spinelli, offered not only an amazing experience by itself but was especially rewarding because the Dutch premier was followed by a short discussion with the director. The questions asked by the audience and members of the Indian expat community proved that Italo Spinelli's film really managed to hit the nail on its head and has shed light on some of the delicate aspects of Indian society. The main storyline of the film is built upon a novel of a famous contemporary female writer, Mahasweta Devi, so this way **Gangor** roughly managed to legitimate itself in front of the Indian authorities. The distribution of the film, however, is still facing many difficulties. In the film a photo journalist reporting on tribal women from Purulia makes photos of a woman named Gangor and captures her on camera while she is nursing her child. Gangor's picture, on which she can be seen with her half-naked breast as she is feeding the baby, lands on all the front pages with the inscription: 'Stop the raping!' Because of this photo, the men within the tribal community start harassing Gangor and after being raped and expelled from the community, she becomes a homeless prostitute. The photo reporter, being obsessed with the image of the woman, goes back to find Gangor. Facing the tragedy caused by his photo, he dies under the wheels of a train. The last scene of the film beautifully shows the director's commitment and the way he takes moral responsibility towards the theme of his film. Gangor, supported by the women's rights activists, takes the men who raped her to court. With their breasts uncovered, dozens of women protest in front of the courthouse against everyday

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sexual violence. Through the direct way of the director's intention and the validity of this last scene, Italo Spinelli manages to address in a sensitive way the problem of the Indian women. The greatest merit of the film, however, lies in the director's attitude, in his humble approach to the film itself.

The premier of the film was followed by a discussion with the director. According to Italo Spinelli, the shooting of the film had been preceded by many years of research. The director had been visiting India for 25 years, having been engaged in social issues and especially dealing with the problems of tribal women for more than two years. Thus the cinematic language is not the only aspect responsible for the documentary style of the film, but Italo Spinelli's sincere approach to the story also plays a major role. The film is avant-garde in the sense that while it tries to deconstruct the meaningless taboos of nudity, it also reveals the often awfully cruel social context.

Laadli Laila (dir. Murali Nair), a film about a love story of a different kind can also be placed in the field of Indian dramas. The story of the film deals with the social problems of the class, the caste system or notions like 'faith', while the director has chosen some poetic filmic solutions. **Laadli Laila** is a lyrical story about a farmer who loses his goats and thus loses his mind too. The notions 'cast' and 'predestination' are approached in a philosophical manner. The film was shot in and around the city of Hyderabadon, its connection to reality, however, remains rather symbolic.

I am Kalam! (dir. Nila Madhab Panda) is a fairy tale about a boy and the fulfillment of his dream. The main question that the film poses is: how is it possible to fight with talent and perseverance against the fate sealed at birth. The film was funded by the Indian Government with the declared intention to promote the education of pure children. The story has quite the taste of propaganda, but the fact that by the end of the film we manage to forget about this, is thanks to the genius of the director and the charm of the main character. Chhatu, a talented boy works at a roadside snack-bar where he learns foreign languages from tourists. Thanks to his inventiveness and intelligence he is getting closer to his dream every day, which is to be able to go to school. After having heard the speech of the former president, Abdul Klumnak, he changes his name to Kalam. Learning all he can and working hard, he gives his saved money to his mother. And if all this still wouldn't be exemplary enough, at the climax of the story, he proves his moral strength too. He receives some books from a noble man, but later he is suspected of theft, so he chooses to run away instead of betraying his friend. Passing all these tests, at the end of the film our heroic protagonist gets his reward, he gets back into the noble man's good grace and finally can begin to attend school with his best friend.

Given this propagandistic theme, it must have been a real challenge to avoid running into cheap solutions or filmic clichés. What is more, the director was not reluctant at all but even went a step further and emphasized the story at points where one would already feel it a bit exaggerated. Therefore, Nila Madhab Panda managed to abstract the universe of the film from the cheap stereotypes of propaganda and succeeded in building up a tale in the real sense of the word, a tale which touches even the most skeptical spectator. So by the end of the 90 minutes, the moral of enduring struggles, honesty and perseverance shines through this film.

The film entitled **Patang** (dir. Prashant Bhargava) ensured a completely different experience than one would expect from reading the synopsis. This film tells stories about a city, lives, successes and tragedies, the eternal conflict between progress versus the traditional social order, about globalization, dreams and

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desires, about the images of the current Indian society. The director presents all these in a balanced style, so that he puts just about the same emphasis on any of these. He manages to do this using the power of the cinematic language, sometimes narrating through stories or simply speaking through the language of colorful kites flying in the air. "With naturalistic performances from actors and non–actors alike, bold, lyrical editing, vibrant cinematography and a kinetic score, **Patang** delights the senses and nourishes the spirit." Meanwhile the real trump of the film lies in the way it presents the current social issues on a different, fascinating language of images. **Patang** does not aim at our wits or our sense of values, but simply projects the complex conflicts of a plural Indian society in the time of modernity. While the city of Ahmedabad becomes the symbol of the traditional social order, Delhi is presented as the center of globalization, hence the acculturation and the notions of 'progression' are not always charged with positive connotations. Although the local community of Ahmedabad is struggling for subsistence, it still respects the basic human values like solidarity, cohesion and love. The city life of Delhi is depicted as a world of dehumanized welfare, running after profit, with – sometimes ridiculed – American influence, but also the degradation of emotional and human values. The director treats the stories, the colors and tones of the film with a special sensibility and the film is taken by the wings of the colorful kites, gliding with their rhythm. The imagination of the spectators flies together with this word, there is no escape.

The festival films could draw the outline of three major topics. In the first topic there are the films dealing with the basic problems of a plural society, the strong social hierarchy, poverty, caste system, the idea of fate defining the life of individuals. We can rate separately the problems affecting the LGBT community, problems related to gender roles, discrimination, domestic violence and the exclusionary and marginalizing strategies of the homophobic society. In the third topic, the films are dealing with the specific problems of big cities, such as subcultures, delinquency, prostitution, drug dealers etc.

Each film screened at the festival in The Hague was a delicacy amongst film-genres, film-history or was special even from an anthropological point of view. Being compiled mainly from the works of independent artists, this selection of films outlined not only a special panorama of contemporary artistic films of India but also a panorama of the Indian society. There was also a screening of a film from 1984, **Ghare-Baire** (dir. Satyajit Ray), which deals with women's role in the traditional Indian society. This film, along with the film screened at the opening ceremony of the festival, **Noukadubi** (dir. Rituparno Ghosh), was dedicated to the 150th anniversary of the birth of famous Indian poet and writer, Rabindranath Tagore.

According to Ricardo Burgzorg, this was in fact the goal of the festival, namely to present a panorama of Indian artistic films made in the past years. In order to improve this cinematographic event, the festival director has already got plans for the future. He also drew attention to the fact that India is a vast country, consequently the problems of communities are changing from region to region and so does the thematic or the visual language of films. Therefore, next year the main regions from which films will be screened, would be granted more attention, thus giving a more appropriate insight into Indian society and film production of different regions. Attracting a wider audience also figures amongst Ricardo Burzorgs' plans for the future.

During the film festival the audience did not meet Bollywood, although Bollywood has met The Hague. The festival also included several special events, for example a meeting entitled with a good sense of marketing, 'Bollywood Meets The Hague', which cleverly confused the naive audience. This meeting

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took place on the 6th of October, during which Alderman Marjolein de Jong, who works in city marketing, met the representatives of the Indian and Dutch film industry, policymakers in film and media, expats, entrepreneurs and representatives of the Hindu community. One purpose of the meeting was advertising The Hague as a filming location, but was also focusing upon the development of new connections and business opportunities for the Bollywood film industry.

Dutch society's perception of the Indian culture is primarily articulated by the encounters with the Hindu expat community in the Netherlands, therefore it is more likely to develop strong stereotypes. The Indian Film Festival in The Hague, through its resistance to the mainstream way of visual representation, presented a different picture of India, an India with a more human facet, and was thus able to modulate the preconceptions of every single spectator.

Just as H. E. Ms. Bhaswati Mukherjee, the Ambassador of India in the Netherlands emphasized in her interview, the supreme aim of the festival was to bring us closer to each other, closer to the idea of a tolerant society which is sensible and responsible towards cultural diversity.

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TRAVELOGUE

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TAPON, Francis

Lithuania — the Remnants of a Great Empire

— Excerpts —

In Finland, I met a Lithuanian in a hostel. It was 2004 and I still hadn't been to the Baltic, so I was curious about its people. I asked her what Latvians and Lithuanians thought of each other. She said that Latvians have a saying, "You're as dumb as a Lithuanian."

Demonstrating their profound originality, Lithuanians have their own saying, "You're as dumb as a Latvian."

Sensing I had found someone pretty dumb, I asked the Lithuanian what she thought about Finland. She said with disdain, "There are a lot of black people in Finland."

Really? Later, I ran to talk to the one black guy I saw walking through Helsinki. He was from Washington, DC and had been living in Finland for eight years. His mother had asked him, "So are there any other brothers in Finland?"

He told his mom, "Yeah, there's another one. We're good friends."

Clearly, that Lithuanian woman was a lousy source of information. Therefore, when I got to Estonia, I asked Maiu what she thought of Lithuania. As usual, she didn't blurt out an answer. No matter how simple the question, Maiu likes to take a few seconds to search for the answer in the ceiling. She always gives well-thought-out answers. If she doesn't see the answer on the ceiling after spending a while searching, then she'll say, "I don't know." All this deep thinking guarantees that Maiu will never give a wrong answer. This technique is so successful that she even applies it to trivial questions. Just for fun, I asked her, "Hey Maiu, what's your twin sister's name?"

She'll give me the look as if I have a booger hanging from my nose. Then her eyes will calmly look to the sky as she debates whether this is one of my trick questions. After a long pause, she'll finally answer, "Kristi."

Therefore, when I asked her what she thought of Lithuania, it didn't surprise me to see her eyes dart up and scan around. I expected a profound, thoughtful answer. Perhaps she'll mention the quality of Lithuania's music, their unique character, or their cultural capital. She sighed as if she were wondering where she should begin, given all there was to say about Lithuania. However, in the end, all she said was, "They have nice roads."

Nice roads!? Lithuania has been near Estonia for centuries, they've suffered through Soviet domination together, they've gone through the Singing Revolution hand-in-hand, they perform at each other's festivals, and all Maiu had to say about them is that they have nice freakin' roads?!

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Instead of saying that, I kept a straight face while Maiu elaborated, "During the Soviet time, all the roads were really shitty. Few had cars anyway, so it didn't really matter. At some point, the Soviets wanted to see what kind of difference there would be if they improved the roads. They chose Lithuania as the place to try it out. So they got really nice roads."

"I see," I said, trying to sound interested. "That's, um, fascinating, Maiu."

This was an example of what I call Baltic Blindness: that Baltic countries know surprisingly little about each other. Baltic people are more likely to have visited France or Thailand than to visit their neighboring countries. Most people in Latvia and Estonia gave me the impression that Lithuania was the ugly sister in the Baltic trinity. I couldn't trust what Latvians and Estonians had to say about Lithuania. I needed to go to the hidden country for myself.

1. Vilnius: Lithuania's picture-perfect capital

When I finally arrived in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, I was blown away by its beauty, history, and elegance. The streets are enchanting and its architecture is spectacular. Founded on Gediminas Hill (which has a thirteenth-century castle on it), Vilnius's Old Town is a maze of adorable streets with baroque churches everywhere you look. It was built on a swamp and some of the buildings are below street level. The *Aušros Vartai* (Gates of Dawn) is the only surviving gate of the original nine that encircled the city. The only reason that particular gate is still standing is that it has a Virgin Mary icon embedded in it. Russians feared destroying the gate, believing that God would punish them. Of course, God punished them anyway when He let communism happen.

After straying a bit from the main tourist spots in Vilnius, I accidentally entered another country. Few tourists know that there is a separate republic in a bohemian district of Vilnius. It is neither as well known as the Vatican, nor as serious. In fact, it's a complete joke. A few years ago the people of Vilnus's Užupis district declared independence, forming the Užupis Republic. Its people elected a President, wrote an anthem, and designed four flags (one each season). They have a not-so-grand palace, an army of 17, and a national holiday (April 1). On April Fools Day, comical guards protect the bridge and stamp everyone's passport.

Most importantly, the Užupis Republic has engraved its constitution on mirrors on Paupio Street. Among the 41 constitutional rights: everyone has the right to live by the River Vilnelė, while the River Vilnelė has the right to flow by everyone; a dog has the right to be a dog; a cat is not obliged to love its master, but it must help him in difficult times; everyone has the right to die, but it is not a duty; everyone has the right to have no rights.

The Užupis Republic is amusing, but after the chuckles fade away, a Baltic mystery begins to be revealed. The big Baltic mystery is: *what is the difference between these three tiny countries?* I visited the Baltic countries to understand why they are separate countries, how they are different from each other, and what we can learn from them. If the Baltic people were homogeneous, they wouldn't have created independent countries. They would have just made one big country and called it *Balticstan*. As the Baltic mist parted, one of their many differences began to emerge.

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2. Lithuania's confidence

The Užupis Republic demonstrates a Lithuanian trait that its two northern neighbors somewhat lack: confidence. Making silly jokes like the Užupis Republic takes confidence. The pranksters need a bit confidence to make such a declaration; meanwhile, the government must have enough confidence to ignore it. Try to make the same joke under Soviet or Chinese communism. Their insecure governments would have been party poopers.

Compared to the other two Baltic states, Lithuania also shows more confidence in dealing with Russia. While Russophones make up 25 to 30 percent of Estonia's and Latvia's population, they are less than five percent of Lithuania's population. Why do Estonia and Latvia have a Russian ratio that is nearly six times greater than Lithuania's? Some Lithuanians gave me a surprisingly answer: "We asked the Russians not to come."

Although it wasn't that easy, there is some truth to that. Within the Baltic nations, Lithuanians are known for being expert negotiators. During the Soviet period, Lithuanians had both the confidence and skill to stand up to Russia and win minor political fights. One of those fights was limiting the influx of Russophones. For example, when the Soviets set up factories in Estonia and Latvia, they imported Russians to run them. Lithuanians, on the other hand, convinced Russians to let Lithuanians study in Russia and return to Lithuania to run the factories themselves. The Soviets agreed, which is one reason why relatively few Russians live in Lithuania today.

At a Vilnius hostel I met Silvia Cardini, a 32-year-old Italian who was living in Germany. She was the classic Italian lady: dark hair, dark eyes, tan skin, and a contagious laugh. She was also traveling alone through Lithuania, but she knew a local named Virgis who was planning to drive across the country for a business meeting. She invited me to join them. The night before our road trip, we all went out to dinner. That night I would not only learn more examples about Lithuania's confidence, but I would also learn the source of that confidence. But first, I was eager to sample Lithuania's grub.

3. Lithuanian cuisine

The centerpiece of the Lithuanian diet is bread. Lithuanians link many beliefs and magic with bread. For example, in the cornerstone of a new house, Lithuanians often place a piece of bread to protect the home. The lady of the house has the honorable duty of baking bread. This duty is passed on to the eldest daughter in a special ceremony. In fact, Lithuanians use the feminine gender to refer to bread. One Lithuanian told me, "My grandmother used to say that the bread is holy and we should respect it. I still do what my grandmother taught me: if the bread falls to the ground, I pick it up with reverence, kiss it, and eat it. It's a Lithuanian ritual. We do this so that the home will never be without bread."

The most popular bread is *juoda rugin*ė *duona* (black rye bread). You'll find it on every Lithuanian dinner table. Although refined flour (white bread) is becoming popular in the Baltic, the primary bread remains the healthier dark bread. There are two kinds of bread styles: plain fermented and scalded. Although Lithuanians learned to bake scalded bread in the twentieth century, the tradition of baking plain fermented bread has existed for thousands of years. Plain bread ferments overnight but must be

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kneaded for a long time, while scalded bread fermentation takes almost three days. As one Lithuanian grandmother told me, "Bread tastes delicious because it is hard to make."

> Be duonos sotus nebūsi. — *Lithuanian proverb, meaning "No bread, no bellyful."*

While bread and potatoes provide the starch, meat and sour cream seem to satisfy all the other Lithuanian dietary needs. Lithuanians eat meat for breakfast. When they wake up they might eat a sandwich with sausage, roast, or smoked meat. Other times they forget the sandwich part and just eat boiled sausages. It's common to eat these delights for lunch and dinner too. It seems that a Lithuanian's life quest is to die of a heart attack.

Later, I would talk with a Frenchman, Cédric Henriot, who had a surprising opinion about Lithuanian cuisine. He lives in Lithuania and is married to a local. Instead of having a condescending French attitude about Lithuanian food, he said, "Oh, I love Lithuanian cuisine! A lot of the cuisine comes from potatoes and pork. And they have a lot of fat in their cuisine. It's big and it fills you. You eat one portion and you're full. When it's the winter and you eat it, you feel good. You don't feel weak and you don't feel cold anymore." We were speaking over the phone, so I couldn't verify if his Lithuanian wife was standing over him with a rolling pin in her hand.

Virgis, Silvia, and I went to a traditional Lithuanian restaurant. The menu revealed the importance of potatoes in the Lithuanian diet. I couldn't decide whether to order the *bulvių plokštainis* (a potato pudding that's also called a *kugelis*), the *cepelinai* (big grated potato dumplings filled with meat or curd), the *bulviniai blynai* (potato pancakes), or the irresistible *vėdarai* (potato sausage stuffed with pork intestine).

Instead, I started my meal with *šaltibarščiai*, a tasty cold red beet root soup, which is popular in the summer. The soup includes beets, cucumbers, a boiled egg, sour cream, sour milk, scallions, and dill. For my entrée, I ordered the national dish: *cepelinai.* Although Lithuanians love it, they rarely make it at home because it takes forever to cook. You need several hours to make the potato dough, stuff it with *grybai* (mushrooms), *mesa* (meat), *varškė* (cheese), and then create the heavy sauce using sour cream, butter, bacon bits, and onions. By the time you finish making all that, you'll be starving and the dish will taste delicious.

Silvia ordered *bulvių plokštainis,* while Virgis picked *koldūnai* (ravioli stuffed with meat). For an appetizer and side dish, we ordered *virtiniai* (dumplings) and *kepta duona* (deep-fried black bread with garlic). When the plates arrived, it was clear that Lithuanians like pouring sour cream on everything.

When Silvia and Virgis ordered *alus* (beer), the waiter brought the most popular brand: the *Švyturys Extra.* I joked that they should have a potato-based beverage. Virgis said that Lithuanians brew one at home—*degtinė* (an alcoholic drink made with potatoes). If that doesn't tempt you, maybe the crazy flavors of Lithuanian vodka will. They offer vodka made with berries, herbs, rye, honey, pepper, and holy grass. Holy grass? Clearly, God approves of this kind of vodka. Once the alcohol started flowing, I asked Virgis why Lithuanians have more confidence than their Baltic neighbors. He summed it up in one word, "History."

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4. Lithuania was once a superpower

At first, I wasn't that interested in learning about Lithuania's history. After discovering the parallel histories of Estonia and Latvia, I expected that Lithuania would just be another long, sad tale about big bullies smacking them around for 800 years. However, Lithuania's history is different. Instead of being a punching bag, Lithuania, for a few hundred years, was doing the punching. In fact, at its pinnacle, its kingdom stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. It's true: Lithuania was once a superpower.

To understand the rise and fall of Lithuania, we'll start at its founding 1,000 years ago. Lithuania was the last pagan country in Europe. It had boldly resisted all efforts to Christianize it, but it finally gave in. Lithuania's rise truly started in 1253, when Lithuanians united to form the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1386, Lithuania allied itself with Poland, and that ultimately led them to their golden era. Lithuanians and Poles swapped leadership of the Grand Duchy every generation. They controlled all of present-day Belarus and most of Ukraine. In short, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland ruled from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Every young Lithuanian learns this rich history and is proud of it. Knowing that it once was a superpower gives Lithuanians that confidence that Estonians and Latvians lack. If Lithuania was once a peer with Russia and other Europeans, then why not act like one today? This glorious period is the source of Lithuania's confidence.

Unfortunately, Lithuanians and Poles bickered in the 1700s, which led to their mutual demise. (Sadly, their petty fights continue today.) They began to focus more and more on their differences, rather than on their common bonds. The empires of Russia, Prussia (Germany), and Austria smelled the weakness of the Lithuanian-Polish alliance. After a series of wars, Poland and Lithuania ceased to be—their conquerors assimilated the Grand Duchy into their empires. Thus, by 1796, Poland and Lithuania were wiped off the world map.

A few years later, Napoleon charged through Lithuania. The Frenchman called Vilnius "the Jerusalem of the North," because Jews made up half of its population. In 1785, William Coxe, a 31-year-old Englishman who traveled from Poland to Russia, wrote, "In our route through Lithuania we could not avoid being struck with the swarms of Jews. . . . If you ask for an interpreter, they bring you a Jew; if you come to an inn, the landlord is a Jew; if you want post-horses, a Jew procures them, and a Jew drives them."[1] Prior to WWII, Vilnius had 100,000 Jews; today, there are just 400. The Nazis (and their Lithuanian accomplices) managed to slaughter nearly 300,000 Jews throughout Lithuania.

When the Soviet reinstalled themselves in 1945, they picked up where they left off. During their 1940 occupation, they killed or deported 40,000 Lithuanians. When they returned in 1945, the Soviets deported or murdered another 250,000 Lithuanians. It wasn't good to be a Lithuanian in the 1940s.

We shared a dessert called *tinginys*, which means *lazy*. It is an easy dessert for lazy chefs that involves butter, cocoa, sugar, solidified milk, and biscuits. While drinking some honey vodka, Virgis told a joke about Russian intrusions: *A Lithuanian border guard notices that a Russian hasn't filled out the form completely.*

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[1] William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark: Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries* (London, 1785; reprinted New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1971), pp. 142, 188, 201, 205.

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The guard doesn't know the Russian's job or occupation because the Russian left the line blank. So the guard asks, "Occupation?"

The Russian answers, "No, just visiting."

5. First to declare independence

Lithuania's inner confidence made it the Baltic domino that pushed Latvia and Estonia (and many other Soviet Republics) to obtain their independence. It started in 1988 when, after a series of protests, Lithuanians were able to replace the Soviet flag and anthem with their own. On March 11, 1990 they declared their independence, a year before Estonia and Latvia would have the courage to do the same.

On January 13, 1991, unarmed Lithuanians encircled their TV tower. Tanks ran over a human chain. Soviet troops shot protestors, while live TV broadcast the horror. The last thing Latvians saw was a soldier walking up to the camera and pulling the plug. When the dust settled, 700 were wounded and 14 were dead. The Soviets finally recognized Lithuania's independence on September 6, 1991. It was the first Soviet republic to receive such recognition. Eventually, 13 other Soviet Republics would follow Lithuania's leadership—resulting in the dissolution of the USSR.

> Kas nerizikuoja, tas negeria šampano. — *Lithuanian proverb meaning "He who doesn't take risks, doesn't taste the champagne."*

Unlike Latvia and Estonia, Lithuania was slow to tear down its Soviet statues. Perhaps they felt their freedom was secure. Still, they discarded many, but then the Mushroom King resurrected them. Lithuanians call Viliumas Malinauskas the Mushroom King because he made his fortune selling mushrooms and berries—the ultimate Lithuanian dream. He used that fortune to acquire 86 Soviet statues and create a sculpture park called *Grūtas,* or Stalin World. The waitresses in the café dress like Soviet pioneers (similar to girl scouts) and serve classic Soviet dishes. For those who missed out on the joys of totalitarianism, Stalin World is a great place to check out Soviet memorabilia, listen to communist propaganda blaring from speakers, and admire statues of Lenin, Stalin, and other winners.

After fighting so hard to throw the Soviets out, Lithuanians did something odd in their first democratic election in 1992: they voted to give the ex-communist party control of the government. They were the first ex-communist country to vote former communists back into power. These clever politicians re-branded themselves as "social democrats." Although they dismantled the communist system, they didn't last. In 2004, Lithuania joined the EU and NATO. They hope to adopt the euro by 2015. Lastly, it ratified the EU Constitution before any other EU country had the confidence to do so.

After the dinner, we returned to our hostel. Silvia and I bunked in the same room with a couple of other travelers. The vodka made Silvia a bit flirtatious, but I behaved. She teased me for being "boring." She's right, but I was happy to lie in bed with a smile on my face, thinking about my Nordic saunas experiences.

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

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

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

In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip on the Continental Divide Trail—a seven-month journey spanning 9,000 km. In 2008-2011, he visited over 40 European countries, but focused on revisiting all the Eastern European ones. In 2009, he climbed up Mont Blanc and walked across Spain twice (once by traversing the Pyrenees from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and then by hiking El Camino Santiago). He's backpacked over 20,000 kilometers (12,500 miles) and traveled to over 80 countries.

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

***The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us* is his second book of his WanderLearn Series, was published as ebook on August 19, 2011, and will be published as hardcover on December 8, 2011.**

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.
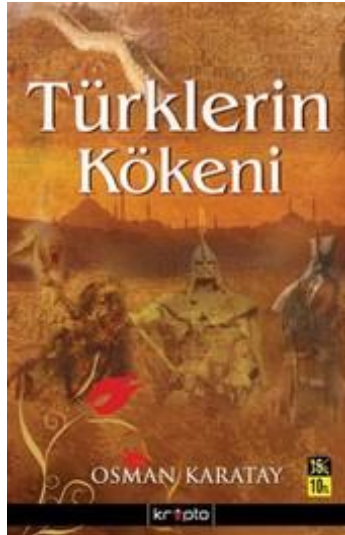
Francis´ website is http://FrancisTapon.com

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July-September 2011   **JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES**   Volume III., Issue 3.

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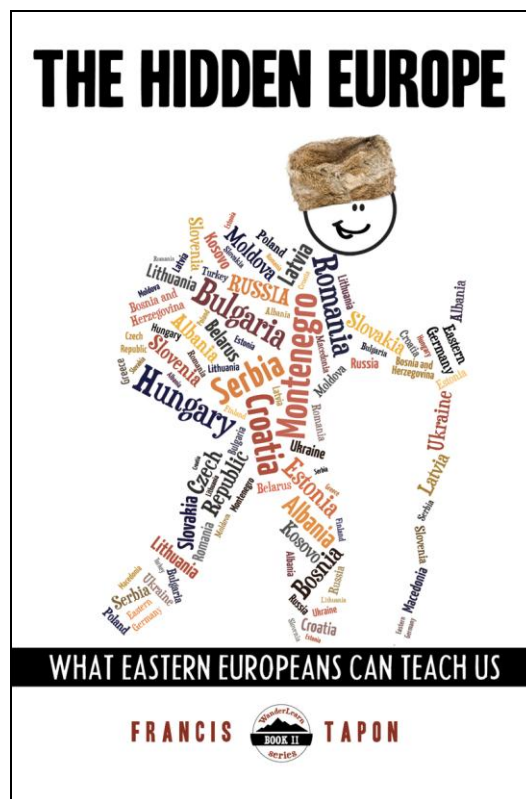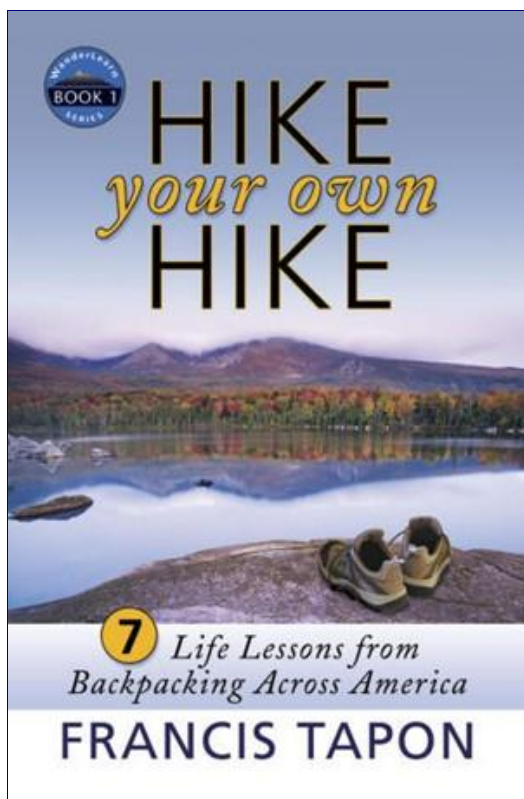
BOOK REVIEW

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ACAR, Serkan

Osman Karatay: Türklerin Kökeni [Origins of the Turks]

The announcement of François Lenormant (1837-1883) at the 1st International Congress of Orientalists in 1873 about the discovery of Sumerian (Accadian in his terms) as a non-Semitic language caused great enthusiasm among the academic audience. His sentences that the newly realized language "*was not unfortunately an Indo-European one*" and that "*it resembles mostly to Turkic*" irritated the French thinker Ernest Renan (1823-1892), who was then in the saloon. He said: "*It is impossible! The barbarian Turks cannot be founders of a civilization. Work until you prove the contrary of this idea!*"

These words genuinely reflecting Turkish image of the Eurocentric view are very meaningful, and this approach continues today as the mainstream one. The current dominant view in the west and Russia is of the basic idea that the Turks appeared in history only in the 6th century A.D., interestingly associating the recorded presence of the word 'Turk' with the existence of the people widely known with that name. Conversely, western scholars succeeded in creating an Indo-European world from vague mythological references, and presented it as a real case. This same view locates ancestors of the Turks together with their so-called Altaic relatives to the eastern parts of Inner Asia. There are no serious objections to these kinds of Urheimat suggestions, except the very brave and scholarly book of Osman Karatay: *Türklerin Kökeni* ('Origins of the Turks'), which was published in the summer of 2011 and became a best-seller.

The book is composed of 17 parts. Contrary to his other works, the language of this book is very simple and addresses the common reader. It begins with a retrospective definition of the entity 'Turk'. His brief analysis on the current Turkic world and outline of Turkic history within 20 pages are admirable. Then, he starts to struggle with the so-called Altaic theory, and interrogates the relationships of Turkic, Mongolian and Hungarian languages in terms of the universally admitted criteria. The kind and quantity of common or corresponding words that provide the bases for a genetic relationship are the essential theme of the concerning discussions. He is of the idea that Turkic and Mongolian can be only remote

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relatives. Hungarian is, on the other hand, closer to Turkic; closer than any other regional agglutinative language, say Uralic or Finno-Ugric. These statements are very opposite to the conventional opinions and theories, which lack, on the other hand, proper responses to right questions: Why do not we apply the same criteria in studying languages of the region from Finland to Korea as those applied in, for instance, Indo-European or Semitic? Thus, a Turkish reviewer defined the last book of Karatay with the words "*new questions to the old answers*".

Dr. Karatay, now associate professor at the Ege University in İzmir, makes use of all kinds of evidences regarding the origins of the Turks. One of the most important of them is the Turkic creation legend recorded by two essential Chinese sources of the early 7th century. Both versions of the same legend, which were later repeated by several Islamic sources, surely unaware of the Chinese annals, locate the ancient Turks to the north of the Caspian Sea (West Sea in Chinese terms). He compares this account (1) with the ignored records in Pomponius Mela and Plinius Secundus informing about a 'Turkae' nation just in the east of mid-Volga (which is a parallel case, with great possibility, with the Herodian 'Yurkae' in the same place), (2) with the totally ignored fact that early Turkic is a language of agriculturalists and forest-dwellers, (3) with the early accounts mentioning in an orchestrated way the early Turks as a blond or red-hair people with small eyes, which is nothing else than the western Siberian and Povolgian typology, and (5) perhaps the most important one, with the fact that the most striking common zone of Turkic and Hungarian is the agricultural vocabulary, which is almost totally common in both languages, and which is very hard to explain with loaning processes. If almost all domestic animals and almost all cultivable plants are called with the same words in two languages, one should search for deeper and genetic relations; and if both languages demonstrate almost totally the same structural features, then one should not hesitate to go on that way.

Karatay's outstanding innovation or contribution to the concerning scientific area is not those very known but ignored facts, but the very interesting references in Nordic mythology of the Turks and many cultural elements in the North that can be compared with the Turkic world. He uses in the book several saga books, and in the same time informs us that all saga texts are currently scanned with great care in terms of accounts or elements that may be related to the Turks. After completion of those studies, we will learn more about which connections may exist between the heroic Nordic Elf and the heroic Turkic Alp.

The main area of expertise of Osman Karatay is early Turko-Slavic relations. He has a well-known theory about the debated origins of the Croats. In this book he deals in a few pages with early, say pre-Avaric, relations of the Slavic speaking peoples with the Turks by giving a list of corresponding words of the inherited Slavic language that were never studied in terms of Turkic relations. Their similarities with the suggested Turkic words are striking. His opinion is that this topic deserves more attention, a larger book, or even an etymological dictionary.

That is not all. There are other parts dealing with some other topics, and containing new ideas and suggestions which are as engrossing as the above listed ones.


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FARKAS, Flórián

From Medieval Persian Poetry to Global Urban Development

In this section the following books are reviewed:

- A.A. Seyed-Gohrab: **Courtly Riddles** —Enigmatic Embellishments in Early Persian Poetry—

- Dipika Mukharjee and Maya Khemlani David (Eds.): **National Language Planning and Language Shifts in Malaysian Minority Communities** —Speaking in Many Tongues—

- Nicholas A. Phelps and Fulong Wu (Eds.): **International Perspectives on Suburbanization** —A Post-Suburban World?—

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A.A. Seyed-Gohrab: Courtly Riddles
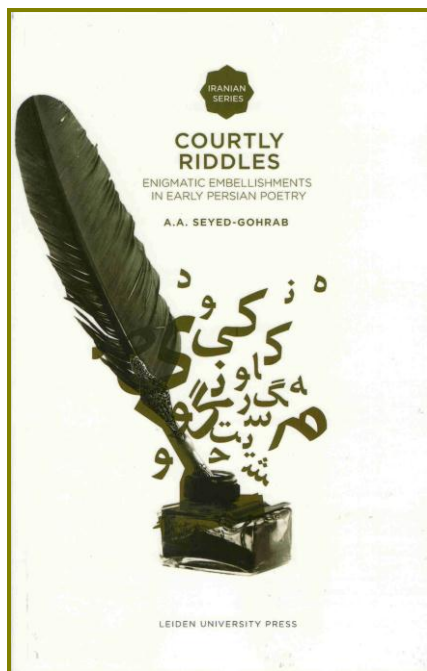
Author: A.A. Seyed-Gohrab

Title: Courtly Riddles

— Enigmatic Embellishments in Early Persian Poetry —

Publisher: Leiden University Press

Year of publishing: 2010

Language: English

Number of pages: 228

ISBN: 9789087280871

http://www.lup.nl/

The volume '*Courtly Riddles — Enigmatic Embellishments in Early Persian Poetry*' was published within the Iranian Studies Series of the Leiden University Press, launched in 2010. It was written by the Series' chief editor, A.A. Seyed-Gohrab, who is track-leader of the Persian Studies Programme Leiden University and elected member of the Young Academy of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

This volume is the first systematic study of Persian literary riddles published in English. It is divided into two parts: the first part establishes a theoretical framework for the examination of the nature of Persian riddles and the second one illustrates the development of riddling through a representative sample of poetry.

The first part consists of two chapters. In the first chapter the author evaluates the existing studies of Persian riddling and concludes that there is no analytic and systemic study of Persian riddle poetry available. In the other chapter of the first part the actual theoretical framework is established through several sections. First, the historical development of the riddle poetry is presented. Not only the stylistic qualities in different periods are treated but also the role of riddling in the general development of Persian poetry. Then the classical definitions found in Persian poetical manuals are analysed, followed by an examination of the relationship between metaphors and riddles and the genre of literary description in general.

The second part is a rich commentary based on a representative sample of poetry, including the English translation of the sample riddles. It consists of three chapters: in the first one the author discusses the role of riddles in romances, using the riddles found in Firdowsī's great epic Shāh-nāma as sources.

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The next chapter examines riddles in the poetry of three poets, who belong to the late Ghaznavid and early Seljuq periods, namely Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Amīr Mu'zzī and Sanā'ī of Ghazna. All of them introduced several innovations when using riddles in their poetry. The last chapter analyses ten riddles from `Uthmān Mukhtārī Ghaznavī's Hunar-Nāma (The Book of Excellence).

This volume is another jewel from the Iranian Studies Series. In the first instance it closes a gap by providing a much needed systematic and analytic study of the role and nature of riddle in Persian poetry. Next to that it comprises a wealth of riddles translated into English, which makes the reading of the volume an extremely joyful activity. At the end of it the reader will become familiar with both a useful theoretical framework concerning the riddle, and with a great selection of poetry between the tenth and twelfth century, a period when the fundaments for a literary riddle were laid.

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National Language Planning and Language Shifts in Malaysian Minority Communities
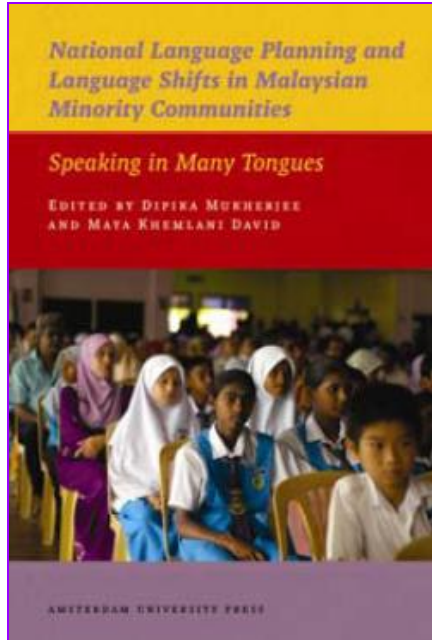
The number of languages spoken throughout the world is estimated to be 6,000. Next to that, available data indicate that the number of bilingual or multilingual persons in the world exceeds that of those who are monolingual. Language is one the one hand a(n economic) resource; on the other hand it is the symbol and vehicle of group identity, too. Due to this factor it is not surprising that language policies are usually highly politicised and charged.

Malaysia, a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-confessional country, which acquired its independence relatively recently (in 1957), national language planning and the given responses to them by the different ethnic groups form a complex web of interactions that simultaneously shape the processes of nation-building, integration into the global economic system, identity preservation or assimilation, etc.

The country has a population of 26.64 million; it is comprised of three major ethnic groups: 1) Bumiputera (Malays and other indigenous groups) 65.1%, 2) Chinese 26.0%, and 3) Indians 7.7%. Within each of these three major ethnic groups a variety of languages and dialects are spoken. Overall at least a hundred languages are spoken. Historically, during the colonial era, English played a dominant role, and despite the efforts since independence to unite the country through the language of the major ethnic group — Bahasa Melayu — English is still indispensible.

National Language Planning and Language Shifts in Malaysian Minority Communities — *Speaking in Many Tongues* — is the 5th edited volume in the *International Institute for Asian Studies* (IIAS) publications series. The two editors, Dipika Mukherjee (Professor 211 at Shanghai International Studies University, China)

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and Maya Khemlani David (Honorary Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Linguists, UK) collected field-research papers that examine the language shift among the different minority ethnic groups in Malaysia. The main ethnic group — Malay — is thus indirectly researched. They introduce the volume with a brief overview of the (history of) language policy in Malaysia including basic background information on the ethnic and linguistic landscape of the country. They convey already in the introductory chapter the main conclusion concerning Malaysia; namely that the aim of achieving national unity via language has not succeeded at the grassroots level, as observed from the people's use of the language. The trend towards language shift is fairly clear-cut: the Muslim minority communities, irrespective of their ethnic background are shifting to the Malay language, while all other minority communities towards English.

The main body of the book (the following ten chapters) is then devoted to the results of the field-work performed among ten different ethnic minority groups in Malaysia, like different Indian, Chinese communities, Filipino, Javanese communities, etc. Each paper introduces the topic well, providing reasonable background information on the ethnic minority in question, thus facilitating a good understanding of the research results. Reading through the book the results of the empirical research make obvious the trends highlighted in the introductory chapter. The only minor point here is to mention is the relatively small sampling in certain cases. On the other hand this does not seem to pose a serious problem, because the aim of this research is to provide a qualitative picture and in several cases the ethnic minority in question was researched for the first time.

The final, concluding chapter places the results presented in the volume within a broader framework, that of (inter)national politics. The trends depicted by the empirical research are then plotted against the continuously changing national language policies and the dynamics of English and Bahasa Melayu is elaborated.

All in all, this is a very important and a highly enjoyable book. It is enjoyable, despite the high density of statistical and empirical data, because it tells the stories of real people in real life settings. And it is profound, both for policy-makers and interested alike, because it provides a snapshot of a complex issue in a complex country, which is aiming to become a fully developed nation by 2020. As the majority of people in the world is multilingual and is living in a multilingual environment, it can be said that this book 'speaks' to the greater part of the world. Let us hope that in the foreseeable future it will 'speak ' to an even greater part of the world!

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International Pespectives on Suburbanization
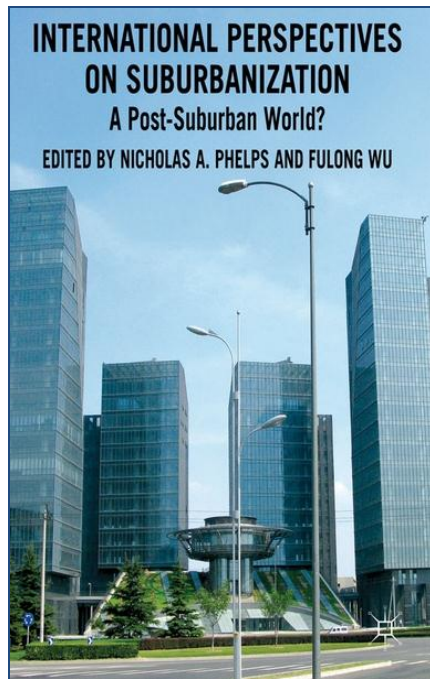
Editors: Nicholas A. Phelps and Fulong Wu

Title: International Perspectives on Suburbanization

— A Post-Suburban World? —

Publisher: Palgrave Macmillan

Year of publishing: 2011

Language: English

Number of pages: 312

ISBN: 978-0-230-27639-0

http://www.palgrave.com/

According to the United Nations about half of the world's population is living in urban areas as of 2008. Although the definitions of cities and urban areas are usually not precise and there is an enormous variety in urbanization world-wide, the phenomenal rise of urbanization is clearly one of the main characteristics of human life since the Industrial Revolution. Intricately related to the process of urbanization is the phenomenon of suburbanization; though suburbs existed virtually as long as cities, their role and nature changed dramatically. Especially during the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States and other industrialized parts of the world the economic and demographic weight shifted from the cities (urbs) to suburbs. Through globalization many regions followed suit.

At present we are witnessing a new phenomenon, pioneered by the US, but manifested everywhere in the world, for which several terms were coined: 'edge city', 'edgeless city', 'technoburb', etc. This new urban development, landmarked by a configuration of office blocks, warehouses, retails units, and gated residential complexes, is basically suburbanization carried out to the extreme.

This new development is the topic of the recently published pioneering volume '*International Perspectives on Suburbanization — A Post-Suburban World?*' edited by Nicholas A. Phelps (Professor of Urban and Regional Development at the Bartlett School of Planning, University College London, UK) and Fulong Wu (Professor of East Asian Planning and Development at the School of City and Regional Planning, Cardiff University, UK). The papers published in the book were originally presented at a one-

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day conference held at the University College London on May 21, 2009 as part of a program of research funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (http://www.esrc.ac.uk/).

The volume comprises four parts (each containing three chapters) and an introductory and concluding chapter, these latter signed by the editors. Part one deals with the historic background of the suburbs and post-suburbs, the social manufacturing that fostered their development and practical examples of post-suburbanization (Toronto and Frankfurt), which highlight the problems created by them at metropolitan scale. I would like to particularly claim the brilliance of the historical overview given by Jon C. Teaford in this part of the volume.

The other parts are designated to the Americas, Europe and East-Asia. The papers contained in part two deal mostly with the (problems of) governance in post-suburb areas in the Americas. Greater Los Angeles and Greater Boston are examined in the US and Santiago de Chile and Pilar (Argentina) in South America. Of particular interest is the fact that despite differences in history and culture, the South American examples follow closely the North American trends, due to the same underpinning governance ideas.

Part three is devoted to Europe, and the differences vis-à-vis the US are highlighted. Although in Europe (as everywhere) differences exist, sub-urbanization was and is a more managed process. The papers of this part, examine the post-suburban spaces of Paris, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Zurich, Helsinki, Budapest, Prague and Moscow reveal not only the differences between the Western and Central and East European countries, but also the unusability of the terminology and theoretical framework regarding the post-suburb developments emanating from the US.

Part four deals with East-Asian examples. Post-suburban developments in this part of the world also strain the US-models, since in most countries states and governments have a more dominant role in urban developments. Examples are taken from Jakarta, Tokyo and Seoul.

The volume '*International Perspectives on Suburbanization — A Post-Suburban World?*' is a very topical one. It provides a concise overview of the issue of post-suburban development in the 21st century. Next to that, the particular examples, taken from three major areas of the world, witness universal trends with local characteristics. It is a volume that is a must read for policy-makers, business people and everybody who is interested in one of the most phenomenal trends in recent human history: the globalization of urban development.

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CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON EURASIA

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CONOLLY, Arthur

Journey to the North of India, Overland from England, through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun

Arthur Conolly (1807-1842) was a British intelligence officer, explorer and writer. He was a captain of the Sixth Bengal Light Cavalry, who worked for the British East India Company. He participated in many reconnaissance missions into Central Asia and coined the term *The Great Game* to describe the struggle between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for domination over Central Asia. In late 1829 he left Moscow for the Caucasus and Central Asia, arriving in Herat in September 1830 and in India in January 1831. In 1834 he published an account of his trip, a two-volume travelogue entitled *'Journey to the North of India, Overland from England, through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun'*, which established his reputation as a traveller and writer. — From this travelogue we selected a chapter that describes his experience and observations in Herat.

In 1841, in an attempt to counter the growing penetration of Russia into Central Asia, Conolly unsuccessfully tried to persuade the various khanates to put aside their differences. In November 1841 he was captured on a rescue mission to free fellow British officer Lieutenant Colonel Charles Stoddart held in Bukhara. The two were executed by the Emir of Bukhara, Nasrullah Khan in June 1842 on charges of spying for the British Empire.

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CHAPTER I.

Heraut and its environs — Climate — Divisions of the province — Agricultural produce — Government assessments and general receipts — Commerce — Political condition of AfFghaunistaun — Character and prospects of Shah Kamraun.

Heraut is a well-fortified town, three quarters of a mile square, comprising four thousand dwelling-houses, twelve hundred shops, seventeen caravan-seras, and twenty baths, besides many mosques, and fine public reservoirs of water. It contains about forty-five thousand[1] inhabitants, the majority of whom

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[1] When we first inquired about the population of Heraut, the inhibitants told us that there were twelve thousand houses within the walls; but our host, who was the calenter of the city, said that only four thousand "house doors" were registered in the

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are Sheahs; and there may be one thousand Hindoos settled there, and forty families of Jews. The outside wall is thickly built upon a solid mound formed by the earth of a wet ditch, which, filled by springs within itself, goes entirely round tho city. There are five gates, defended each by a small out-work, and on the north side is a strong citadel, also surrounded by a wet ditch, which overlooks the town.

The interior of Heraut is divided into quarters, by four long bazaars covered with arched brick, which meet in a small domed quadrangle in the centre of the city. The town itself is, I should imagine, one of the dirtiest in the world. Many of the small streets, which branch from the main ones, are built over, and form low dark tunnels, containing every offensive thing. No drains having been contrived to carry off the rain which falls within the walls, it collects and stagnates in ponds which are dug in different parts of the city. The residents cast out the refuse of their houses into the streets, and dead cats and dogs are commonly seen lying upon heaps of the vilest filth. In a street which we were obliged to pass through to get at the bazaar, lay for many days a dead horse, surrounded by bloated dogs, and poisoning the neighbourhood with its unwholesome effluvia. More could be said about the bestiality of the citizens, but as it is not a choice theme, I will not enlarge upon it. "*Rusm ust,*" — "It is the custom," was the only apology I heard even from those who admitted the evil: my wonder was how they could live, but, as the Aukhoond-zadeh observed, "the climate is fine, and if dirt killed people, where would the Affghauns be!" Candahar is quite as dirty a place, and Caubul, the "city of a hundred thousand gardens," is said to be little better.

But though the city of Heraut is as I have described it, without the walls all is beauty. The town is situated at four miles distance from hills on the north, and twelve from those which run south of it. The space between the hills is one beautiful extent of little fortified villages, gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields, and this rich scone is lightened by many small streams of shining water, which cut the plain in all directions. A dam is thrown across the Herirood, and its waters, being turned into many canals, are so conducted over the vale of Heraut that every part of it is watered. Varieties of the most delicious fruits are grown in the valley, and they are sold cheaper even than at Meshed; the necessaries of life are plentiful and cheap, and the bread and water of Heraut are a proverb for their excellence. I really never in England even tasted more delicious water than that of the Herirood: it is "as clear as tears" and, the natives say, only equalled by the waters of Cashmere, which make those who drink them beautiful.

The Baugh-e Shah, or the king's garden, was formerly one of the wonders of Heraut, but its parterres have been neglected, and "its palaces lie desolate"; a beautiful avenue of fir-trees, a mile in length, extended from its entrance to near the city wall, but when we were at Heraut, the Shah, in a spirit of barbarous economy, was felling some of the trees for the purpose of repairing his palace. A mile to the north of the city arc the remains of what anciently was the wall of Heri, and not far from it is a pile of magnificent ruins, the "Moosullah," or place of worship, built by a pious king of the house of Timour, to receive the remains of the Imaum Reza: when, at the death of the saint, the victorious disputants for his body took and buried it at Meshed, this edifice was neglected and left to ruin. The buildings were

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Shah's books. At the high computation of ten persons to each house, we have only forty thousand souls, but one entrance may lead to more than one domicile, and I think that, considering this, and taking into account the inmates of the citadel and palace, those who reside in seventeen large caravan-seras, and in some of the shops, the residents may altogether be rated at the round number of forty-five thousand. Captain Christie estimated the population of Heraut at one hundred thousand souls: either I conceive that officer was misled by the statements of the inhabitants, or he took into account some quarters outside the walls, which were destroyed when the city was besieged by the Candahar Sirdars, I think in 1824.

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commenced on a grander scale than those at Meshed, as may be seen by the foundations of such parts as were not completed, and groat must have been the cost of erecting what now stands. An "Iwan," built so high that the eye is strained in looking up to it, fronts a court one hundred paces square, the cloistered sides of which are embellished with beautiful designs of flowers, &c. set in mosaic work of white quartz and coloured enamel tile. From the square you enter a large circular hall of great height, covered with a fine dome, and this leads into another apartment of the same shape, but of smaller proportions. This is one part; it would be difficult to describe the rest, for it was not uniformly completed: there are the remains of twenty minarets, among many buildings of designs at once chaste and costly, the pillars and arches of which are broken into a mass of irregular and beautiful ruin. We ascended by one hundred and forty steps to the top of the highest minaret, and thence looked down upon the city and the rich gardens and vineyards round and beyond it; a scene so varied and beautiful, that I can fancy nothing like it, except, perhaps, in Italy. The cultivators of this "happy valley" enumerate, if I remember right, seventeen different sorts of grapes which they grow; the marble and the raisin grape, that which is translucent and without seeds, the golden grape of Cas-vine, and the small red grape of Budduckshan, with other temptingly-named varieties of this delicious fruit. The vines are planted in trenches, and trained over a sloping bank of earth, on which they arc suffered to ripen, a method which I conceive would answer only in a very dry atmosphere.

The climate of this country is said to be salubrious; the heat is excessive for two months in summer, and in winter much snow falls. The year before our coming to Heraut, the cholera morbug had swept away many thousand persons from the city and the provinces round; but this is a scourge which seems to visit all climes. The smallpox, I imagine, occasionally makes sad havoc among the people of this country; they hardly know the practice of vaccination, and are so dirty that any contagious disease must spread rapidly among them. On the 24th of September the thermometer stood at 85° (in the shade at the hottest time of the day): between that date and the 6th of October it fell gradually to 65°, and on the four last days of our stay at Heraut, the mercury stood at 70°. The nights were very cold, and winter was evidently fast approaching.

In the province of Heraut there are eight belooks, or pergunnahs, into which are divided the lands in the valley, chiefly watered by eight large canals from the river, and four small velaits or counties. We were able to obtain the following registered account of the villages, water, ploughs, assessment, and *teool* lands, which I have every reason to believe a correct one.

"*Teool*" is jagheer; land held free, or on condition of military service, as the greater part of Affghaunistan is, or rather was, under the royal government, for the rebel sirdars have in a great measure resumed the crown grants. The produce is calculated from the number of ploughs that are rated against the villages of each district, for every plough is averaged to turn up land for three khurwars of seed. The soil of Heraut returns at a medium calculation tenfold, and at this rate the produce is estimated; i.e. for every plough three khurwars of seed, and ten times the quantity of the seed for the gross produce.

The eight belooks are named Injeel, Aulinjaun, Oodvan-o-Teezan, Khiabaun, Subbukkur, Ghoori-vaun-o-Pushtaun, Goozara, and Kumberrauk; and in these districts are 446 villages, eight large canals, which feed innumerable smaller ones, 123 canauts,[2] and 2288 ploughs. The gross produce of wheat and

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[2] Artificial water-courses.

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barley in the eight belooks, by the above calculation, amounts to more than 68,000 khurwars, or measures of one hundred maunds;[3] of these, 28,000 are as signed to the crown, and the rest to the cultivators, except a tithe which is set apart for seed.

The velaits, or counties, are Oubeh, Koorkh, Shaffbaun, and Ghourian. Our accounts gave to the three first eighty-three villages, 103 canauts and 648 ploughs, or a produce of 19,410 khurwars', of which 6700 wore assigned to the crown. We could obtain no statement of the produce of Ghourian, further than that the Shah received 500 khurwars, and granted the rest in teool; but as it is the finest of the velaits, its produce may well be estimated at 10,000 Tabreez khurwars. Formerly the country of Ghourian sent in much money and grain but of late years it has suffered from the inroads of the Toorkmuns, and there has been a great falling off in the duties which were once levied upon the passing trade. When we were at Heraut, the government of Ghourian was held by a brother of sirdar Yar Mohummud Khan, protected by whom, it was said, he generally gave a very Flemish account of his receipts.

The above estimates give a total of about 98,000 khurwars of wheat and barley. So much of the land being teool, the produce can only be guessed at, but I should conceive it to be greater than above calculated, because Kamraun has frequently laid extra taxes of grain upon the cultivators, and as they do not appear in the first instance to get their just share, they could not well otherwise have met his demands. The lands were considered to be under-assessed, and, as far as we could judge from the information we received, very irregularly: of the crown share, eight-ninths were stated to be given in teool. The population of the province must now be great, and were this fertile country settled, and equitably governed, there would scarcely be bounds to the produce.

Kainraun's money receipts from the city of Heraut and its vicinity were rated at 20,288 Heraut tomauns. An Heraut tomaun is divided into twenty reals (or rupees), thirteen of which make one tomaun of Irâk; so that we have 32,968 Irâk tomauns, or 21,429*l*. 5s.

This money was collected by assessments on the eight belooks, on the many gardens and vineyards, and on city lands; from several Elaut tribes (or portions of them) tributary to Heraut; from the customs (2.5 per cent, upon every thing, whether money or goods,) and from the mint (said to yield a good profit.) Part was realized by many vexatious duties imposed upon nearly every thing marketed in the city, few articles being allowed to be sold without the Shah's stamp upon them; the law extended even to butcher's meat, and any one who transgressed it rendered himself liable to a fine and a beating. The strangest item in the account was the sum of a lac of Heraut rupees, said to be the rent from the police; so that our visitor, Meerza Agha, had to make a profit upon this sum, — by charging the inhabitants for the protection of his night-watch, by taxing wine and gambling-houses, and levying penalties upon every sort of immorality, real or pretended, he not being likely to want evidencc of any offence, that he might choose to affix upon a person able to pay a fine. In bad seasons, he was obliged to stretch a point or two to make up his rent, sure of support from the Shah; and the monarch sometimes made him his instrument for performing an act of violence with a show of justice. Not long before our arrival, they had carried into execution the following ingenious scheme for plundering a very respectable and wealthy merchant who had come to the city. As he was too prudent a person to give the authorities any just cause of offence,

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[3] Khur-bar, or war, an ass-load. The khurwar of Heraut is one-fourth larger than the standard one of Tabreez; our statements are according to the latter measure.

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Meeroa Agha gave a dancing-girl money to make her way into the man's house at night and create a disturbance; ho took care to be in the way, and when the noise commenced, entered the house with a party of myrmidons, and took the stranger prisoner, for acting immorally and making an uproar; nor was the man released until he had paid a very heavy fine. In the lock-up house in the bazaar there were generally one or two offenders, sentenced to punishment on a certain day, who continually shouted out entreaties to the passers-by to contribute a trifle towards the sum required for their release, and they often obtained it.

With regard to trade, the merchants declared that Kamraun's exactions were scarcely proportioned to their means of meeting them, and that they were for the most part ruined; assertions in which there was evidently much truth. "If we but knew," they said, "the actual sum that he would extort from us yearly, we would make up our minds to pay it, or to go and live elsewhere; but in addition to the regular heavy duties, we are constantly called upon for extra contributions." The sum of 20,288 Heraut tomauns was the nominal amount to be collected as above stated, but the people said that his Majesty had not failed one year to exact fully as much more upon some pretence or other. In the accounts which were shown to us, there was no mention whatever made of the districts of Furrah, Nubzaur, and Ghore; neither were the money receipts from the smaller places given. These governments are held by the Shah's sons, or by favoured sirdars, who doubtless do not account very strictly for their collections either in money or grain. The province of Furrah, we learned, is almost entirely teool, and as I before observed, the capabilities of a country thus disposed of are not easily ascertained: however, though many items were wanting on the records, the total annual money income was stated in a sum amounting to Irâk tomauns 137,305, or 89,218*l*. 5s.

In my account of the trade at Meshed, I mentioned the articles that are exported from Heraut. Silk is obtainable in the neighbourhood, but not in sufficient quantity for export. Many lamb and sheep skins are made up into caps and cloaks in the city, and returned into the country round from which they were brought. There were, if I remember right, more than one hundred and fifty shoemakers' shops in the city, but they were unable to supply the demands from the province, and many camel-loads of ready-made slippers were brought from Candahar, whore they are manufactured in great quantities. The leather comes from Hindoostan.

The lead-mines in the vicinity of Heraut are reported to be rich, but they are scarcely worked. The carpets of Heraut, so famed for softness and for the brilliance and permanency of their colours, truly deserve their repute: they are made of all sizes, and at any price, from ten to one thousand rupees; but carpets of any size and value are now seldom ordered, and the trade has altogether declined of late years. The best pieces that we saw appeared to me to equal the Turkey carpets, and considering their texture and beauty, to bear a moderate price; but I fear that the expense of the land carriage would prevent our receiving many of them in Hindoostan, in barter for the goods which the Affghauns yearly take from us.

During our stay at Heraut, we obtained the following sketch of the political state of Affghaunistaun, which I give here, as I imagine that the condition of that country has not been materially altered since the period at which I wrote.

Shah Kamraun's actual rule extends westward to a little beyond Rosanuck, and for about two hundred and twenty-four miles on the road to Candahar. The Belooches care so little for his authority, that they

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come from the south and infest this road; and northward, it may be a question whether his influence extends to the Moorghaub river.

Sheer-dil and Poor-dil Khans are dead; and the province of Candahar is now held by three younger brothers of the rebel family, — Cohun-dil, Raheem-dil, and Meher-dil Khans, men who are only notorious for their bad qualities. They have pursued a narrow line of policy, making no provision for the future; for they have exerted themselves to put down the old nobles, and have set over the people men of low birth and indifferent character, whose enormities they connive at, in order that thoy may have interests in common. Their thought is to sustain themselves by military force, and they keep in regular pay six thousand unmatched horsemen (all Ghilgies, for they will not entertain a Doorraunee), who are let loose upon the people. We were assured that, in spring, to lessen the expense of their military establishment, they would march to some part of their county and let their troopers forage for themselves, provided the unhappy peasants could not pay them to go elsewhere. They have ruined trade by their exactions, and all people within their sway, groaning under every species of oppression, look anxiously for Kamraun, or for any one to relieve them.

In bright contrast to these is Dost Mohummud Khan, now the eldest of the family, who governs at Caubul. Albeit not formerly of very good character, he is now widely famed for the excellence of his rule; and the inhabitants of Caubul, chiefly Taujicks, would probably be sorry to see him supplanted He is said to command the services of eighteen thousand regularly-paid horse, and he has a dozen guns. Dost Mohummud Khan has followed a liberal line of policy, endeavouring to conciliate the nobles and all classes of the people; ho enlists Doorraunees, and has brought under subjection the disaffected Ghilgies within his district. He affects the strictest forms of the Soonnee creed, while he is most tolerant to the many Sheahs of Caubul. Of late years, by all accounts, he has been ambitious of the character of a saint, pretending to have celestial visions. In one of these he declared the arch-impostor himself appeared to him, and reproved him for the immorality of his countrymen; upon which he ordered all women of bad character to marry or to leave Caubul, and forbad the introduction of any intoxicating drug into the city. Though the policy of Dost Mohummud Khan has evidently been to endeavour to prepare the way for the introduction of another line of kings, he probably doubts whether the Suddozye interest will not again prevail, and it seemed to be thought that he would not object to compound for his treason by helping Shah Shoojah to the throne. His feud with Kamraun (though unauthorized by Doorraunee law, which professes to consider the life of a Suddozye sacred) is bitter, and could with difficulty be quenched.

Ameer Mohummud Khan, another brother, who rules at Ghuzni, bears a fair character. His troops are included in those of Dost Mohummud Khan. There are some other brothers at Jellallabad, who have eight hundred or a thousand horse. Peshawar is held by Sooltan Mohummud, Peer Mohummud, and Syud Mohummud Khans, also brothers of the family; but the inhabitants of the latter place, having suffered from the visitation of the Sikhs, must be desirous to see tho end of a power, which, while it is strong enough to oppress them, is not able to protect them from foreign enemies.

Kamraun is now a well aged man; he has ten male children, the eldest of whom, a fine young man of three or four and twenty, is named Jehangire. The two next in ago are named Syf-ool Moolk and Saadut-ool Moolk; the seven others are not yet grown up.

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Of Shah Kamraun's character there is not much to be said in praise. Even his enemies give him credit for courage and natural talent, but he is avaricious, cruel, and debauched. When I say that he has been guilty of breaking his solemnly pledged oath, I need not add a word more against his private character: — as a king, he has behaved unwisely and ill, for he has ruined trade by heavy imposts, and no man living within the influence of his authority dares avow himself possessed of wealth.

The following anecdote, which was related to me by several different inhabitants of Heraut, will enable the reader to appreciate the character of the heir to the Affghaun monarchy. A merchant of the Bukhteeauree tribe gave a Hindoo banker the sum of eighteen hundred golden ducats for a bill of exchange upon Caubul. This he covered with a cloth to make it look like a charm, and hung it about, his neck, hoping thus to convey it safely to Caubul. Somehow or other Kamraun learned what ho had done, and sent two or three men to take the pretended charm from him. They accosted their victim by asking him for a pinch of snuff, and when he replied that he had none, they abused him for being without so necessary an article; then swore they believed he had snuff but would not give away a pinch, engaged him in a quarrel, scuffled with him, and tore the charm from his neck. They next went to the Hindoo banker, and returning him his draft, forced him to refund the cash, which there is no doubt they duly paid to their royal employer. The Bukhteeauree petitioned the Shah, who, affecting to take pity upon him, ordered that he should be paid a real a day from the royal treasury. This pension was discontinued after a week, and the man was ordered to receive, in lieu of it, a daily portion of bread from the royal oven. Even this dole was denied the man after a short time, and he long remained as a beggar at the palace gate, hoping that part even of his money might be restored, "but he received not a black farthing, and returned to his own country."

On his first coming to Heraut, Kamraun thought it good policy to be liberal to the peasantry of the province, but when, after a few years, he saw the rebels in settled possession of the country which had been so foolishly ceded to them, he became desponding and morose, and rigid in exacting from every one the dues of that royalty, the name of which only remained to him.

Kamraun was always of a gloomy disposition; a circumstance not to be wondered at, considering that at an early age he was initiated into scenes of stratagem and bloodshed, and taught to sacrifice the best feelings of humanity to the interests of ambition. Morality of any sort was not likely to be studied to much purpose in such a school, and Kamraun is now a slave towine and the harem. We learned that his majesty would at times deliberately set about making himself drunk; not for love of drinking, for he could get no liquor except vile arrack, or thin sour wine made by the Jews, but solely to raise his spirits, which would sometimes be excited to perfect phrcnsy. No one, it was said, but the Attar Bàshee dared attend on the king while he was in "the horrors" and, during the days of illness which succeeded such debauches, unlucky did that person deem himself whoso affairs brought him under the royal cognizance. At all times the people of Heraut seemed to labour under considerable fear of his majesty and the only man who appeared always merry and at case was Shemshooddeen Khan, whose sister, report said, influenced the disposition of her royal contort as she would, by the fascination of her beauty.

But notwithstanding all Kamraun's faults, the people would be glad to soo him restored to the throne; the interests of the Suddozye tribe, and of all the old Doorraunee families, are connected with his, and the Affghauns generally, have in every way suffered so much from the consequences of the revolution, that they would hail the resumption of the royal authority, whether by Kamraun or by any other man of the

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family. Whether or not Kamraun will realize their wishes is a question. Constant reverses of fortune, caused generally by the faithlessness of those whom he trusted, seem to have unsettled the decision of his character; for of late years he has frequently summoned his friends, and made demonstrations of marching to recover Candahar, and then, when this time for action came, suddenly deferred the project. His subjects, after two or three false alarms, decided that the Shah's object in thus acting was, that he might have pretence for imposing extraordinary taxes upon them; but though this is a consideration which his majesty doubtless on no occasion lost sight of, it is probable that he really entertained the designs which he professed, but that he wanted nerve to prosecute them, when he came to reflect upon the chance of his losing the only retreat that fortune had left him. The consequences of such indecision may be fatal to the existence of the Affghauns as an independent nation; for the Persians will assuredly press eastward, and if they expel the nominal king of the Affghauns from Heraut, what is to prevent them from subjugating the robed states into which the Doorraunee kingdom has boon divided? More impossible events have happened than the extention of the Persian empire from the Arras to tho Indus.

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Dr. Serkan Acar was born in Elazig, Turkey, in 1980. He graduated from the history department of Faculty of Letters at the Ege University in 2005. He completed his master (2007) and doctoral studies (2011) at the same university. Mr. Acar visited Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kazan for academic studies. Being an expert on the Golden Horde, he is author of the book "Kasım Hanlığı" (The Kasimov Khanate, İstanbul, 2008). His two other books about the Kazan Khanate and the Nikitin Travelbook are to be soon published. Being fluent in Russian and English, as well as some Turkic languages, Mr. Acar is also author of several essays and conference papers.

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 Scince (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.

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Received his Bachelors Degree from the Government Degree College Pulwama, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, India. That was followed by a Post-Graduation (M.A.) in the discipline of Geography from the sScience and Technology, Tamil Nadu, India. Subsequently Mr. Dar completed a Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.) education in 2008 in the discipline of Geography in the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir. At the same university he is currently bonafide research scholar (Geography) and completing his Ph. D. Programme.

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MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

Born in 1971, Budapest, Hungary. Received her diploma (M.Sc.) in Agricultural Sciences and her Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Plant Physiology, in 1995 and 2001, respectively, both from the Szent István University of Gödöllő, Hungary. In 2003 she graduated as an engineer in Plant Protection at the University of Veszprém, Hungary and worked for the Hungarian Plant and Soil Protection Service. Between 2004 and 2005 she worked as a postdoctoral student at the Technopôle Brest-Iroise in Brest, France. She is specialized in the physiology and molecular biology of halophyte plants. Since 2007 she studies fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

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Received a M.A. degree in History at the University of Kashmir in 2006. At present he is pursuing a Ph.D. program in history through the faculty of School of Social Sciences at Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi. His main area of research is Kashmiri history; he published several papers in this field. Mr. Syed has a command of the Urdu, Kashmiri, English, and German languages.

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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.

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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 came out August 21, 2011.
- Author of Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America.
- Has visited all 25 Eastern European countries at least twice and has traveled there nonstop for 3 years.
- Has traveled to over 80 countries, walked across America 4 times, backpacked over 12,500 miles in the mountains, and was a finalist in the California Outdoors Hall of Fame.
- He's been covered in *The New York Times Magazine*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, *Backpacker Magazine*, TGO (The Great Outdoors) Magazine in the UK, *New Mexico Magazine*, and others. He's been interviewed on radio stations and podcasts.
- Amazon.com & Lincoln Mercury selected him as the best example of someone who is fulfilling the dream of traveling the world, and produced a video profile on him.
- His dad is French, his mom is Chilean, and he was born in San Francisco. Speaks several languages. He has never owned a TV, chair, table, couch, bed, or rocket ship.
- Has a BA in Religion from Amherst College and an MBA from Harvard Business School.

UCHIRALTU

Born in 1955 in Ulaanhad (Ar Horchin) country, Inner-Mongolian Autonomous Province, China. He graduated from the Inner Mongolian University (1981) studying Mongolian linguistics and literature. Uchiraltu pursued his post-graduate studies in Beijing and he was awarded a doctorate degree in Mongolian linguistics and literature. His further career includes: 1984—

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lecturer at the Inner Mongolian University, Mongolian Studies; 1982-1995 comprehensive research of Mongolian and foreign epics; 1982—1995 engages in research concerning the civilizations of the Huns. In 1999 works for 6 months as Lecturer at the Mongolian State University. Between 1999—2007 he was Media Center director at the Inner Mongolian University, Mongolian Research Faculty.

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