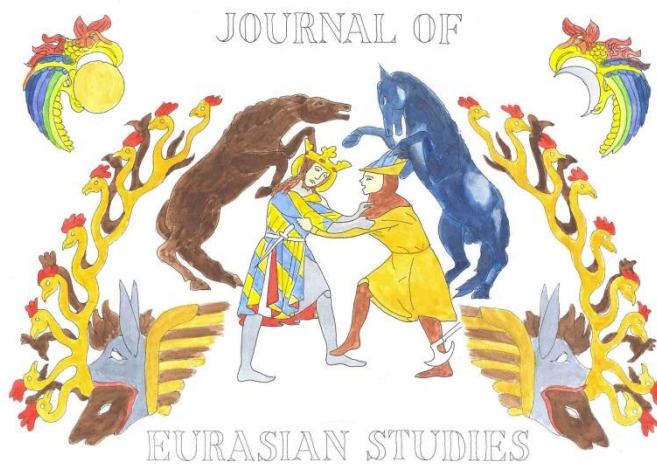


JOURNAL OF EURASIAN STUDIES

Journal of the Gábor Bálint de Szentkatolna Society

Founded: 2009.

Internet: www.federatio.org/joes.html



Volume IV., Issue 3. / July — September 2012

ISSN 1877-4199

Publisher

Foundation 'Stichting MIKES INTERNATIONAL', established in The Hague, Holland.

Account: Postbank rek.nr. 7528240

Registered: Stichtingenregister: S 41158447 Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Den Haag

Distribution

The periodical can be downloaded from the following Internet-address:

<http://www.federatio.org/joes.html>

If you wish to subscribe to the email mailing list, you can do it by sending an email to the following address:

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The publisher has no financial sources. It is supported by many in the form of voluntary work and gifts. We kindly appreciate your gifts.

Address

The Editors and the Publisher can be contacted at the following addresses:

Email: mikes_int@federatio.org

Postal address: P.O. Box 10249, 2501 HE, Den Haag, Holland

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ISSN 1877-4199

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3. References must be uniform and clear (the author(s) should follow consistently a particular pattern, like Chicago style, or Harvard style),
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DEAR READER,

WHAT OBITUARIES DO REVEAL

One naïvely might assume that obituaries are about the deceased. In fact they reflect others' perceptions of the deceased person in question instead of an in-depth knowledge of their personality and œuvre.

Gore Vidal passed away on the 31st of July this year. During his relatively long life he produced a very rich and versatile artistic output. He was also the *enfant terrible* of the American political establishment, a key figure of civic life in the US, both in writing and in live media appearances. Next to this, his countless essays and his two excellent memoirs provide an unparalleled insight into his thinking and character. Based on this one would assume that those who wrote an obituary on this occasion had plenty of time to prepare such a writing and provide a full picture.

Browsing through the obituaries published in the mainstream media, those who know his *complete* œuvre get a very strange feeling: while some obituary writers emphasize his public life in politics and arts, others his groundbreaking novels tackling homosexuality, his screenplays or his great essayist talent, his literary historian work is just mentioned *en passant* and out of context. As I mentioned previously, Gore Vidal was a formidably versatile person, hence it is really difficult to mention every facet of his life and work. Therefore an obituary should focus on the *core* of a person's œuvre. While his public life was of great importance, likewise his essays, screenplays and literary novels, these alone would not, in my view, guarantee him a place in mankind's intellectual Walhalla.

The literary historic novels constitute the core of Gore Vidal's œuvre. He was a literary historian *par excellence*. His seven volumes series on American history is insurmountable. His other works like *Julian* are also of the greatest quality. But the crown jewel of his whole life is *Creation*, a fictional travel story of an Achaemenid Persian diplomat in the 5th century BCE, who over the course of his travels meets the main sages of this very important period, including Zoroaster, Socrates, the Buddha, Mahavira, Lao Tsu, and Confucius, and discusses with them the deepest philosophical questions. A *real tour de force*; if one were allowed to take only one book of Gore Vidal to an uninhabited island, this should be the one. Needless to say, none of the obituaries I looked at even mentioned this book. And this is quite a pity, because such an event provides a unique opportunity to draw the attention of the general public to the real jewels of mankind's intellectual treasury.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, September 30, 2012

HISTORY

VERMAN, Sanghamitra Rai

**Trade and Religion:
Trade and Its Role in the Spread of Buddhism in China from India.
(1st to 6th Century C.E.)**

Abstract

Trade played an important role in the cultural and religious exchanges between India and China since ancient times. This paper highlights the role of the trans-continental trade of luxury items in the spread of Buddhism in China from India en-route Central Asia during the 1st to 6th century CE.

Several diverse factors, like development of the Mahayana School of Buddhism, economic prosperity in North India under the Kushana rule, huge support of the *Kshatriyas* (ruling class) and the *Vanikas* (trading class) towards the Buddhist monks, led to the development of flourishing inter-continental trade, which gradually paved the way towards greater religious and cultural exchanges between India and China.

There was also a gradual transformation in the pattern of the Buddhist worship and donation. Luxury items became an integral part of the Buddhist worship which enlarged its market as well as its demand. There was also the development of a new commercial ethos in the Buddhist theology, which gave more impetus to donate.

Lord Buddha was commenced to be worshiped as a deity by seven precious items or the *Sapta Ratna*, all consisting of luxury items. Eventually, these luxury items became the austere symbol of Buddhist worship.

This paper, based on literary, archeological and epigraphic records, will highlight how the trade of luxury items played a significant role in the process of dissemination of Buddhism in the land of the Dragons from India.

Key Words: Oriental Trade, China, Buddhism, Religion, *Sapta Ratna*.

— — —

India's relation with the western world and her eastern neighbor is rooted in antiquity. India's geographical location is conducive towards the development of commercial and cultural communication with both worlds. Placed in the heart of Asia at the crossroads between the Mediterranean and the Mesopotamian world and the Far East, India was in a position to pull extensive overland and sea routes

to reach far flung regions of the occident and the orient. Although initial inter-course was inspired by commercial enterprise, the contacts soon took the color of cultural and religious exchanges.

The Indo-Roman Trade

The ancient international commercial traffic connecting China up to the Mediterranean via the Indian subcontinent through trans-Eurasian routes started much before the Christian era. This ancient trading network did not consist of a single route but it had multiple bifurcations. It mainly started from China and proceeded westward through Central Asia, Persia and Iraq up to the Mediterranean coast. Indian traders not only followed the trans-Asian highway but also the maritime trade routes connected with various Indian ports. These overland and maritime routes were essentially travelled by caravans and traders but eventually it turned into a road for the spread of the Buddhism. Interestingly, this particular route was discovered by wandering Buddhist monks to propagate the gospel of Buddhism in China en route Central Asia through which it found its way to further East; towards Japan, Korea and South East Asia, to embrace the half of world population with the Buddhist philosophy. However, according to some scholars it could not spread in the Western world because of the dominating orthodox Zoroastrianism in Persia.

Indo-Roman trade was carried out between India and the Roman world mainly through Arabian middlemen. Regular trade dates back to 27 BCE during the reign of Augustus¹. The Indo-Roman trade got a boost with the discovery of the monsoon winds on the Arabian Sea, probably by a navigator named Hippalus in the 1st century C.E. It is not sure clear whether Hippalus himself discovered the monsoon winds or he learned about them from the Arabs sailors².

The route that the Egyptian-Greek ships mainly followed was from the Red Sea to the Arabian Sea. From there they reached sea ports along the Indian coastline extending from the Indus River to the Malabar Coast. The two important North Indian ports were Barbaricon and Barygaza. Barbaricon was connected with Punjab and Gandhara through the routes along the Indus River. Barygaza was linked with Ujjain, Mathura, North West India and with Deccan via the ancient routes passing through Sopara and Kaliyana along the coast which extended up to South East India along the Godavari and Bhima valleys. From the Malabar Coast Roman ships departed for the South East.

Through Barygaza and Barbaricon, Roman traders brought gold and silver coins, silver wares, coral, wine, sweet clover and perfumes from Italy and other Mediterranean countries. Styrax, glass and clothing were coming from Egypt. Wine, chrysoliths or probably topaz, dates, myrobalan (used as herbal medicine), red ointment (used as a cosmetic), frankincense³ (a kind of aromatic resin) from the Persian

¹ Eric Herbert Warmington: *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. Cambridge. 1928.

² *Pliny's Natural History*, Chapter 1.19. Pliny has stressed on the importance of winds in the sea trade. Pliny stated that if they start sailing before the Ides of January, then they can complete their voyage within one year. Pliny emphasised on the Hippalus winds for voyages to India. And while coming back sailors took the help of South East winds (probably retreating monsoon winds) and on entering the Red sea they used to catch the South West winds or the Southern winds.

³ Hirth, Friedrich: *China and the Roman Oriental*. Shanghai & Hongkong, 1985, p. 266.

Gulf and Red Sea and colorful girdles of no specific origin⁴ was brought to India. Business was carried out with the exchange of gold and silver coins with local currencies⁵. Frankincense and Styrax (kind of fragrances) reached China through Central Asia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.⁶

Chinese silk and expensive animal hides came to India via Central Asia⁷. Indian products mainly comprised of indigo, ivory, myrrh (used as medicine, perfume and incense) and long pepper⁸. Other products were bdellium (a kind of fragrant resin gum), lyceum (rich in anti-oxidants and used in medicine) and spikenard (used as essential oil, perfumes, and sedative and also as herbal medicine) from Himalayan foothills, costus (also known as spiral ginger, an aromatic plant used as incense and as herbal medicine) from Kashmir, turquoise from Hindukush and lapis lazuli from Badakhshan.⁹ Thus trade links were established from North-West India and it spread towards the West, as well as South Asia and the Far East.

Symbols of Cultural Interactions

The Indo-Roman trading exchanges not only contributed towards economic prosperity but it led to cultural and religious exchanges. It helped the crystallization of new form of art and architecture which has been manifested in various parts of Asia. A large number of silk relics, dated 5th century CE has been discovered from various places in and around the Silk Road, suggesting that the silk merchants must have used silk items as gifts and protection duty to various administrative officials and agents.

A close analysis of the textile patterns indicate the process of cultural interaction. Initially in Chinese textiles auspicious animals like tiger, deer and other Chinese symbols dominated the pattern scheme. With the spread of Buddhism, Indian motifs like elephants, peacock, lion, and Bodhi tree were introduced into textile designs. From the fragments of clothes found in Central Asia, dated 5th and 6th century shows that the Indian designs started to dominate the scene¹⁰.

The Central Asian influence resulted in the introduction of new motifs in contrast to lively and floating Han motifs. Comparatively stiff Persian motifs also appear in clothes suggesting cultural interaction;¹¹ like formation of large circles followed by smaller circles with an animal motif inside. This attitude towards flexibility and absorption of different elements is a pointer to cultural exchanges. In the Indian context, multifarious motifs were also harmoniously blended and it added a new dimension to the textile design pattern in ancient India.

⁴ Warmington, *Ibid*, p. 261-272; Schoff, W.H (trans.): *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, New York, 1912. P.167; Pliny, *Ibid*, XXXII, 11.

⁵ *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 49.

⁶ San-kuo Chih: XXX, 861; Hirth, *ibid*, 266 ff.

⁷ Pliny : XXXIV, 41; XXXVII, 78.

⁸ Pliny, XXXVII, 23; Warmington, *Ibid*, p.200 ; Periplus, 39,48,49.

⁹ Warmington, *Ibid*, p.201,255; Periplus: 39, 48, 49.

¹⁰ Liu Xinru: *Ancient India and Ancient China*, New Delhi, 1988. p. 75.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 72.

Cultural influences were also found in paintings of the Tun Huang or Dunhuang caves¹² situated in Gansu province, China. Dunhuang was a halting station for merchants and caravans who were journeying to and from China. Dunhuang eventually became a great centre of Buddhist culture. The merchants paid the craftsmen and artists to paint scenes and carve statues from the life of the Buddha as their offering for safe journey. It was also patronized by the royal dignitaries of China. Here manuscripts in Brahmi, Kharosthi, Persian, Tibetan, Turkish and other Central Asian languages and script have been discovered which throws light on the variety of people who passed through this route¹³. The art of Dunhuang cave is an expression of unique admixture of various art forms, viz. Ajanta paintings, Roman, Greek and Persian elements blended in harmony and thereby gave scope for each culture to expand on its own way.

Factors Leading to Changes in the Pattern of Worship

The Economic Prosperity and Cosmopolitan Culture of the Kushanas

The period between the 1st to 3rd century CE in North India is marked by the rule of the Kushanas. The Kushana economy was predominantly urban and largely dependent on trade and commerce. Commercial environment led to the growth of cities and urban culture. Kushanas were spread up to the western part of Central Asia, Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan. It essentially possessed a cosmopolitan culture with various ethnic and cultural groups of different lifestyles, subsisting at different level of production. This unusual unification as well as the commercial exchanges of the contemporary period led to the amalgamation of cultural, ideological and religious ideas through a vast region, extending from East Asia to the border of Europe¹⁴.

Mahayana Buddhism

In the early Christian era, Mahayana Buddhism was introduced in India and Buddhism underwent a series of ideological and institutional changes. The Mahayana Buddhism introduced an entire new pantheon of Buddhist worship. They started to worship Lord Buddha as a deity. Buddha was worshipped as Bodhisatva, Amitabha, Avalokiteshvara and as other deities. Many of these deities carved out a piece of heaven for themselves in this newly formed Buddhist cosmology. Interestingly, this new

¹² The Dunhuang caves are also known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, strategically located at religious and cultural crossroads on the Silk Road. The cave contains some of the finest examples of Buddhist art spanning a period of 1,000 years. It has 492 temples and beautiful sculptures and paintings.

¹³ Liu Xinru: *op. cit.* p. 43.

¹⁴ Numismatic sources of this period also corroborates to the cosmopolitan culture of the Kushana period. Coins with different motifs and bilingual legends (in Greek and Prakrit) testify to the religious tolerance of the Kushana kings which was indeed needed in order to facilitate commercial exchanges with culturally diverse countries.

cosmos of Buddhist pantheon lay **less stress in achieving the abstract state of nirvana** and more on improving one's material condition and status in the present and next life cycles. Gradually, donations became very important in Buddhist worship.

Analysis of Contemporary Literature

These ideological changes in the Buddhist theology can be traced by closely examining some of literary sources of this period, like, the *Milindapanha* (Questions of King Milinda), the *Buddhacarita* (The Life of the Buddha), *Saundarananda* (The Story of Saundarananda), the *Mahavastu* (The Great Event), the *Saddharmapundarika* (The Lotus Sutra) and the *Sukhavativyuha* (The Land of Bliss). From a close scrutiny of these texts we can trace how Lord Buddha had eventually and very meticulously evolved as a deity from a mere prince. The contradictions in the mind of lay Buddhists had been clearly manifested in the above mentioned books.

The book, *Milindapanha* or the questions of *Milinda* or Menander¹⁵, reflects the doubts in the minds of Buddhists in that period. The existing contradictions were between the Buddha's personal life, his sufferings as recorded in the Pali texts and his divinity. How Buddha could suffer if Buddha has committed no sins in his former life and then what is the connection leading a pious life and achieving Karma?

The dual trend of divinizing the Buddha and the increasing effort to attract lay devotees emerges more clearly in Asvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*. This book meets the need of a biography of the newly divinised Buddha. This Pali text shows the historical transition of a prince to the Buddhahood and this divine Buddha has tremendous miraculous powers which he willingly displays in order to convince people about his enlightenment.

The *Mahavastu* takes a step forward and introduces the concept of the eternal Buddha. The idea is that numerous Buddhas deriving from this eternal Buddha who appear periodically in this world to help their followers to get rid of the sufferings and this idea consolidates into a rich Buddhist mythology.

The concept of Bodhisattva reaches full maturity in the *Saddharmapuddarika* (the Lotus Sutra). The Lotus Sutra was first translated by Dharmaraksha in the Western Chin and gradually became very popular in both China and Japan. The first part of the book emphasizes the idea that the wisdom of the Buddha is very hard to attain and that only Buddha knows all. No human being but only Buddha can attain true knowledge. The Lotus Sutra then gives importance to the supernatural power. The *Saddharmapundarika* not only gives examples of conversion through magic power,¹⁶ it also provides talismanic charms that protect those who recite the sutras¹⁷ (XXI Trans. pp. 371,372,374). Interestingly, the text coincides with the practice of burying relic caskets with jewels in North India and pre-dates the

¹⁵ The Greek king, Menander ruled in Bactria and some parts of N. India during 2nd. Cen. B.C.E.

¹⁶ *Saddharmapundarika* , VII 97, Trans. pp. 421-2.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, XXI Trans. pp. 371, 372, 37.

same practice in North China. If the Lotus Sutra had influenced votary movement in North India then it may have also inspired the Chinese counterpart several centuries later.

Another supplementary text to the Buddhist cosmology was the *Sukhavativyuha* (Land of Bliss). This text gives description of the land of bliss in the western heaven. The simplicity of this text made it accessible to the ordinary devotees. The theory of this utopian land often drew their inspiration from long distance trade and foreign travels. This particular text depicts that enlightenment is often beyond human understanding and difficult to attain. Thus it emphasizes worship and donation which shorten and simplify the process of accumulating merit.

Increasing Emphasis on Worship and Donation

Consequently, the Buddhist literature increasingly emphasized worship and donation, which ultimately became the major route to enlightenment. In early Pali Buddhist texts we find patrons providing Buddhist devotees with food and lodging. But in later texts there was a shift in emphasis from food, lodging towards donation of immovables, such as stupa and monastery buildings along with luxury goods (mainly comprised of luxury trading commodities).

An analysis of these Buddhist texts reveals that the urban prosperity and flourishing trade brought about changes in the pattern of the Buddhist worship and donation. With the changes in the pattern of worship there was also noticeable change in the value of property in the society. Luxury items became integral part of the Buddhist worship which enlarged its market as well as its demand. Traders, artisans and other urban dwellers donated handsomely to the Buddhist monasteries and thereby contributed to their expansion. Apart from fooding and lodging, the Buddhist monasteries may as well provided with banking services for the merchants in the Kushana period¹⁸. The new commercial ethos in the Buddhist theology gave more impetus to donate. The monks were no longer going out individually with their begging bowls for daily food. A giant stone symbolic of a begging bowl placed in front of a monastery of Mathura testify to the transformation of financial transactions between lay devotees and Buddhist institutions¹⁹.

Gradually, the concept of seven treasures came up in the Buddhist ideology and donation of luxury items became an integral part of the Buddhist worship. Contemporary Buddhism believed that the Lord Buddha could save a person through the merit he has accumulated. This merit can be accumulated through donations, thus it can be exchanged or transferred like goods. However, this kind of ideological change prompted some kind of institutional changes in the Buddhist monasteries. And this changing scenario created new dimension in the relationship among sovereigns, lay devotees and the Buddhist Sanghas.

¹⁸ Xinru Liu: *Ancient India and Ancient China*, New Delhi, 1988. P.121.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 10.

Development of the Concept of Seven Treasures or the Sapta Ratna

The traditional Buddhist concept of *sapta ratna* may have been derived from the *Mahavastu*. According to *Mahavastu*, the worship and patronage of Buddha cannot be conducted without certain material commodities and worship with precious material would yield tangible benefits. According to this book, the king who builds a palace of precious materials has full right to claim Buddhahood by virtue of merit. The *Mahavastu* repeatedly mentions specific list of items, like *Suvarna* (gold), *rupya* (silver), *vaidurya* (lapis lazuli), *sphatika* (crystal or quartz), *mukta* (pearl), *lohitika* (red coral or red precious stone), *musaragalva* (ammonite, agate or a kind of coral) and silk. The components of *sapta ratna* were thus fixed in the *Mahavastu*; only minor changes came in this list in the later Buddhist texts.

Pearl has been omitted from the list and two other treasures have been incorporated; they were *rohitamukti* (red pearl or rubies or carnelian or red precious stones) and *asmagarbha* (amber, coral, diamond or emerald). While the translation of *suvarna*, *rupya*, *vaidurya*, *sphatika* and *mukta* are certain, others are open to interpretation. Interestingly, sacred *sapta ratna* mainly consists of important Indian exports to China and on the other hand, silk was the chief Indian import from China.

Gradually, seven treasures evolved as a symbol of collection of best substances of this and other world, thus it became a standard formula in Buddhist worship. A stone casket found in a stupa chamber of Kalawan, Taxila, provides a good sample of how the *sapta ratna* was embodied among Buddhists in the Kushana period. This collection includes gold sheets and discs, silver sheets and discs, a piece of quartz, crystal beads, a beryl bead (a kind of gem stone) which is green, green glass beads, a piece of garnet which is red, pearls, a piece of turquoise, and bones as relics of Buddha. Thus, the donor was quite successful in attaining the requirements of the *sapta ratna*²⁰.

However, silk was an integral part of the Buddhist worship. Silk was widely used as banner and draped over the stupas. *Mahavastu* also repeatedly mentions the worshipping of the Buddha with silk banners. Worshipping with silk ensures prosperity, material gain and a higher status. The promise of this kind certainly encouraged the laity to decorate the stupas with thousands of silk banners²¹. A piece of silk found in a Buddhist relic casket dated to the early centuries of Christian era in Nagara is an evidence of the role of silk in Buddhist rituals²².

The *Saddharmapundarika* (the Lotus Sutra) mentions the worshipping of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas with flowers, incense, garlands, ointments, powder, clothes, necklaces, gems, jewels and as well as with canopies, flags and banners of silk²³.

²⁰ Marshall, Sir John Hubert, *Taxila*, 1951, 1, 327.

²¹ *Saddharmapundarika*, XXII-2, Trans. pp. 382-3.

²² Mehta, R.N & S.N.Chowdhury: Excavations at Devnimori. Baroda. 1966. P. 186.

²³ *Ibid*, X-1, Trans. p.215; 15-16; XI 66-7; XXII 2, Trans. p.389).

Traders and Merchants as Great Patrons of Buddhism

According to James Heitzman, the spread of Buddhist monasteries was intimately connected with urban settlements, trade routes and imperial domains. The distribution of monastic sites during the 1st to 3rd century CE closely follows the trade routes and urban centres.

Buddhist monastic sites have been recovered from ancient urban centres, like Kapisi (Begram), Taxila, Kausambi, Mathura, Sanchi, and Sopara. Himanshu Prabha Ray convincingly demonstrates that the survival of the Buddhist monasteries in Deccan depended on the trade routes²⁴. Monastic sites of Junnar and Hadda in Afghanistan were also associated with caravanserais²⁵.

Buddhist institutions were not only directly related with trade and trade routes but had close ties with the trading community. In the Buddhist texts we find Buddha addressing the audience as *kulaputra* or *kulaputta* (in Pali) meaning sons of good families. In Buddhist literature *Kulaputta* or sons of good families either belonged to Kshatriyas (warriors) or Vanikas (traders)²⁶. Activities of the rich merchants and their patronage towards Buddhism was one of the favourite topics of Buddhist literature. The story of the first two lay followers (both were traders) who gave alms to the Buddha soon after his Enlightenment appears many times in Pali literature. We find almost the same repetition in the *Mahavastu*, *Buddhacarita*. In the *Milindapanha* (I, 33), *Nagasena* receives the patronage of a merchant on his way to *Pataliputra* to improve his knowledge of Buddhism. *Nagasena* also uses series of similes related to ships to explain Buddhist doctrines²⁷.

The Roman traders mainly came from eastern provinces, they were mostly Egyptian Greeks. These traders made donations in Mathura, Taxila; they had even constructed a sphinx in Karle²⁸. Kosambi argues that the structure of some of the Western Indian viharas indicates that certain cells were used as treasuries²⁹. The institutional changes of the monasteries during the Kushana period made monasteries to act as financial agents, at least for their own holdings.

Cosmopolitan Nature of Buddhism

The landscape of the Buddhist literature expanded with the development of long-distance trade. They mention Shakas, Greeks, China, Alexandria, Koshala, Kashmir, Gandhara, Ujjain, Benares, Bharukaccha

²⁴ Ray Himanshu Prabha: *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Satavahanas*. Delhi. 1986. Monasteries were located on the important points of the trade routes. The silting of the port of Sopara towards the end of the Satavahana period and the resulting disuse of the Nana Ghat routes linking Junnar to Sopara caused the desertion of the large monastic complex at Junnar.

²⁵ Dupre, L.: *Shamshir-Ghar: Historic Cave Site in Kandahar Province, Afghanistan*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 46. Part II.

²⁶ Andersen, Dines: *A Pali Reader*. Copenhagen. 1917. II, 79.

²⁷ *Milindapanha*, VII, 4.

²⁸ Andersen, Dines: *A Pali Reader*. Copenhagen. 1917. II, 79.

²⁹ *Milindapanha*, VII, 4.

(Barygaza), etc.³⁰ We find many descriptions of sea voyages in the Buddhist texts. Rich merchants were either maritime traders or caravan leaders.

Buddhism, being a cosmopolitan religion, attracted devotees from various countries. We find epigraphical records about donors from Iran³¹, Greece³² and Bactria³³.

Buddhism in China

When and how Buddhism reached China is a topic of debate for both Buddhists as well as scholars. E. Zurcher has pointed out that it is difficult to find out exactly when the Chinese came in contact with Buddhism. Initially Buddhism was practised along with Taoism in China but it was during the reign of the Emperor Ming of the Later Han (A.D 58-75) who after dreaming of a golden image of the Buddha³⁴ sent envoys to the Yueh-chih (Kushanas). Zurcher points out that Buddhism started to spread in China from the first half of the 1st century BCE and the middle of the 1st century CE. The Parthians, Yueh Chih (Kushanas) and Indians were following the Central Asian route and were entering China.

Old Chinese texts testify for a close contact between Buddhist missionaries and merchants. Facing the anti-commercial Han government and treacherous political situation, the traders' diaspora in China naturally rallied around the doctrine of Buddhism. The Central Asian traditions³⁵ suggest that the Buddhist missionaries were companions of traders travelling on the trade routes between India and China. Pilgrims were accompanied by merchants; they travelled in the caravans along the perilous Central Asian routes or navigated on the high seas and this increased their hazards; there was always the danger of robbers and pirates. Pilgrims and preachers thus also functioned as agents of transactions by carrying goods; like silk, Buddhist texts, relics, etc. to pay for their travel costs, to win patronage and to receive hospitality³⁶.

Consolidation of Buddhism in China

From the 1st to 6th century CE contact between India and China intensified. Buddhist institutions and preaching activities in Northern China developed along the model of earliest Buddhist Sangha. The Northern Wei dynasty unified North China in 439 CE. On the other hand, there was a harmonious relationship between monks and the sovereign. Buddhist institutions were becoming more consolidated. Monasteries with royal patronage and financial stability were taking strong roots in the Chinese society.

³⁰ Ibid, IV, 8,88 ; V, 4.

³¹ Luders, Heinrich: Mathura Inscriptions. Gottingen. 1961. 91-2.

³² Konow, Sten: Kharosthi Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Asoka. Calcutta. 1929. 98, XXXVII, No.2.

³³ Ibid, Bahaliena Inscriptions; 77, XXVII.

³⁴ Zurcher, E: The Buddhist Conquest of China. Leiden. 1959. P. 19-22.

³⁵ Yang Hsuan-chih, Loyang Chieh-lan Chi: V,271.

³⁶ Liu Xinru: Silk and Religion. Delhi, 1996.

Emperors and empress-Dowagers patronised Buddhism mainly by building monasteries and conducting ceremonies. *Fa-hsien* on his way back to China from India visited Sri Lanka and from there he brought *Mahasanghika-Vinaya* (the monastic rules of the Mahasanghika Sect). The Monastic Rules of the *Mahasanghika Sect* (*Seng-chih-lu*) became the monastic code of the Northern Wei monks³⁷. Monasteries also acquired landed property.

The Northern Wei rulers were gradually entering into deeper relation with monasteries which helped the latter to emerge as a stronger institution in society. The Northern Wei rulers claimed legitimacy from Buddhist monks and thereby they invested more resources in the religious institutions, as evident from the increase in the monastery building activities. Conducting rituals and encouraging donations were the major forms of preaching activities of Northern Wei Buddhism. Various Buddhist texts composed during the Kushana period were translated into Chinese by the 5th century CE. The list includes *Milindapanha*, *the Buddhacarita*, the *Saddharmapundarika* and *Sukhavativyuha* (The Land of Bliss). Even motifs from the Lotus Sutra appear in the caves of both Yun-Kang near Ping-ch'eng and Lungmen near Loyang³⁸.

The concept of rebirth and transferring merit to one's next life became so deeply rooted in the minds of the Chinese that religious services for the souls of the dead, as well as for future lives of the living became increasingly necessary. Thus the Buddhists funeral ceremony is not the occasion to mourn but to send the loved ones to other state of being, ranging from being tortured in hell or to be born as animals or to the better outcome of enjoying heaven as a deity or to the best state of reaching nirvana. We also find various depictions of life after death, especially the scene of various Buddhist heavens, in the sculptures made by the Chinese artists on the cave paintings, stupas, etc.

With the support of political authority, Buddhist monasteries in Northern Wei China were actively participating in economic production as well as in commercial activities. Buddhist monasteries thus not only emerged as a religious institution surviving under royal patronage but also as an ideological and social system assisting in perpetuating the rule of the sovereign. Thus, Buddhism in Post-Han Northern China emerged as a strong social institution which managed to survive numerous disasters through many dynasties and ultimately came to survive even longer than its Indian counterpart.

Conclusion

A close scrutiny of the spread of Buddhism in China from India through trans-continental trade routes is a fascinating study because it gives an insight into our past and thereby helps us to search our roots and to locate how our cultural identity has evolved through ages. This study reveals that there has been an inter-twining of some of the important historical processes; viz. long-distance trade, urbanization, evolution of Buddhist theology and spread of Buddhism in China from India.

This trans-continental trade not only created a situation where trade and commerce prospered but it led to the religious and cultural interaction between a vast geographical area. Trade also infused commercial values in Buddhism which led to the crystallisation of the concept of *sapta ratna* donations.

³⁷ *Wei-shu*: CXIV, 3031.

³⁸ Tsukamoto, Zenryu: *Study on Chinese Buddhist History*, Northern Wei Period, Tokyo, 1944. p. 525.

The concept of seven treasures or *sapta ratna* constitutes a solid evidence of ideological and economic paths drawing close to, or even crossing each other.

Donation of seven treasures gave a boost to the trade of luxury goods. Luxury goods on the other hand are the means of marking social disparity. Rulers from the ancient times had constantly tried to possess rare goods within and outside their domain to mark themselves off from the ruled.

The Northern Wei rulers who had just come out of their nomadic background used the Buddhist values to improve their status among their subjects and thereby to claim legitimacy for their reign. The Kushana kings, who were less enthusiastic in seeking legitimacy from Buddhism, patronized Buddhism probably because monasteries indirectly contributed to the commercial economy.

The traders, both Indian and Chinese also wanted to improve their status through their association with Buddhist monasteries because monasteries provided them with financial services and travel facilities.

With the changes in the economic situation, the popularity of donation of seven treasures also declined. In India by the end of the Gupta period, society was gradually becoming dependent on sedentary agriculture and Buddhist monasteries also started to depend more on agricultural products. In this changed scenario, lamp oil and grains became integral part of Buddhist worship. Similar kind of change in value pattern was also noticeable in North China where lamp oil in front of Buddha's image became popular from the 6th century. Though the seven treasures were still highly esteemed among Buddhist devotees, it became more or less common commodities in trade. From the 7th century onwards the Buddhist worship and the Sino-Indian cultural and religious exchanges mainly revolved around relic worship, translation of the Buddhist texts and pilgrimage.

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LINGUISTICS

ТАМБОВЦЕВ, Юрий Алексеевич**“Этнографическая криминалистика: к какому народу ближе всего венгры по данным дактилоскопии?”**

Статья исследует типологические расстояния между различными народами (например венграми) с одной стороны, и этническими группами манси и некоторыми другими народностями с другой стороны. Венгры считаются угорским народом, поэтому их объединяют обско-угорскими народами, т.е. манси и ханты. По внешнему виду венгры сильно отличаются от обско-угорских народов. В связи с этим, целью данной работы является анализ их антропологических характеристик. Расстояния основаны на дактилоскопических (дерматоглифических) характеристиках, которые обычно достаточно хорошо отражают геном. Большие этно-типологические расстояния между венграми и другими обско-угорскими народами (например, сосвинскими, вагильскими и ивдельскими манси и т.д.) показали их различное этническое происхождение. Различия генетических характеристик могут говорить и различия в артикуляционной базе. Этно-типологическое различие вызвало наличие различных диалектов. Та же тенденция прослеживается и для двух этнических групп эстонцев: выро (южные) и хаапсала (северные), хотя они составляют один народ. Две разных этнических групп ненцев вызвало два диалекта. Следовательно, этнический субстрат вызывает диалектные различия.

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

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

В процессе своего исторического развития многие народы были завоеваны другими народами. Завоеванные народы чаще всего переходили на язык завоевателей, хотя иногда происходил и

обратный процесс, т.е. завоеватели теряли свой язык и переходили на язык завоеванных ими народов. В языкознании эти два процесса известны под названием “теория субстрата и суперстрата”. При изучении разницы звуковых картин диалектов или языков важно понять, почему эти звуковые картины не похожи друг на друга. Это происходит вследствие того, что у этих этнических групп разные артикуляционные базы. Л.В. Щерба объяснял это тем, что люди начинают говорить на языке, которого они не знают. Их речевой аппарат не подготовлен к произнесению тех или иных звуков, поэтому они начинают искажать неродной язык. Это искажение происходит одинаковым образом, вследствие их артикуляционной базы (Щерба 1974: 80).

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

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

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

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

В качестве антропологического расстояния мы приводим величину коэффициента ТМВ, которая получена в результате применения критерия «хи-квадрат». Коэффициент ТМВ — это результат деления эмпирического значения статистического критерия «хи-квадрат» на его теоретическое значение в зависимости от уровня значимости и количества степеней свободы. Расстояние выражено в виде значений ТМВ и показано в таблицах.

Таб. 1

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и обско-угорские народы: манси и ханты.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — Манси вагильские	22
2.	Венгры — Манси ивдельские	101
3.	Венгры — Манси ляпинские	266
4.	Венгры — Ханты березовские	277
5.	Венгры — Манси сосвинские	278
6.	Венгры — Ханты ваховские	296

Таб. 2

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и пермские народы: коми-пермяки и коми-зыряне.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — коми-пермяки язьвинские	31
2.	Венгры — коми-зыряне мезенские	66

Таб. 3

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и волжские народы: мари и мордва.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — Мордва-мокша	11
2.	Венгры — Мари-горные (космодемьянские)	30
3.	Венгры — Мордва-эрзя	35
4.	Венгры — Мари-лутовые (звениговские)	105

Таб. 4

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и прибалтийско-финские народы: финны, эстонцы, карелы и вепсы.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — финны-киурувеси	30
2.	Венгры — финны-мюнямяки (варсинайс)	37
3.	Венгры — финны-кеуруу	55
4.	Венгры — эстонцы-хаапсалу (северные)	60
5.	Венгры — карелы-ливвики (олонецкие)	60
6.	Венгры — финны-кесялахти	92
7.	Венгры — эстонцы-выру (южные)	116
8.	Венгры — вепсы-шелтозерские	133
9.	Венгры — финны-ристины	157

Таб. 5

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и самодийские народы: ненцы, селькупы, энцы и нганасаны.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — нганасаны	69
2.	Венгры — ненцы-североямальные	131
3.	Венгры — селькупы тымские	142
4.	Венгры — ненцы-лесные (южнаямальные)	193
5.	Венгры — энцы	611

Таб. 6

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и иранские народы: иранцы, осетины, таджики, курды, талыши и белуджи.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — осетины-дигорцы	1
2.	Венгры — осетины-туальцы	19
3.	Венгры - таджики	73
4.	Венгры — осетины-иронцы	81

5.	Венгры — иранцы прикаспийские	105
6.	Венгры — талыши	132
7.	Венгры - белуджи	196
8.	Венгры — курды	258

Таб. 7

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и некоторые кавказские народы.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — удины (лезгины Дагестана)	8
2.	Венгры — черкесы (адыги)	13
3.	Венгры — кабардинцы (адыги)	22

Таб. 8

Расстояния по некоторым дерматоглифическим (дактилоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Венгры Мукачево (150 человек) и тюркские народы.

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Венгры — чувашаи	4
2.	Венгры — татары-казанские	26
3.	Венгры — татары-белорусские	44
4.	Венгры — сагайцы (хакасы)	54
5.	Венгры — качинцы (хакасы)	65
6.	Венгры — теленгеты (Алтай)	71
7.	Венгры — балкарцы (кавказские)	74
8.	Венгры — челканцы (Алтай)	87
9.	Венгры — карачаевцы (Кавказ)	91
10.	Венгры — ногайцы	96
11.	Венгры — кумыки (Кавказ)	96
12.	Венгры — караимы (тюркоязычные евреи Крыма)	132
13.	Венгры — узбеки	136
14.	Венгры — бельтыры (хакасы)	154
15.	Венгры — кумандинцы (Алтай)	159
16.	Венгры — киргизы	162

17.	Венгры — туркмены	170
18.	Венгры — уйгуры	172
19.	Венгры — азербайджанцы-закаталы	186
20.	Венгры — казахи	220
21.	Венгры — каракалпаки	240
22.	Венгры — тубалары (Алтай)	242
23.	Венгры — алтай-кижи	271
24.	Венгры — шорцы (Алтай)	284
25.	Венгры — якуты	357
26.	Венгры — долганы (северные якуты)	649

Таб. 9

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

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

Расстояние, которое выражено в значениях коэффициента ТМВ, показывает, что венгры довольно далеко отстоят от обско-угорских народов (манси и ханты). Ближе всего расположены к венграм вагильские манси со значением ТМВ=22. Дальше всего — ваховские ханты ТМВ=296 (Таб. 1). В тоже время, пермские народы несколько ближе к венграм (Таб.2). Еще большую близость к венграм показывают волжские народы (Таб.3). Так, мордва-мокша показывает ТМВ=11. Прибалтийско-финские народы имеют большие расстояния по ТМВ (Таб. 4). Данные по дактилоскопии мужчин-венгров не говорят об их близости к самодийским народам (Таб. 5). Наибольшую близость по дактилоскопическим характеристикам венгры показывают по отношению к осетинам-дигорцам (ТМВ=1), что говорит о пребывании предков венгров на Кавказе (Таб.6). О пребывании венгров на Кавказе говорит и их близость к удицам, которые проживают в Дагестане (Таб.7). Близость венгров к чувашам, которые в своем субстрате имеют волжских булгар, доказывается величиной ТМВ=4 (Таб.8). Проживание венгров на Волге подтверждается историческими фактами, чего нельзя утверждать в отношении обско-угорских народов.

Таб.9 показывает, что сосвинские манси по своему генотипу ближе всего к ляпинским манси (13,43). Достаточно неожиданно сосвинские манси показывают свою близость к южноямальским ненцам (17,67) и к тымским селькупам (49,47), но не к другим группам манси. Сосвинские манси достаточно далеко отстоят от ивдельских манси (64,11) или вагильских манси (160,14). Разница по этническому происхождению может объяснить и разницу в мансийских диалектах. По генотипу сосвинские манси также далеко отстоят и от венгров (278,25). Вероятно, на близость по генотипу сосвинских манси к таким группам самодийцев как тымские селькупы и лесные (южноямальские) ненцы повлияло то, что они имели интенсивные контакты с этими этносами в процессе своего исторического развития.

Таб. 10

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

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Манси вагильские — мари горные (космодемьянские)	21,05
2.	Манси вагильские – венгры (Мукачево)	22,49
3.	Манси вагильские — финны кокемяки	31,08
4.	Манси вагильские — мари луговые (звениговские)	33,40
5.	Манси вагильские — мордва мокша	34,35
6.	Манси вагильские — финны куриikki	36,94
7.	Манси вагильские — манси ивдельские	37,19
8.	Манси вагильские — коми-пермяки зюздинские (Пермск.)	40,65
9.	Манси вагильские — финны хаухо	58,42
10.	Манси вагильские — селькупы тымские	67,81

11.	Манси вагильские — финны улиторио	68,57
12.	Манси вагильские — саамы (лопари)	68,65
13.	Манси вагильские — финны киурувеси	71,14
14.	Манси вагильские — финны салла (Похъяимаа. Юго-зап.)	73,10
15.	Манси вагильские — эстонцы хаапсалу (северные)	74,65
16.	Манси вагильские — ненцы южнаямальские	92,07
17.	Манси вагильские — финны мюнямяки (варсинайс-суоми)	98,96
18.	Манси вагильские — коми-пермяки язвинские	103,28
19.	Манси вагильские — мордва эрзя	109,92
20.	Манси вагильские — финны кеуруу	114,13
21.	Манси вагильские — карелы ливвики (олонецкие)	117,80
22.	Манси вагильские — русские (Архангельская Обл.)	130,02
23.	Манси вагильские — финны кесялахти	138,89
24.	Манси вагильские — коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	153,75
25.	Манси вагильские — ханты березовские (Полноват)	154,27
26.	Манси вагильские — финны аскола	160,00
27.	Манси вагильские – манси сосьвинские	160,14
28.	Манси вагильские – манси ляпинские	163,56
29.	Манси вагильские – Выру (южные эстонцы)	176,87
30.	Манси вагильские — ханты ваховские (сургутские)	177,47
31.	Манси вагильские — вепсы шелтозерские (прионежские)	182, 96
32.	Манси вагильские — финны ристины	277,33
33.	Манси вагильские — энцы	437,28
34.	Манси вагильские — нганасаны	474,53

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

Таб. 11

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

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Манси ивдельские – селькупы тымские	5,20
2.	Манси ивдельские – ненцы южнаямалыские	21,27
3.	Манси ивдельские – ненцы североямалыские	25,72
4.	Манси ивдельские – манси вагильские	37,19
5.	Манси ивдельские – мари горные (космодемьянские)	46,37
6.	Манси ивдельские – саамы (лопари) финские	54,98
7.	Манси ивдельские – манси сосвинские	64,11
8.	Манси ивдельские – финны кокемяки	81,18
9.	Манси ивдельские – ханты березовские	83,39
10.	Манси ивдельские – финны курилки	90,57
11.	Манси ивдельские – финны салла (с.Похъяймаа. Юго-зап.)	90,62
12.	Манси ивдельские – мордва мокша	99,51
13.	Манси ивдельские – венгры мукачевские	101,50
14.	Манси ивдельские – финны хауха	100,92
15.	Манси ивдельские – финны улиторио	109,97
16.	Манси ивдельские – ханты ваховские	128,12
17.	Манси ивдельские – коми-пермяки зюздинские	140,08
18.	Манси ивдельские – финны киурувеси	151,47
19.	Манси ивдельские – финны мюнямяки. Варсиайс-Суоми	200,68
20.	Манси ивдельские – финны кесялахти	204,03
21.	Манси ивдельские – финны кеуруу	207,47
22.	Манси ивдельские – коми-пермяки (язвинские)	222,76
23.	Манси ивдельские – мордва эрзя	239,75
24.	Манси ивдельские – финны аскола	254,81
25.	Манси ивдельские – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	281,88
26.	Манси ивдельские – энцы	293,400
27.	Манси ивдельские – нганасаны	332,89
28.	Манси ивдельские – финны рститины	439,70

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

Таб. 12

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

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Юлиторнио	4,90
2.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Хаухо	5,53
3.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Кокемяки	15,16
4.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Курикки	16,16
5.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – мордва-мокша	22,20
6.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Киурувеси	23,65
7.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Кесялахти	23,69
8.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – мари космодемьянские	24,57
9.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – карелы ливвиковские (олонецкие)	26,18
10.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – вепсы шелтозерские	31,32
11.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Кеуруу	36,70
12.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – эстонцы Выру	44,01
13.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Мюнямяки	46,37
14.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Асколы	49,90
15.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Саллы	54,80
16.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – венгры мукачевские	60,15
17.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси вагильские (западные)	74,65
18.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – ненцы североямальные	84,85
19.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-пермяки язвинские	84,98
20.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	91,10
21.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-зыряне ижемские	92,13
22.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси ивдельские (западные)	100,79
23.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – мордва-эрзя	105,19
24.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – селькупы тымские	122,84
25.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-пермяки зюздинские	123,85
26.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – финны Ристийны	183,82
27.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси ляпинские	217,70

28.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – саамы Финляндии	249,38
29.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – манси сосьвинские	265,47
30.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – ханты ваховские	414,16
31.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – энцы	678,04
32.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – нганасаны	737,43

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

Таб. 13

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

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние
1.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Кесялахти	3,28
2.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Асколы	3,89
3.	Эстонцы Выру – вепсы шелтозерские (прионежские)	7,67
4.	Эстонцы Выру – карелы-ливвики (олонецкие)	13,60
5.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Кеуруу	14,17
6.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Киурувеси	29,54
7.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Мюнямяки	32,71
8.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Юлиторнио	33,47
9.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Хаухо	38,81
10.	Эстонцы Выру – эстонцы Хаапсалу (северные эстонцы)	44,01
11.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	50,22
12.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Куриikki	55,09
13.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Кокемяки	62,35
14.	Эстонцы Выру – мордва-мокша	62,76
15.	Эстонцы Выру – латыши Кулдиги	78,55

16.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-пермяки язвинские	80,69
17.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Ристины	85,93
18.	Эстонцы Выру – мари космодемьянские (горные)	93,07
19.	Эстонцы Выру – мордва-эрзя	96,18
20.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-зыряне ижемские	107,58
21.	Эстонцы Выру – венгры	116,36
22.	Эстонцы Выру – русские (Старая Русса Новгород. обл.)	121,79
23.	Эстонцы Выру – литовцы-жемайты (западные)	167,74
24.	Эстонцы Выру – финны Саллы (юго-западные)	173,83
25.	Эстонцы Выру – манси вагильские (западные)	176,67
26.	Эстонцы Выру – латыши Резекне	182,19
27.	Эстонцы Выру – коми-пермяки зюздинские (западные)	187,19
28.	Эстонцы Выру – ненцы североямалские	204,56
29.	Эстонцы Выру – манси ивдельские (западные)	254,81
30.	Эстонцы Выру – селькупы тымские	294,00
31.	Эстонцы Выру – манси ляпинские	397,76
32.	Эстонцы Выру – саамы Финляндии	438,45
33.	Эстонцы Выру – манси сосьвинские	470,69
34.	Эстонцы Выру – ханты ваховские (сургутские)	648,35
35.	Эстонцы Выру – энцы	961,16
36.	Эстонцы Выру – нганасаны	1025,17

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

Таб. 14

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

	Различные народы и народности	ТМВ
1.	Ненцы южнаямалские — селькупы тымские	16,48
2.	Ненцы южнаямалские — манси сосьвинские	17,67
3.	Ненцы южнаямалские — манси ивдельские	21,27
4.	Ненцы южнаямалские — мари луговые	25,12

5.	Ненцы южноямальские — кумандинцы (Северный Алтай)	27,69
6.	Ненцы южноямальские — ханты березовские (Полноват)	34,16
7.	Ненцы южноямальские — ненцы североямальские	46,27
8.	Ненцы южноямальские — саамы (лопари) Финляндии	49,65
9.	Ненцы южноямальские — ханты ваховские (Сургут)	80,87
10.	Ненцы южноямальские — манси вагильские (западные)	92,07
11.	Ненцы южноямальские — мари горные	121,27
12.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны салла	170,20
13.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны кокемяки	171,17
14.	Ненцы южноямальские — энцы	171,88
15.	Ненцы южноямальские — мордва мокша	177,71
16.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны куриikki	181,42
17.	Ненцы южноямальские — венгры (Мукачево)	192,62
18.	Ненцы южноямальские — эстонцы хаапсалу (северные)	201,59
19.	Ненцы южноямальские — нганасаны	202,13
20.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны улиторнио	209,19
21.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны хаухо	233,56
22.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны киурувеси	265,57
23.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны кеуруу	321,09
24.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны кесялахти	322,71
25.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны мюнямяки варсиайс	328,25
26.	Ненцы южноямальские — карелы ливвиковские	329,16
27.	Ненцы южноямальские — коми-пермяки язвинские (Пермская)	351,77
28.	Ненцы южноямальские — вепсы шелтозерские (Прионежские)	366,07
29.	Ненцы южноямальские — мордва эрзя	367,33
30.	Ненцы южноямальские — эстонцы выру (южные)	389,52
31.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны аскола	390,62
32.	Ненцы южноямальские — коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	424,86
33.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны ристины	601,48

Данные Таб. 9 показывают, что сосьвинские манси по своему генотипу ближе всего к ляпинским манси (13,43) и к тымским селькупам (49,47), но не к другим группам манси. Сосьвинские манси достаточно далеко отстоят от ивдельских манси (64,11) или вагильских манси (160,14). Разница по этническому происхождению может объяснить и разницу в мансийских диалектах. По генотипу сосьвинские манси также находятся далеко и от венгров (278,25).

Южноямальские (лесные) ненцы (Таб.12), которые проживают в устье Оби и южнее, ближе всего стоят к тымским селькупам (16,48) и сосьвинским манси (17,67).

Выводы: Измеренные расстояния на базе дактилоскопических (дерматоглифических) характеристик показывают близость народов и этнических групп. Деление языка на диалекты часто происходит вследствие его субстрата, который закреплен в артикуляционной базе. Дерматоглифические расстояния четко показывают то, что в составе какого-либо этноса имеются различные этнические группы. Несомненно, что различные мансийские диалекты были вызваны различными этническими группами. В то же время, венгры показывают свою этническую отдаленность от обско-угорских народов (манси и ханты), но свою близость к тюркским и кавказским народам.

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TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri: Ethnographic Criminalistics: to which People are the Hungarians Closer on the Basis of their Dactiloscopic Data?

The article deals with the typological distances between different ethnic groups of Hungarians, Mansi, Estonian and some other peoples. Hungarians are put into the group of Ugric peoples, together with Mansi and Hanty. The goal of the investigation is to state how logical it is to unite Hungarians with the Ob-Ugric peoples, i.e. Mansi and Hanty.

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

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



POLITICS

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Bangladesh Illegal Immigration: Effects and Consequences

Abstract

Migration, a worldwide phenomenon, has often been seen as beneficial for both the sending and receiving countries. However, post-9/11, the phenomenon is seen as a mixed blessing. It is also being realized that it is impossible to check illegal migration unless the sending country cooperates. In South Asia, India has been at the receiving end of the problem of illegal immigration from Bangladesh. This paper argues that such illegal migration is posing a threat to internal security because the issue has not been properly securitized. Migrants seem to have successfully bypassed legal hurdles, which has kept certain territories out of reach even for Indian nationals. If Bangladesh's internal politics and economic deprivation are major factors for this state of affairs, then permissiveness towards illegal immigration in Indian political circles is also responsible. The largely lenient political class has been prompted to take a close look at the issue as an increasing number of Bangladeshis has of late been found to be involved in terror activities.

Key Words: Migration, Security, Bengal, Demography, Infiltration, Smuggling, Illegal Bangladeshis, Chakmas, Hindus, North India.

Introduction

Migration has now come to be regarded as one of the new “security threat” as it involves not only human and personal security and human rights issues but also has internal and international security implications. Illegal immigrants are referred to those migrant across national borders in a way that violates the immigration laws of the destination country. Myron Weiner, a social scientist, identifies five broad categories of situations where refugees or migrants are perceived as a threat - to the country which produces the emigrants, to the country that receives them, and to relations between sending and receiving countries. The first is when refugees and migrants are regarded as a threat - or at least a thorn - in relations between sending and receiving countries, a situation which arises when refugees and migrants are opposed to the regime of their home country; second is when migrants and/or refugees are perceived as a political threat or security risk to the regime of the host country; thirdly, when immigrants are seen as a cultural threat; fourthly, as a social and economic problem for the host society; and finally — a new element growing out of recent developments in the Gulf—is when the host society uses immigrants

as an instrument of threat against the country of origin (Myron Weiner, 1993: 15). Officially recognized as a separate category of states, north-east refers to the easternmost region of India consisting of the contiguous Seven Sister States. The presence of illegal Bangladeshi nationals in India remains the contentious issue that undercuts India-Bangladesh relations and is detrimental to security of India.



Historical Background

When the British occupied the north-east, it was largely uninhabited due to rivalries amongst the local tribes and massacres. Initially, under the British, the immigrant population from neighbouring regions like Bengal, Bihar and Nepal etc. were welcomed by the local people and were considered useful for the development of the region. But soon immigrants were seen as encroachers on their lands and reserve forest that affected demography and ecology of the area. Subsequently, in 1873, the British introduced Inner Line under the East Bengal Frontier Regulations of 1873 to restrict the immigrants, particularly Bengali Muslims (S D Muni, (ed.) 2006:78). However, it remained ineffective. In fact, better economic prospects, shortage of local labour and absence of insufficient mechanism have always been the reason for this influx.

After the partition of Bengal in 1905, the over-populated Muslim peasantry from East Bengal started crossing over to the fertile lands of thinly populated Brahmaputra and Surma valleys in the Northeast

corner of India. The formation of the All India Muslim League in Dhaka in 1906 encouraged the migration to increase the Muslim population in Assam for political reasons (R N P Singh, 2002: 32).

In the late nineteenth century, Bengalis became the dominant class in Assam particularly in the southern districts like Guwahati, Dibrugarh, Nogaon, Cachar, Karimganj and Haillkandi, that led to Bengali being made state language and the medium of instruction and the Assamese language was labeled as the dialect in 1937 (Ved Prakash, 2007: 695). Thus the illegal immigration and the policies of the government thereafter were responsible for the rise of separate distinct ethnic identity amongst the locals and the local immigrants. The rise of distinct ethnic identity was also responsible for the hostile attitude towards each other. A large influx of Bengalis during the late 1900s resulted in the dominance of Bengali culture and language in the north-east leading to anti-Bengali sentiment and anti-Bengali riots in 1960s which caused death, destruction and fleeing of Bengali population from the northeast.

When the British left India, the north-east was not affected by the communal riots during the partition. However, there was uncertainty due to influx of refugees who found themselves on the other side of the border. The north-east was suddenly surrounded by countries, each of which was competing for a share of the geo-political space (Vivek Chadha, 2005: 231). According to Professor Partho Ghosh, the illegal immigration from Bangladesh remains imbibed in the system due to the border demarcation done by Redcliff because the terrains remain complex and wishy-washy. This has led to the bad blood between Hindus and Muslims in the region. Both Hindus as well as Muslims were dissatisfied with the demarcation because suddenly they found themselves in a foreign land. He further notes that while illegal immigration was inevitable, the security of the region remained fragile. According to Professor Partho Ghosh, the illegal migration can be divided into three broad categories based on the phases. The first phase of migration was immediately after the partition that was the result of security. The second phase of illegal immigration was due to the Bengali revolt against the language law that was passed in Pakistan which made Urdu the national language in the country with more than 60% of Bengali speaking population. The third phase was related to economic opportunities as East Pakistan was an impoverished state as compared to West Pakistan. In the post-independence of the Bangladesh, impoverishment, ethnic persecution and political situation have induced illegal immigration (Partho Ghosh: 2009).

Soon after the partition, the Hindu minority of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) started migrating to India as the social fabric torn apart, economy shattered and administration paralyzed. Many East Pakistanis found themselves in economic denial and started migrating to India. Subsequently, the Immigrant (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950, was passed in the parliament which mentioned that only the people who were displaced because of civil disturbances in East Pakistan could migrate to India. The deportation of people, caused much antipathy in Pakistan, and finally in a conciliatory gesture, the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Khan Agreement of 8 April 1950 was signed which allowed the return of those people to India who had been deported till 31 December 1950. "This led to mass exodus of the minorities both ways" (Ved Prakash, 2007: 523).

However, during the Sino-India War of 1962, it was reported that some infiltrators were seen with Pakistani flags. This resulted in adoption of Prevention of Infiltration from Pakistan to Assam Plan (1964), (Vivek Chadha, 2005: 234). But atrocities in East Pakistan by the Punjabis (West Pakistan) in early 1970s led to unchecked entry of a large-scale Bangladeshi (then East Pakistanis) refugee into India.

Subsequently, the Indira-Mujib Agreement of 1972 redefined the status of illegal immigrants in India as it declared that all those who had come before 1971 were declared non-Bangladeshis.

The arrival of immigrants which continued even after the independence due to ethnic persecution of minorities and economic opportunities has changed the demography, culture, economy and ecology of the region. The constant change of the boundaries of Assam also led to demographic imbalance. In 1895, the North Lushai Hills were made part of Assam; this was soon followed by the inclusion of the South Lushai Hills and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which had earlier been a part of Bengal. Then East Bengal was merged with Assam in 1905, reducing the Assamese to a minority in their own land. It led to the reversal of those decisions in 1912 (Ved Prakash, 2007:523). It had a political, social, economic and environmental implications leading to the people of north-east voicing their concerns that soon took explosive dimension, which the state and the centre failed to tackle with desired results.

Economically, the unchecked migration has increased the pressure on land, depletion of forest wealth, forcible occupation of government lands and host of other issues that have generated serious problems. However, according to Professor Partho Ghosh, the illegal immigration is not so much an economic problem as the people who are coming to India are contributing in the gross domestic production. But the illegal immigration is a political problem as they are affecting the vote bank and destabilizing the demography (Partho Ghosh, 2009). According to a Bangladeshi researcher "The close proximity can be used to the best advantage of both countries. It can create greater economic interdependence between Bangladesh and India which in my opinion will be an important force multiplier in bringing us closer. In the Financial Year 2007-2008 Tripura imported goods worth 150 Crore taka from Bangladesh, imagine if the trade can be enhanced how much benefit it can bring to the areas close to Tripura and the country as a whole. Similarly, despite the proximity there is little people to people contact between Bangladeshis and the people in the NE states, there is an opportunity to increase that as well (Bangladeshi Researcher (name upheld), 2008)." The massive migration of Hindus in 1960s resulted in agitation against the Marwaries on the Republic Day of 1968. It was due to the rice shortage. The hoardings by the Marwaries, who had exclusive control of all trade in essential commodities and extensive smuggling of rice to East Pakistan. It was observed that in Hojai, which was the rice bowl of Assam, had 0 percent collection of levy rice, while North Lakhimpur, constantly under floods had a 100 per cent figure for the same (E N Rammohan:12).

Chakmas, who also migrated from East Pakistan due to ethnic persecution, were treated as second class citizens in the north-east. They migrated to India due to lack of economic opportunities, under-developed social economic and health care facilities, ethnic killing of Chakmas by Bangladeshi extremists, displacement due to the construction of a dam across the Karnaphuli river at Kaptai in the CHT in late 1970s as well as deteriorating conditions of the minorities in Bangladesh. They were absorbed with the local population as they were scattered, small in number and the ethnic consciousness was still not assertive among the people of the north-east. In 1960s the Chakma refugees were rehabilitated in Tripura and Mizoram. However, the Mizo insurgency led to their rehabilitation in the then North East Frontier Agency (NEFA, presently Arunachal Pradesh).

Indira-Mujib Agreement of 1972

The Indira-Mujib Agreement of 1972 redefined the status of Chakma refugee in India as it declared that all those who had come before 1971 were declared non-Bangladeshis. In the subsequent years, Bangladesh denied the presence of its nationals including Chakmas in India thus, refused to repatriate. Subsequently, there was return of a large number of Chakma refugees to Bangladesh after various diplomatic exchanges between New Delhi and Dhaka. On their return, Chakma found their land occupied by the Bangladeshi settlers. In 1990s, the attacks on Chakmas made them flee to Assam. As per the 1972 understanding between India and Bangladesh, Bangladeshi nationals who came to India after March 25, 1971 would be sent back for resettlement. The Agreement had also put illegal infiltration under three categories: (a) the person convicted by court; (b) apprehended in the process of inadvertent or deliberate crossing over and; (c) all other categories of illegal entrants, i.e., identified as such in areas far from the border and in other states of India. The Indian security side has, however, been complaining that in reality the Bangladeshi side has been receiving the persons in category (b) only. With regard to persons in category (c), Bangladesh has been insisting on the complicated procedure of deportation through consular channels (R N P Singh, 2002: 146). The Agreement legalized the illegal entrants who had committed an offence under the Indian Citizenship Act (E N Rammohan, 27). The Agreement was highly resented by the natives of the north-east which resulted in a large scale agitation led by the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP). The agitators pressurized the Assam government and Government of India to make arrangements to stop it by putting permanent barricades on the borders; detecting and deporting the foreigners out from the country; their names be deleted from the electoral rolls; the possibility of the inclusion of their names in the electoral rolls be eliminated by building up an adequate and strong election machinery; and the Indian voters in Assam be issued identity cards with photographs. Several rounds of talks between the student's union leaders and the government representatives were held with regard to the issue of detection and deportation of illegal immigrants (R N P Singh, 2002: 137). The matter remained unresolved due to the differences over the cut-off year. The AASU favored the use of the National Register of Citizens of 1951 as the basis for establishing citizenship, whereas the Prime Minister insisted that 1971 be taken as cut-off year (Vivek Chadha, 2005:240). The rebel movement in Assam was finally launched in 1979.

Illegal Migrant (Determination by Tribunal) Act

Consequently, enactment of Illegal Migrant (Determination by Tribunal) Act or IMDT Act came into force in 1983. The Act was meant to detect and deport illegal migrants through tribunals. As against the Foreign Act of 1946, which confers upon Central Government certain powers in respect of entry of foreigners into India, their presence therein and their departure there from and which is applicable to the whole country, the IMDT Act is referred as "Illegal Migration (Protection by Tribunal) Act" by Harinmay Karleka as it makes the determination of illegal status most difficult given to the fact that

illegal immigration from Bangladesh was actively promoted by important political figures in Assam. Second, the complaint against a person for being illegal immigrant could only be filed by someone who lives within a 3 km radius of the residence of the accused and that the complaint's affidavit had to be supported by that of another person who also lived within a range of 3 km from the residence of the accused. Third, the Act is applicable only to those arriving in India after 25 March 1971. Finally, the definition of illegal immigrant was mentioned as one without being in possession of a valid passport or any other travel document or any other lawful document. This made conviction difficult because one could always claim the loss of passport, and the responsibility to prove again fell on the litigant (Harinmay Karlekar, 2005:85).

The Home Ministry informed the AASU delegation in 1980 that 9, 67,000 immigrants had entered Assam during 1961-71; 2, 14,000 being displaced persons in the wake of 1965 Indo-Pak War and subsequent communal riots. The breakdown of the remaining 7, 53,000 illicit immigrants were given as Hindus- 631,000; Christians 30,000; Buddhist- 65,000 and Muslims-27,000 (Ved Prakash, 2007: 768). In 1974, Indian Border Security Force (BSF) detected a large number of people entering India with permits issued by the Bangladesh district authorities. The Indian High Commission in Dhaka contested the authority of the district officials to issue such permits. The Bangladesh Foreign Office dismissed such contention and mentioned that Bangladesh was allowing the return of Indian nationals who had migrated to Bangladesh under special permits (Avatar Singh, 2003).

The Union Ministry of Home Affairs admits that the functioning of the IMDT Act has been "unsatisfactory", and in a presentation in mid-1999, in connection with a court case, disclosed that action under the Act had been taken as follows: Total enquiries (against suspected illegal migrants) initiated: 3,02,554; Enquiries referred to the Screening Committee: 2,96,564; Enquiry reports referred to the IMDT Tribunals: 31,264; Persons declared as illegal migrants by the IMDT Tribunals: 9,625; Number of illegal migrants expelled: 1,461 (Wasbir Hussain, *The Hindu*: 176). According to Sreeradha Datta, "due to ethnic, linguistic, cultural, physical and social similarities, Bangladeshi nationals tend to merge easily with the local population making it impracticable to identify them" (Sreeradha Datta, 2004:137). This is particularly true of West Bengal where they speak same language and have same facial features.

According to Wasbir Hussain, "There is need to make a clear distinction here, between indigenous Assamese-speaking Muslims and Bangladeshi migrants before analyzing the demographic and security implications of such population growth. Aside from Guwahati, Assam's capital (that is part of the Kamrup Metro district), the heartland of the indigenous Assamese Muslims—whose origins can be traced to the forays of the pre-Mughals in the 13th century—is located around the tea growing eastern districts of Jorhat, Golaghat, Sivasagar and Dibrugarh. In Jorhat district the Muslims comprised just 3.89 per cent of the total population in 1971, rising to 4.32 per cent in 1991. The growth rate was 48.04 per cent between 1971 and 1991. In Sivasagar, Muslims accounted for 6.65 per cent of the population in 1971, climbing to 7.63 per cent in 1991; in Dibrugarh from 3.66 per cent of the total population in 1971 to 4.49 per cent in 1991; and in Golaghat, Muslims comprised 5.17 per cent of the population in 1971, rising to 7.11 per cent in 1991. It is interesting to note, in this context, that the growth rate of the Hindu population in Jorhat, Sivasagar, Dibrugarh and Golaghat was between 32 and 49 per cent over the 1971-1991 periods closely comparable to the rates of growth for the indigenous Muslim population. Evidently, the Muslim growth rate in areas dominated by indigenous Assamese speaking Muslims, located far from the

Bangladesh border, has been registering marginal increases, as compared to areas located close to the border (Wasbir Hussain, Asian Intelligence:2004)."

According to the report of the Intelligence Bureau presented to the 38th Conference of Directors General and Inspector General of Police held in Delhi on 4-5 November 2003, there were 375,000 illegal Bangladeshis even in Delhi. The division bench of the Delhi High Court was formed comprising Chief Justice B.C.Patel and Justice A.K.Sikri, directing Delhi Police, on 22 September 2003, to identify and deport 3,000 illegal Bangladeshi immigrants per month. Delhi government, however, told the court on 8 September 2004 that only 3,147 had been deported since February 2004 (The Pioneer, 2004).

The IMDT Act could not resolve perennial immigrant problem in the north-east. Subsequently, the Assam Accord of 1985 was conceded, which fixed the cut-off date to determine illegal migrants in Assam as March 25, 1971, the day Bangladesh was born. The Accord mentioned that all those migrants who had come and settled in the state on or before this date shall be regarded as citizens and those illegal migrants who are found to have arrived in the state after this date are to be detected and expelled in accordance with the law (Assam Accord, South Asian Terrorist Portal). With the signing of Assam Accord, the rebel groups launched a militant struggle against the government as they asked government to revoke the Accord and instead enact a law that deports all illegal immigrants irrespective of their time of immigration.

In 2001, the IMDT Act was challenged in the Supreme Court by Sarbananda Sonowal, a former President of the AASU seeking a declaration that the IMDT Act was unconstitutional. It led the Supreme Court of India to set aside IMDT Act in 2005. The Court mentioned that IMDT Act "has created the biggest hurdle and is the main impediment or barrier in the identification and deportation of illegal migrants." It directed the State Government to constitute sufficient number of tribunals under the Foreigners Act to deal with the situation effectively. The decision was seen as detrimental to the interests of millions of Bangladeshi immigrants in the country (D N Bezboruah, 2006: 53).

In February 2006, the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs, chaired by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh dropped the idea of enacting legislation in lieu of the controversial IMDT Act and decided to amend the Foreigners Act to ensure that anybody whose citizenship is in doubt gets a 'fair hearing'. In fact, it means that tribunals would be set up in Assam under the Foreigners Act, 1946, as was the case when the IMDT Act was in force, to examine the veracity of complaints against suspected Bangladeshi migrants. A tribunal hearing is, however, not mandatory anywhere else. This decision by the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs was reportedly taken after a recommendation from the Congress Government in Assam. Subsequently, the Supreme Court in December 2006 held that the Foreigners (Tribunals for Assam) Order 2006, which puts the onus of providing a person a foreigner on the complainant as unconstitutional (D N Bezboruah, 2006:53).

Implications of Illegal Immigration

The illegal immigration is one of the main reasons for the beginning of the insurgency in the northeast. The South Asian Terrorism Portal website has listed 38 insurgent groups in Assam. Prominent among them are the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), Dina Halim Daigah (DHD), United Liberation Front of Barak Valley (ULFBV), and Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO) (Assam Assessment 2009, South Asia Terrorist Portal). Many of the small groups are the offshoot of major groups. The objective of most of the groups is independence from the India which is the stumbling block for peace in the region. Most of these groups are not just terrorist groups; they are organizations, having a rigid and clear cut philosophy and a well coordinated system of action. According to Professor Partho Ghosh, for ULFA the illegal immigration is no more an issue. They now want independence as they feel Indian government is responsible for their economic, social and political deprivation and for a step motherly treatment. However, their demand is irrational because even if Assam becomes independent, the population pressure of Bangladesh will engulf them in no time. They are no match to Bangladesh's demography and military. At the same time, ULFA has no experience of establishing a state within a state like LTTE and cannot challenge the Indian state. The very fact that ULFA is not even active beyond its own region shows the limited potency of ULFA (Partho Ghosh, 2009).

As a matter of fact, soon after the signing of the Assam Accord, the Bangladeshi Muslims who had initially identified themselves as Assamese speaking started registering themselves as Bengali speaking. It is alleged that the political leadership has supported illegal immigration of Bangladeshi because they constitute themselves as committed voters for such leadership. These immigrants were clandestinely provided with ration cards and their names were included in the voters' list. "Their ability to obtain ration cards and also to enroll themselves as voters not only gives them a backdoor entry to Indian citizenship but also provides them with a political clout that facilitates the settlement of more Bangladeshi illegal migrants in India", (R N P Singh, 2002:145). However, according to Professor Partho Ghosh, the Assamese Muslims, who had assimilated themselves with rest of the Assamese population, has not identified themselves with the Muslims of Bangladesh due to the ethnic cleansing organized against Muslims (Interview with Partho Ghosh, 2009).

Earlier the large scale of infiltration and illegal immigration was highlighted during the Mangaldoi constituency of Darrang district by-election. As the voters list of the constituency was updated, it was found that out of the list of 600,000 voters, objections were raised to the inclusion of 70,000 voters, on the grounds that they were foreigners. This led to the setting up of a tribunal by the Chief Minister, Gopal Bora. The tribunal declared that 45,000 of them to be foreigners leading to the postponement of the Mangaldoi elections till the mid-term poll. This accentuated the problem and led the chief minister to direct deletion of the names of foreigners from the voters list; however, his directions could not be implemented as his government fell on September 4, 1979 (Vivek Chadha, 2007:238). Subsequent election results that have brought in considerable Muslim population in the state legislative assembly reflect the growing clout of the Bangladeshi immigrants in the political process of the region. Recently Assam's former Governor, Lt Gen. (Retd.) S.K. Sinha mentioned that if unabated infiltration of foreigners is

allowed to continue, the situation in Assam will be worse than that of Kashmir in days to come and one should not be surprised if a Bangladeshi national manages to become the Chief Minister of the State. He was even quoted as saying that "The influx of these illegal migrants is turning these districts into a Muslim majority region. It will only be a matter of time when a demand for their merger with Bangladesh may be made" (Economic Times: 2009). Any attempt to delete the names of illegal immigrants from the electoral rolls and their subsequent expulsion from India raises ever louder howls in the name of "protection of minorities rights" and on humanitarian grounds. The overall Muslim population of the north-east has grown from 16 to 18 percent in 1950s and 1960s to over 40 percent now. The demographic imbalance in the north-east can be understood by comparing the annual and decadal population growth rate of India and Assam which reflects an astonishing figure (Ved Prakash, 2007:755).

The Muslim population in Assam is 30 per cent which is next to Lakshadweep and Jammu and Kashmir. While a line of demarcation between the Hindus and the Muslim living in upper Assam in terms of education and economic development could not be drawn because of social setting. However, the Muslim populations living in lower Assam, most of these immigrants from Bangladesh, are backward economically and educationally. Their children study in private madrassas which are unregistered and which do not have a uniform and regulated curriculum.

Some of these madrassas are based on hate campaign against other religious communities (Abu Nasair Syed Ahamad, 2007:191). In January 2009, the then Union Home Minister, P.Chidambaram said that "I don't regard a Bangladeshi as a Muslim or a non-Muslim. He is a Bangladeshi. He has no business to come to India unless he has a visa. He has no business to live here unless he has residence permit. He has no business to work here unless he has a work permit. He is a Bangladeshi. His religion is completely irrelevant" (The Economic Times, 2009)

Tripura has a different type of infiltration problem. A large number floating Bangladeshi population crosses the border at daybreak for work and return home at sunset. They go for work each morning—men are mostly rickshaw-pullers; women are mainly maids and children as rag pickers—and return to Bangladesh in the evening (Ved Prakash, 2007: 792). "Tripura is the only state in the North-East where the indigenous people (read 'the sons of soil') have been outnumbered after India's independence by the exogenous group! The uncontrolled post-1947 influx of Hindu migrants from East Pakistan outnumbered the tribal majority population which consequently has been declining gradually, and sometime steeply, from 1931 Census onwards till 1981 Census. The 1991 Census proved a turning point (S Sailo, 1993), because the tribal population percentage registered an increase for the first time since 1931. It rose from 5, 83,920 (28.44 percent) in 1981 to 8, 53,245 (30.95 per cent) in 1991. But earlier, the reduction of tribal population from 50.09 per cent in 1941 to 28.95 per cent in 1971 had posed a threat to state's tribal identity"(Ved Prakash, 2007:2265).

In 1999, Nagaland set up a Committee of Officials to examine the influx of "suspected Bangladesh migrants into the state and devise measures to deal with it". It was formed in response to the concerns expressed by various organizations and individuals, including the Governor, on the alarming rise of illegal immigration to the state. Unofficial figures put the influx of such persons at over 60,000, mostly settled in and around Dimapur, working as agricultural labourers in the foothills and plains area, besides doing other manual jobs. It is also noted that the State Chief Electoral Officer had directed the officials to ensure that no bogus names were included in electoral rolls during the then ongoing process

of special roll revision. He also pointed out that “there has been an ‘abnormal increase’ of more than 3 per cent in the electorate during the special revision in most of the constituencies, contrary to the national average annual increase of 2.5 per cent (Ved Prakash, 2007:2166).

Besides, sections of border population are being subverted with the circulation of anti-India and fundamentalist propaganda originating from Bangladesh. According to Bangladeshi researcher, “the wall of mistrust that been gradually erected over the years needs to be brought down. Both countries have concerns which need to be addressed. We need to identify what are the irritants that are causing problems and then look at a fresh approach to get rid of them. There needs to be more dialogue between Bangladesh and India at all levels. If we can identify very specifically what those problems that has led to trust deficits, then we can make headway (Bangladeshi Researcher, (name upheld), 2008).” During Oct-Nov.2001, calendars iconising Osama-bin-Laden were found in circulation in Karimganj district of Assam. Police also seized CDs and audio cassettes in Tezpur in November 2001 propagating fundamentalism. Again in Nov.2002, Karimganj police discovered a large number of audio cassettes containing inflammatory anti-India speeches of Moulana Dilawar Hussain Syeedi, a JEI-BD MP. Apart from the material glorifying Osama-bin-Laden, a large number of cassettes glorifying Saddam Hussein have been in circulation on both the sides of the border (R N P Singh, 2002:149). There are also security threats due to the rise of Islamic militancy that has started consolidating itself particularly because Bangladeshi infiltration remains unchecked and illegal immigration continues to be sensitive issue that is misused for political purpose. There are a dozen Muslim extremist organizations working in the region like: Muslim Liberation Tiger of Assam (MULTA); Muslim United Liberation Front of Assam (MULFA); United Muslim Liberation Front of Assam (UMLFA); Muslim Liberation Army (MLA); Muslim Security Council of Assam (MSCA); Muslim Security Force (MSF); Muslim Tiger Force (MTF); Muslim Volunteer Force (MVF); Harkat-ul- Jihad (HUI); Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM); Islamic Liberation Army of Assam (ILAA); Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS); Islamic United Reformation Protest of India (IURPI); Islamic Revolutionary Front (IRF); Islamic National Front (INF); United Islamic Liberation Army (UILA); United Islamic Revolutionary Army (UIRA); and Zomi Revolutionary Volunteers (ZRV). It is reported that HUM and HUI are directly raised by ISI and thus are the most fanatical in their ideology. The purpose of these organizations is to spread Islamic fundamentalism in the entire north-east. Among others, the report names Jamaat-e-Islami and Islamic Chhatra Shibir, organizations which have maintained an anti-India stance are supporting the insurgent groups.

There is also a rise of madrassas in the border areas. According to the BSF survey, while Kolkata, the state capital and a city of 14 million, had only 131 seminaries (read madrassas) and 67 mosques, the small border town of Krishnanagar in Nadia District had 404 seminaries and 368 mosques. Many of them, particularly those recognized by the government, stick to their students, who are often from deprived background (Hiranmay Karlekar, 2005:80).

Wasbir Hussain succinctly notes that “The population explosion in Bangladesh, with 2.8 million added every year in one of the poorest and most densely populated countries in the world, creates the push factors for this silent demographic invasion. These are, however, compounded by an expansionist political ideology, implicitly or explicitly supported in the corridors of power in Bangladesh: the idea of Lebensraum (living space), which has been variously projected by the country's leadership for a long time, though the use of the expression itself is relatively recent” (Wasbir Hussain, 2004). “Bangladesh can

hardly de-link itself from its neighbourhood and the wider milieu of nations. The Bengalis of Bangladesh thus have been developing what Howard Stein calls a sense of 'psychogeography' a mental map of belonging, even though spatially they may be situated in other countries of the world (Howard F Stein, 1987:147). Even pro-Indian President of Bangladesh like Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman had once said "East Pakistan must have sufficient land for its huge population and Assam will give it full scope for expansion".

Bangladesh, one of the world's most densely populated and poorest countries, has suffered an increase in the intensity and frequency of climate-related problems. The United Nation Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has predicted that Bangladesh could lose nearly one-fifth of its land by 2050 because of rising sea levels due to global warming (Ruma Paul, 2008).

The issue of illegal immigration from Bangladesh has been brought to the notice of Bangladesh Government over several occasions. The Government of India has also taken a number of steps including tightening of border security, deploying a large number of paramilitary forces and intensifying patrolling to stop illegal infiltration. However, the illegal immigration of people from across the border still continues (R N P Singh, 2002:151). Efforts by Indian security agencies to push back illegal Bangladeshi migrants have been until now obstructed by erstwhile Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) and the Bangladeshi Government refuses to acknowledge that these are Bangladeshi migrants and propagates that India is pushing back Bengali speaking Indian Muslims (R N P Singh, 2002:146). According to Professor Partho Ghosh, "Illegal immigration is an issue we have to live with but it is important for us to manage it" (Partho Ghosh)

At the same time there is a decline in the Hindu population in Bangladesh since the partition. There was about 31% of Hindu population in 1947 that dropped down to 19% in 1961. By 1974, the Hindu population further declined to 14% and in 2002, it was estimated that the Hindu population in Bangladesh was only about 9% of the total population (S K Datta, 2002: 89).

According to Sreeradha Dutta, "The question of influx of Hindu refugees from Bangladesh into India has been closely intertwined with the larger issue of illegal immigration from Bangladesh. Despite the absence of statutory regulations, it is essential to differentiate 'refugees' from 'illegal immigrants'. People who flee Bangladesh due to persecution and seek refuge in India such as Bangladeshi Hindus and Chakmas are treated as refugees. Those Bangladeshis who cross over into India seeking livelihood or economic migrants are treated as 'illegal migrant'. There is another category of Bangladeshis who commute daily to their jobs in India but do not stay over (Sreeradha Datta, 2004: 138)." Thus the layered and complex issue of illegal immigrants and refugees, backed by political interests, has in fact made the migration of Bangladeshi immigrants easier.

There are also fears that foreign agencies including the ISI of Pakistan are using this easy practice of migration from Bangladesh to set up cocoons of terrorists in India to destabilize the political systems and create instability in the country (R N P Singh, 2002:142). It is widely believed that Islamic militancy has been consolidating because of unabated Bangladeshi immigration. There are a dozen extremist organizations working in the north-east. Some of these organizations are directly raised by Pakistani Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI), thus, are the most fanatical in their ideology and are maintaining anti-Indian stance. "The Army has identifies villages with 'curious' population mix, in and around Siliguri

that provide safe haven for the ISI operatives. Chapra is one such village, 55 km from Siliguri, with the population of 25,000, the nerve centre for illegal border trade and fake currency racket of Saudi Riyals and other currencies. There is Islampur, a town 70 km from Siliguri, with a population of 1 lakh, a known 'stronghold and hub of ISI functionaries'. The town has a skewed demographic mix: some 2,000 Pushto and Baluchi settlers from Afghanistan, engaged in money laundering and 'suspected ISI activists'; 6,000 Iranians who settled here in late 1960s, all of them without any vital documents and involved in narcotics smuggling; and some Saudis who 'indulge in smuggling and other illegal activities' (Ved Prakash, 2007:784).

The interrogation of Md. Nurul Haq by the BSF in Cooch Behar district in September 2003 revealed that there were camps of the MULTA being run in Bangladesh with the help of Pakistani instructors, to train Muslim youths for creating an independent nation. The training includes both indoctrination and handling of weapons and explosives. Haque further revealed that MULTA had been inducting weapons into India for the last two years, and those were being coached at different locations in Barpeta district. The recruitment was done mainly from amongst the poor and illiterate migrant Muslims. The trained recruits were told to await instructions after which acts of violence would be launched targeting, in particular, the security forces (R N P Singh, 2002:149).

To conclude, despite their serious demographic, economic, security and political ramifications in the north-east, these developments continue to remain substantially outside the realm of the security discourse in the country. Bangladeshi infiltration remains unchecked and illegal immigration continues to be sensitive issue that is exploited by vested political interests. Meanwhile, the Bangladesh government claims that there is not even a single Bangladeshi migrant in India. Additionally, deportation policy may seem 'un-implementable' and can be regarded as 'inhumane practice' raising international criticism particularly when the deported population is not accepted by the Bangladeshi government which demands them to prove their Bangladeshi nationality.

A decade of agitation by the rebel groups, both peaceful and violent over the illegal foreign national issue, has not brought concrete success. Further, unresolved border problem of enclaves and adverse possessions along with the difficult terrain keep the border porous and open for easy infiltration. Additionally, recent mutiny by Bangladesh Rifles has also made the borders porous and unguarded on the Bangladesh side and thus enabling illegal migration from there much easy.

Illegal migration and their settlement will remain a security challenge for India if no immediate concrete actions are taken that would involve deporting and checking illegal immigration. In fact, the deportation of the illegal Bangladeshi migrants has the potential to create a major political and communal problem particularly the people involved have the support of the politicians (R N P Singh, 2002:143). Border security and border management on India's eastern border needs to be looked upon as an important national security issue. This issue of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants should be taken up seriously by the security forces and the political leadership without any vested interests.

Conclusion

Illegal immigration unfettered can create security threats at the individual, national and international levels, such as exploitation of migrants, social tensions and economic and political instability. To check illegal immigration establishing and maintaining adequate border controls is imperative. However, border control has to be strong enough to stop illegal activity, but not so strong that it impedes the flow of business and other legal travelers. States need to develop legislative and administrative mechanisms that stem the flow of irregular migration. It is important that Foreign Act 1946 is enforced in the northeast like the rest of India. However, control mechanisms must be balanced so that national security concerns do not override the human rights of the irregular migrant. BSF and Bangladesh border security personnel needs to work out strategies to deal with organized criminal activities in the border areas. Further creating awareness among the local population that the new groups could turn against them and harm their interests can check the illegal immigration. There have been efforts to design programs involving the local citizenry particularly the village elders in detecting illegal migrants by K.P.S. Gill, the then Assam cadre Indian Police Service official. Also a comprehensive and continuous process of the proper mapping and movement of populations in the region is another essential aspect of any effective border management policy and checking illegal immigration. Detailed population profiles of the border areas need to be created, documenting ethnicity, attitudes towards terrorist and separatist groups, levels of interaction with mainstream politics, engagement in illegal and subversive activities, and attitudes towards security forces.

Illegal migrants must be denied all benefits flowing from the government, and their access to private sector employment, as well as acquisition of properties must also be curtailed. A process of gradually disenfranchising the illegal migrants needs to be initiated. A solution to the problems of illegal migrants also needs to factor in the easy employment opportunities currently available to them. To this end, once an effective identification system is in place, employers should face strong penalties for employing illegal aliens. Legislative changes also need to be brought about, making any transaction of immovable properties with illegal aliens void. These measures are imperative if the flow of illegal immigrants is to be curtailed, and if the existing system of incentives for such migration is to be dismantled. Preventing unauthorized settlements along the borders and initiate special development programmes will restrict illegal migration. Promoting the concept of Village Voluntary Forces (VVF) in the border districts and facilitating legitimate trade between the two countries will aid border security and border management. It is also important to strengthen local education, economic opportunities and training programmes and incentives must be offered to encourage people to stay in their country of origin. Bilateral cooperation and capacity building in can be seen as a key in achieving the desired end. In case both countries wish to develop close bilateral economic relations, they have to not only allow cross-border investment and transfer of technology, but also to facilitate market access to a wide range of small and middle-sized businesses. Bangladeshi handicrafts, ethnic clothing, Jamdani Sarees, marine, poultry and dairy products, fruits and vegetables could then be easily exported to India. It is more convenient to buy goods and services from each other than from distant sources. Finally, a twin approach, social and diplomatic and military-to-military Confidence Building Measures can go a long way in stemming the institutionalization of terrorism in Bangladesh, which would have a direct effect on India's security. In fact, this could be a basis to a South Asian Task Force to deal with terrorism in the region, suggested by

none other than Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina when India's External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, visited Dhaka in February 2009. In order to check political and economic instability in Bangladesh, India needs to come up with proper and timely assistance. Politically, this can be done by assisting Bangladesh in state building. Economically, both countries can work towards establishing a free trade zone and transit facilities. Economic inter-dependence will ensure social, political and economic security.

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SOCIOLOGY

BALÁZS, Lajos

Erotica, obscenitatea și pragmatismul țărănesc al dăinuirii

I. O schiță a contextului socio-cultural-moral al eroticii și obscenității în cultura sexuală tradițională a unui sat maghiar din Secuime

Invitația timișoreană de a scrie un studiu pentru volumul ce are ca temă sexul femeii îmi a fost șocat, apoi mi s-a părut suficient de tentantă ca să nu o pot refuza. M-a șocat, pentru că deși dispun de un material imens despre viața din toate zilele cules în aceeași localitate – Sândominic, județul Harghita (România) – nu mi-a trecut deloc prin minte ca să fac, separat, și o tipologizare, de pildă, a obscenității țărănești în vederea prezentării acesteia într-o virtuală lucrare științifică.

Obscenitatea țărănească – gândită și negândită, adeseori chiar spontană –, așa cum o văd astăzi, este prezentă în cele mai diverse momente și situații ale vieții tradiționale, dar în nici un domeniu nu mi s-a părut atât de tendențioasă și funcțională ca în nunta țărănească. De 40 de ani cercetez obiceiurile legate de marile momente ale vieții omului¹, muncă enormă din care s-au născut trei monografii monumentale ale acestora și o sinteză a lor pe un fundament psihologic.²

În ciuda faptului că aceste lucrări totalizează peste 1100 de pagini, tot am trăit cu sentimentul insatisfacției în privința cunoașterii și mai profunde și complexe a tuturor resorturilor evidente și intime, vizibile și ascunse ale vieții țărănești.

Astfel, sub imperiul a două sentimente, s-a născut în sânul cercetărilor anterioare ideea cercetării și a cunoașterii culturii și moralei sexuale țărănești. Primul, de natură personală, a fost acela al senzației insuficienței cercetărilor mele și ale altora de până acum, legate de momentele trecerii, în sensul neglijării „liantului”, adică a acelei substanțe spirituale, morale, psihice și faptice care umplă intervalele între cei trei piloni ai vieții individului și face totodată ca aceștia să-și îndeplinească misiunea și funcția socială în viața colectivităților rurale. Altfel spus, m-a nemulțumit faptul că marile momente ale individului și ale colectivităților – nașterea, căsătoria, moartea – sunt tratate izolat, separat unul de altul. Or intervalele de timp și evenimente între marile momente ale trecerii sunt și umplute și legate de factori ca iubirea și ura, pasiunea, atracții și refuzuri, interese, sentimente, instincte – adică porniri sufletești și sincere, și calculate și instinctuale care în societățile țărănești nu sunt deloc în afara culturii tradiționale.

¹ Mă simt oarecum o rudă spirituală a lui S. Fl. Marian

² *Az én első tisztességes napom.* Párvalasztás és lakodalom Csíkszentdomokoson (Prima mea zi de onoare. Obiceiurile alegerii partenerului și ale nunții la Sândominic) Editura Kriterion, București, 1944; *Menj ki én lelkem a testből* (Ieși suflete din trupul meu. Obiceiurile legate de înmormântare la Sândominic. Editura Pallas-Akademia, Miercurea Ciuc, 1995); *Szeretet fogott el a gyermek iránt* (M-a cuprins un dor pentru copil. Obiceiurile legate de naștere la Sândominic), Editura Pallas-Akademia; *A vágy ritusai-Ritusstratégiák. A születés, házasság, halál lelki hátteréről* (Riturile dorințelor – strategia riturilor. Fundalul psihic al obiceiurilor legate de naștere, căsătorie și moarte). Editura Scientia, Cluj, 2006.

Al doilea impuls se trage, oarecum, din istoria cercetărilor în acest domeniu care încă nu și-a dobândit „cetățenia” în cercetările folclorice-etnografice-antropologice maghiare și românești. Am în vedere, în primul rând, judecățile formulate în studiul profesorului Gyula, Ortutay, folclorist de renume european, publicat în 1935 sub titlul *A magyar parasztság szerelmi élete* (Viața sentimentală a țăranimii maghiare)³. Este un studiu emblematic pentru mine în sensul că trece în revistă cercetările realizate pe această temă până la data publicării studiului, dar și o critică severă privind calitatea, mai ales optica cercetărilor. Totodată a trasat și directivele cercetărilor care, după opinia dumnealui, nu se pot neglija în cazul cercetărilor care se îndreaptă asupra acestei teme.

Din această viziune și ambiție s-a născut cartea de aproape 800 de pagini, *Amikor az ember nincs es ezen a világon*. Paraszti nemi kultúra és nemi erkölcs Csíkszentdomokoson (Când omul se află în al șaptelea cer. Cultura și morala sexuală țărănească).⁴

Pe baza unui chestionar – instrument de cercetare riguros elaborat – într-un interval de 15 ani am realizat interviuri de mare profunzime cu 35 de subiecți-țărani (65% femei), între 40–80 de ani, selectați după criteriul inteligenței de peste nivelul mediu. Cu fiecare subiect intervievat am purtat dialog în parte, de 45-50 de ore pe marginea a 2.120 de întrebări legate de tema cercetării și a cărții, ceea ce înseamnă cca. 1.750 de ore de contact uman nemijlocit din mediul cercetat, oferindu-mi plăcerea extraordinară a cunoașterii. Partea metaforică a titlului (în limba maghiară, când omul nu se află pe această lume) este expresia sentimentului paroxistic al orgasmului. Ritual vorbind, al momentului liminal al unui contact sexual – minunat exemplu al limbajului de camuflare a obscenității.

Toate acestea le-am relatat nu cu intenția de a impresiona pe cititor cu elemente tehnice, ci de a-l sensibiliza asupra lungului și migălosului proces de elaborare a cărții, dar și asupra modului particular de concepție și abordare a cercetării sexualității țărănești.

Cu ajutorul a celor de peste 2000 de întrebări am exploatat până la maximumul posibil cunoștințele, cultura subiecților în acest domeniu, descoperind, pe parcursul cercetărilor, că viața sexuală, practica sexuală, narativele sexuale ale membrilor colectivității țărănești sunt pentru ele cele mai interesante și captivante teme de discuție, că nu este situație de viață și de muncă în care să nu iasă la suprafață și să nu monopolizeze conversațiile. Relevante sunt vorbele unui subiect: „Atâtea nu ne rugăm către Dumnezeu, și nici despre alte treburi de ale noastre nu vorbim atâtea, cât vorbim despre acestea...” Desigur, viața sexuală ține de anturajul intim al omului: cu atât mai mult al țăranului pudic. O pudoare de natură duală: interiorizată, exteriorizată. Și totuși, ea constituie o cultură sexuală încheată, pentru că nimic, nici cel mai mic amănunt intim nu rămâne o taină personală în acest cadru socio-cultural: ele mereu sunt comunicate cuiva – unui personaj de încredere – care, evident va spune mai departe, unui alt personaj, tot de încredere. Și astfel, datorită acestui lanț de mecanism comunicațional se cizelează, se limpezesc cunoștințele, informațiile, experiențele și ele se încheagă în cultură colectivă.

Prin și în ce se deosebește cartea *Când omul este în al șaptelea cer*, față de cercetările de până acum?

În primul rând prin însăși baza materialului de cercetare, care nu se întemeiază pe bunul folcloric cules de altcineva, adică pe fenomenul erotic, sexual median. Cartea nu are ca obiect de cercetare

³ Vezi Ortutay 1987. pp. 12-19.

⁴ Editura Pallas-Akademia, Miercurea Ciuc, 2009. ed.,I, 2010. ed. A II-a.

varianta idealizată a sentimentului erotic, ce oferă folclorul, în general, lirica de dragoste, în special, ci se confruntă aproape cu întregul arsenal intern și enigmatic al erosului popular. Cercetările s-au întâlnit față în față cu obiectul cercetării, provocându-i, îndemnându-i pe informatori cu un tact rafinat și experimentat în cele patru decenii de cercetare, la un dialog intim. Informatorii fiind de vârstă activă, de tranziție sau de terminare a vieții sexuale, de statut, formație și sex diferit. Cercetările și cartea pun în centrul atenției nu pe țăranul abstract, convențional, lipsit de spațiu și timp, ci pe cel integrat în viața și existența de toate zilele, potrivit unei viziuni antropologice.

Acest mod de cercetare și tratare a materialului cules face ca această lucrare să aibă calitatea unei abordări detaliate în profunzime și virtuțile unui limbaj și spiritualități originale, neartificiale a culturii și moralității sexuale țărănești. Cartea pune în lumină un volum de cunoștințe și informații ce pot servi motive de cercetare și aprofundare și pentru alte științe care se ocupă de studiul vieții sexuale. Spre deosebire de cercetările anterioare, cartea demonstrează faptul că erotica țărănească, dincolo de specificul său social, este dependentă și determinată de mediul geografic, etnic, existențial, istoric, că este un complex afectiv și instinctual ce funcționează sub imperiul condițiilor de muncă și de viață, de economie de timp, de viața de toate zilele, de tradițiile de subzistență, de tradițiile culturale, de morala specific țărănească și de cea confesională, de un limbaj enigmatic adecvat.

Astfel privind lucrurile se pune în lumină un specific caracteristic al vieții sexuale țărănești, și anume faptul că „ars erotica” țărănească de la noi nu este comparabilă cu cel rafinat și consumator de timp al popoarelor asiatice, orientale, ci este o cultură sexuală a pragmatismului, a actelor sexuale limitate la minut, a „carpe diem”-ului, de aceea și a marilor drame individuale și familiale, a marilor plăceri și marilor deziluzii, este cultura eternelor „foruri” la care se dezbat mereu evenimentele și senzațiile mereu actuale ale sexualității locale. De aceea cartea nu este una de sexologie populară-țărănească.

Ce înțeleg prin noțiunile de cultură și morală sexuală în cazul acestui mediu social?

Felul răspunsului dat la această întrebare, dar mai ales modul de abordare a problemei în spiritul răspunsului fac ca o cercetare în acest domeniu să dobândească calitatea de cercetare etnografică-folclorică și să se detașeze de celelalte cercetări cu aceeași temă, adică de cele de istorie a culturii, justiției, religiilor, medicinei, criminalisticii, de studii de psihologie, sexologie etc. Cercetările mele sunt de etnografie aplicată pentru explorarea culturii și moralei sexuale, iar prin ea pentru cunoașterea și înțelegerea existenței umane dintr-o altă perspectivă.

Fără pretenția de a oferi întregul, vorbind de cultura și morala sexuală țărănească am în vedere, de pildă, mediul țăranesc în care copilul mic, adolescentul, tânărul vede și aude manifestările enigmatice auditive și vizuale ale sexualității, simte și își dă seama într-un mod propriu de primele manifestări ale instinctului sexual, senzația atracției pentru celălalt sex. Am în vedere jocurile erotice îndrăznețe ale fetelor de 13-14 ani prin care ele vor să ghicească dacă băiatul la care se gândesc în intimitățile lor o iubește sau o vrea doar pentru..., și iată, îi vine în gând și pe limbă, poate pentru prima dată, cel mai frecvent cuvânt obscen. Am în vedere taina și evenimentul primei menstruații numită *floarea rușinii*⁵, igiena sexuală, viața sexuală înaintea mariajului, cea în sânul căsniciei – modalități, practici –, conflictele cauzate de viața sexuală, credințele, superstițiile acesteia, amurgul ei, fenomenele deviate, perverse,

⁵ Ce interesant, unui soi de morcov sălbatic românii spun *rușinea fetei* pentru că în centrul petalelor este o bobită de culoarea sângelui.

sodomice. Am în vedere raporturile între sexualitate, credință în Dumnezeu, biserică, popă, spovedanie etc., adică conflictele morale, lăuntrice ale sacrului și profanului. Apoi conexiunile între viața sexuală, viața socială, cazurile de infidelitate, gelozia, prostituția de tip rural, spălarea banilor și a bunurilor cheltuite, date pentru servicii sexuale; între sexualitate și schimbările vieții economico-sociale: colectivizarea agriculturii (apariția unei categorii de șefi-bărbați în fruntea forței de muncă feminină), plecarea la muncă, după '89, a bărbaților, în alte țări, relații-preferințe sexuale interetnice. Tot din această categorie specială a culturii fac parte și cleветirile despre și în jurul vieții sexuale, comportamentele, luările de poziție, opiniile, judecățile publice în legătură cu abaterile de la normele morale tradiționale, cu evenimentele socotite senzaționale; act de cultură a fost inventarea mijloacelor pe care femeile le-au folosit în timpul menstruației, înaintea generalizării vatei sanitare, mijloacele anticoncepționale, practicile avortive casnice – îndeosebi în timpul Decretului 770. Cultură este felul și modul în care sunt recepționate și prelucrate mental, tot după schimbările aduse de 1989, filmele pornografice, cu scene sexuale, imaginile din revistele porno, reacțiile trezite, comentarii declanșate în urma vizionării acestora de diferite generații cu formație morală, culturală aflate în coabitare. Excelentă manifestare a modului de gândire este cea despre organele genitale, despre funcționarea și enigmele acestora (de ce și cum se nasc gemenii, băieții și fetele etc.), logica observațiilor analogice cu viața plantelor și animalelor. În această ordine de idei menționez ritul, considerat de mine mitic, ce are loc primăvara (de ziua lui Sf. Gheorghe), de tunsul oilor (similar cu măsura oilor, la români) când are loc un dans colectiv în rostogolire în sânul naturii, perechile fiind culcate, iar prin rostogolire se mimează / se prefigurează un contact sexual. Acest joc de rostogolire (Imaginea Nr. 1.) al gospodarilor, proprietari de oi, așa cum se desfășoară el – fiecare cu nevasta altuia, iar nevestele nu au voie să poarte chiloți – poate să fie socotit deopotrivă orgie sexuală, un fel de carnaval când comportamentele (sexuale) nepermise sunt admise, tolerate chiar și de geloși, dar mai presus de toate este un dans / joc orizontal magic de fecundare a solului. Jocul de 2-3 ore este finalizat de o altă scenă erotică deloc pudică, ce declanșează erupții de râsete: trecerea în revistă a izmenelor bărbaților pentru a vedea cantitățile erective. (Imaginea Nr. 2.) Rădăcinile acestui mit și rit de fertilizare a naturii se întind până la popoarele antice, asiatice, crescătoare de animale.

Toate cele enumerate mai sus, doar selectiv, sunt nu numai manifestări ale culturii sexuale țărănești la maghiari, dar și situații deosebit de productive ale obscenității.



1. Jocul de-a rostogoli



2. Trecerea în revistă a izmenelor

Cultură sexuală este și limbajul specific al vieții sexuale, având performanța învăluirii, încețoșării momentelor delicate ale vieții sexuale. În modelarea acestui limbaj, un limbaj ambiguu, realmente obscen, termenii, expresiile, locuțiunile fiind fie metaforice fie tabuistice- eufemistice, se datorează unui ordin papal din secolul al XVII-lea, care a impus preoților o mai mare severitate în decurgerea spovedaniei. Acest ordin a creat o situație cu totul nouă în mod deosebit țăranilor catolici: termenii vulgari ai sexualității trebuiau să fie înlocuiți cu termeni suportabili de cuștile de spovedanie.⁶ Un excelent joc de conștiință – păcătoșii puteau să se gândească la păcatele lor, dar trebuiau să se exprime metaforic –, un excelent mod de îmbogățire a limbii maghiare în sensul sporirii expresivității ei, probabil și a altor limbi de religie catolică. Spre exemplificare pot invoca chiar titlul cărții în original (Când omul nu se află pe această lume) pe care l-am primit la întrebarea, *Ce este un act sexual?* Un răspuns formulat din opt cuvinte. În cartea sexologului italian, Julius Evola, am găsit în esență un răspuns similar, formulat însă din 27 de cuvinte, din care se conturează faptul că este vorba de „suspendarea pentru o clipă a conștiinței”.⁷ Alte câteva vorbe traductibile: O fată care nu mai este fată mare, mărturisește că „Am fost deștelenită”; fata care a avut relații cu mai mulți bărbați „A sorbit din mai multe pahare”; Un dialog aluziv: un bărbat către o vecină: – „Pisica a umblat astă noapte în cămară?” – „Nu, n-a avut ce căuta!”, sau „Putea să umble, dar nu fuse pisică!”; Într-o discuție, o bătrână despre viața lor sexuală: „Noi de mult timp trăim ca Iosif și Maria”, sau „Noi trăim ca frații”; Bărbatul despre nevasta lui: „La noi apa este tare rece”; Nevastă infidelă: „Umblă după bărbați cu cratița neagră”, „E saltea”, „Umblă după cuie”, „E darnică... are inimă bună”, „Ce i se dă, nu refuză”; Reflexiile nevestelor despre bărbații lor deveniți inactivi în pat (impotenți): „I s-a trecut haiducia”, „S-a cam făcut sărac”, „Nici al meu nu mai face pagube în mine” etc.

⁶ Mai detaliat vezi Foucault 1999 a,b.

⁷ Evola 1994. 30.

Cultura sexuală este însoțită și de o morală și moralitate sexuală țărănească, dominată de imperiul a două sentimente specifice ale acestei categorii umane: rușinea și teama, sentimente care sunt totodată și mijloace de sancționare a abaterilor de la normele morale.

Cercetând cultura sexuală țărănească din copilărie până la vârsta renunțării definitive, cartea urmărește de fapt arcul întregii vieți țărănești; iar prin notele din subsol se fac referiri la culturile similare ale altor popoare. Lucrarea pune în lumină nu numai ceea ce anunță titlul ei, dar și o altă imagine umană a făuritorilor și purtătorilor acestei culturi.

Aluatul de cultură astfel făurit este un fertil și eficient mediu de generare a obscenității populare, dintre care puține manifestări sunt spontane, dimpotrivă, este un etern coagulator al unei spiritualități și stări sufletești specifice. Această optică de a mea m-a determinat să fac o pseudo-prezentare de carte și o pseudo-tratare a obscenității specifice unei categorii sociale umane a etniei maghiare..

II. O încercare de tipologizare a obscenității nuptiale din Sândominic

Folcloristica consideră că nunta este evenimentul de vârf al căsniciei, o sărbătoare a individului și a colectivității cu o ideologie încheată: colectivitatea să afle și să aprobe schimbarea destinului și statutului social al unor tineri care se căsătoresc, să o facă memorabilă atât pentru indivizi cât și pentru colectivitate, să solidarizeze cu ei și să-i sprijine moral și material. Acest sistem și structură ideologică a nunții are menirea de a fundamenta existența și dăinuirea economică și socială a individului și a colectivității. În schimb se neglijează un alt aspect, o altă latură a ideologiei nuptiale: că nunta are și o destinație demografică, afectivă, senzuală care sunt tot atât de importante ca și cele anterioare. Folcloristica nu sau abia vorbește de cealaltă spiritualitate foarte tendențioasă a nunții: importanța specifică a eroticii în nuntă.

Această neglijare, pe de o parte, argumentele folclorice ingenios împletite, pe de altă parte, mă determină să abordez interpretarea riturilor și simbolurilor erotice, adică cultura populară expresivă cu conținut erotic care contribuie, deopotrivă, la împlinirea fericirii individului. Györgyi Erzsébet remarcă faptul că relațiile sexuale, cununia și nunta se intercondiționează organic.⁸

Erotica, ca o manifestare a instinctului sexual, fără îndoială, este o temă pentru petrecere, pentru discuții perverse, obscene, aluzii la evenimente cu două sensuri, desigur, întotdeauna declanșate de niște situații actuale, dar este și o parte integrantă, și acest lucru trebuie observat, a riturilor. Deci aceste manifestări nu sunt niște episoade gratuite, fără greutate, umpluturi ieftine și fără mesaje ale momentelor rituale. Nu sunt un scop în sine! Dimpotrivă, jocurile erotice ale nunții, indiferent de manifestare – cercetările mele de teren din Sândominic confirmă pe deplin această afirmație – au pondere, greutate, destinație, mesaje și, în ciuda spontaneităților aparente ele sunt bine chibzuite, excelent temporizate, sunt adevărate jocuri scenice, unele chiar cu intenții artistice. Toate acestea se întâmplă în ampla țesătură rituală a nunții – o altă latură a ideologiei nunții – pentru că erotica face parte dintr-o strategie socială a țărănimii: asigurarea perpetuării și supraviețuirii colectivităților umane.

⁸ Györgyi E. 1983. 469.

În cursul desfășurării scenice a nunții mereu sunt strecurate în fluxul central al momentelor acesteia rituri magice de sorginte mitică care au destinația de a stimula și încuraja activitatea sexuală a tinerilor căsătoriți care să aibă drept finalitate conceperea copilului. Pentru a risipi prejudecățile spontane, precizez că ne aflăm la nuntă, și că nu este vorba de faptul că tinerii n-ar ști ce au de făcut în domeniul sexualității. Toate aceste jocuri, practici, rituri constituie un ansamblu metaforic comunicațional prin care colectivitatea suspendă definitiv și în public tabuurile sexuale cărora tinerii au fost supuși și stimulează tocmai contrariul acestora: activitatea lor sexuală productivă. Ceea ce a fost până acum, conform normelor morale tradiționale, interzis, de acum înainte devine o așteptare, o instigare impusă în noua lor situație socială tot de o normă tradițională a colectivității. Altfel spus, paralel cu trecerea de natură socială a tinerilor căsătoriți (cununia, nunta) și în cadrul acesteia se realizează punerea în drepturi sexuale ale acestora, mai exact, se validează o altă trecere: din starea de abținere de viață sexuală în cea de exercitare firească a acesteia. Mircea Eliade revine de multe ori asupra ideii de treceri paralele și în etape diferite în sânul unui amplu obicei de trecere.⁹

Limbajul deschis sau aluziv al nunții maghiare este un excelent purtător de spiritualitate și conștiință sexuală, urmărind unirea trupească a căsătoriților și a roadelor acesteia. Vorbesc de o spiritualitate și conștiință sexuală – și nu de una instinctuală! – pentru că, făcând abstracție de anumite momente improvizate, am constatat repetarea, revenirea aceluiași rituri, jocuri, texte. Deci tradiționale. Există situații când ideea eroticii este spusă, comunicată verbal, alteori se fac aluzii la ea, apoi este reprezentată prin jocuri, scenete, altă dată prin elemente plastice și simbolice. Turner precizează că simbolurile, actele simbolice sunt supuse intereselor omului, datorită gândirii magice sunt puse în slujba lui.¹⁰ În opinia mea ele trasează direcțiile de împlinire a dorințelor. Nuntașii nici o dată nu declară în comun că așteaptă copii de la cei căsătoriți, dar prin ansamblul riturilor, simbolurilor ingenios împletite le sugerează această așteptare. Prin urmare, o ideologie nedeclarată în teze – un conținut și mesaj similar – este comunicată, exprimată printr-o mare varietate de forme. Aceste două componente ale mesajului reglementează și manipulează tensiunea, atmosfera psihică generală și de bună dispoziție adecvată evenimentului, a participanților, asocierile de gânduri și amintiri ca plăceri estetice, manifestate fie discret, fie gălăgios. Realmente putem vorbi și de o stare de spirit cu rădăcini adânci, pentru că asistăm la satisfacerea unor plăceri arhaice: a vedea, a vorbi, a auzi despre sexualitate.

Limitările de pagini nu-mi permit tratarea foarte detaliată, doar selectivă a manifestărilor erotice ale nunții din Sândominic.

Comunicarea prudentă și discretă a apropierei trupești se realizează prin intermediul *simbolurilor erotice*. Dintre acestea aș aminti brazii de la poarta casei miresii, purtători de semnificații simbolice complexe. Sunt simbolurile mirilor, dar și mijloace ale magiei analogice. Mă opresc doar asupra unui singur amănunt: brazii sunt păziți pe timp de noapte, iar în ultimii ani se instalează pe ei și niște becuri electrice pentru securizarea lor: ca „nu cumva niște indivizi răuvoitori din dorința de răzbunare să le taie vârfurile pentru a umili pe mireasa”. De fapt vârfurile „inimei”, crucile brazilor sunt ferite pentru că „sunt simboluri ale penisului mirelui”, iar ruperea lor ar însemna anihilarea bărbăției acestuia, practic

⁹ Vezi Eliade 1987b. 170.

¹⁰ Vezi Turner 2003. 13-14.

căsnicia lor ar deveni imposibilă. Evident că este vorba de o variantă, prin magie analogică a întrecerii masculilor.

Mai transparente sunt *jocurile erotice*. Dintre ele amintesc pe cele care se fac la casa mirelui, după ducerea zestre miresei, mai exact, după facerea patului miresei. Jocurile de aici au și mai evidentă tentă magică. „Un bărbățul mai îndrăzneț prinde instantaneu pe o femeie, o aruncă în pat, o rostogolește în el de câteva ori, apoi se aruncă și el pe femeie și mimează un act sexual. Dacă doresc ca tinerii să aibă mulți copii, se alege o femeie cu numeroși copii. Sunt bărbați care aruncă o grămadă de femei în patul miresei, apoi se aruncă și el peste ele. Și zicem că patul a fost bine jucat, adică pregătit tocmai pentru ceea ce este. Ne distrăm extraordinar” – îmi relatează un informator.

*Jocul scenic al miresei false*¹¹ ce are loc înaintea luării miresei face o reactualizare a unor relații amoroase între mireasa falsă și mire. (Imaginea Nr. 3.) Ea revendică dreptul de a lua locul miresei, având în brațe un copil/păpușă făcută de mire vara trecută. Cu un limbaj agresiv spunând lucrurilor pe nume creează o autentică scenă obscenă la care asistența reacționează în mod diferit: unii râd cu hohote, alții sunt uimiți de cele auzite, iar mirele, adeseori, se simte jenat datorită unor relatări cam incomode, nelipsite de intimități picante.



3. „Tirihazai” – mireasă falsă, reprezentanta unui limbaj erotic-obscen-grotesc

¹¹ În lb. maghiară „Tirihazai”, adică mireasă nebună. Este o femeie între două vârste, cu un debit verbal și capacitate de improvizare deosebită, îmbrăcată în false zdrențe și are în brațe o păpușă drept un produs al relațiilor lor. Vorbele, vestimentația și comportamentul ei sunt o negare a miresei firești.

Servirea pe masa mirilor a unor *bucate erotice* este o altă și mai consistentă treaptă de manifestare a ideologiei sexualității, în cadrul nunții.

Dintre acestea se evidențiază așa numitul „covrig de nuntă”¹², darul simbolic și fastuos al nașului. Fără echivoc, este un simbol al împreunării.¹³ Pe o targă cam de un mp este așezată o pâine – simbolul organului genital feminin – în care este înfipt un brad împodobit – simbolul penisului – de mărimea unui brad de crăciun. Tot sub brad este așezat și un purceluș fript (mai rar o găină), împodobit cu grijă cu elemente care exclud orice dubiu în privința instinctelor stomacale: în gura lui i s-a pus un morcov de mai mare mărime, iar după urechi i s-a legat câte un măr, simboluri ale organului mărit al bărbatului. (Imaginea Nr. 4) Rostul acestui aranjament a fost, așa cum mi s-a explicat „de a excita pe mireasa, de a o pregăti să știe, ce o așteaptă”. Tot aici s-a așezat un fel de cozonac format dintr-un băiețel și dintr-o fetiță, goi amândoi, cu organele genitale evidențiate prin poziționare. „Copii-cozonac au fost așezați față în față că parcă s-ar pregăti pentru un act, stând în picioare. Până ce au fost aduse primele bucate, nuntașii tot s-au distrat pe seama lor arătându-le, spunându-le mirilor că uitați-vă, ce fac ăștia!”¹⁴

În recuzita plastică a jocurilor erotice se găsesc frecvent fructe și zarzavaturi: morcov, gulie, prună, pară etc. cu care se obțin reprezentări sexuale aproape naturaliste sporind pofta de sex a celor mai vizați, folosindu-mă de cuvintele lui Turner, „prin mărirea diferențelor sexuale”.¹⁵ Spre exemplu, miresei i se oferă o farfurie cu un morcov împrejmuit cu frunze de pătrunjel, introdus cu vârful într-o prună albastră despicată pe jumătate. În timpul iernii aceeași imagine se realizează cu gulia de iarnă. (Imaginea Nr. 5) Creațiile de „natură moartă” declanșează din nou râsete, hohote și schimburi de cuvinte polifone, obscene, ambigue: – „Ei, mireaso, îți place morcovul cel mare și tare?”; – „Ehei, pe vremuri, atât de mult îmi plăcea și mie!”; – „Poftă ai avea și acum, nu-i așa?” – „Mirelui îi place pruna despicată și trasă pe cui”; „Asta-i bună, doar nu este pentru privit!” și a.m.p.

¹² In lb. maghiară „lakodalmi perec”, numele lui se trage de la denumirea unei părți a întregului. Perec înseamnă covrig.

¹³ Denumirea de simbol de împreunare aparține lui Turner, 2002. 83.

¹⁴ După Turner aceste scene sunt rituri obscene stereotipe.

¹⁵ 2002. 90.



4. Purceluș fript cu capul erotico-obscen (Ilustrație: Boér Lenk Ilona)



5-6. Bucate erotice puse pe masa mirilor (Foto: Balázs L.)

Mai demult, la capătul primei mese s-a servit ca ultimul fel de mâncare (înlocuit ulterior cu cafea) prune uscate fierte, moment care a declanșat o caustică și intrigantă scenă de batjocorare a bărbaților. Nu insist asupra ritului, voi încerca doar să traduc niște versuri dintre cele aproape intraductibile. Aducerea castroanelor este întâmpinată de cântecul bărbaților: „Pruna mea dulce, ce bună ești, / Tot te mănânc, iar tu tot mai ești!” La care replica ofensivă, cântată a femeilor înnăbușe cântecul bărbaților: „O, părul lui Dumnezeu¹⁶, gârbovit, îmbătrânit, / Cu două fructe pe el atârdate, / Și acele-s veștejite.”

Hărmălaia este stinsă de sosirea vătafului care aduce primul castron cu prune uscate și, conform tradiției, elogiază, tot cu echivocuri, calitățile bucatei, ale prunei¹⁷ îndeosebi: „Inițial nu am avut intenția de a spune ceva despre prună, / Dar tot m-am răzgândit și iară m-am răzgândit, / Până mi-a venit un gând. / Precum știți, pruna cea bună, albastră, cărnoasă, cu sămânța în mijloc / Nu-i un fruct de speță proastă! / Acest lucru este știut de toți bărbații / Care au câte o sulită / Cu care să o împungă. / Iată pruna, s-o serviți cu poftă bună.”

¹⁶ Organul bărbatului

¹⁷ Pruna este simbolul aproape universal al organului genital feminin. În zonele apropiate mărilor scoica îndeplinește aceeași funcție.

Ideea erotică și cea a copilului este prezentă la nuntă nu numai prin rituri, jocuri etc., dar și prin intermediul poeziei nunții. În mod deosebit am în vedere chiuiturile, ghicitorile, toasturile, bancurile care, pe de o parte, îmbogățesc repertoriul general al nunții, pe de altă parte, mesajele lor sunt îndreptate spre susținerea verbală a eroticii. Îndeosebi chiuiturile și ghicitorile sunt piese poetice cizelate: metafore ale sexualității, pilde de simboluri ale acesteia. Din păcate imaginile sunt, în bună parte, intraductibile. Traducerile mele firave sunt doar încercări de a trece peste acest prag.

Chiuituri: „Rădăcinile picioarelor miresei / Sunt ca căpățâna cepii”; „Partea de jos a burții tale / Prețuiește mai mult ca hotarele satului”; „E nou butoiășul, precum și gaura / Astă noapte se va îndopa”; „Mărul roșu fără frunze / Iar mireasa e fără chiloți”; „Fața miresei înroșită de rușine / Printre picioarele ei se înghesuie un mititei”; „Printre picioarele miresei s-a băgat un iepuraș / Ia uite, mama lui de iepuraș / Unde și-a găsit un ascunziș!”; „Fac pariu pe un litru de vin / Că mireasa e găurită”, Fac pariu pe un litru de vin / Că mirele habar n-are de aceasta”; „Mărul e roșu-rotunjel / Iar mirele are un singur coi”; „Mireasa e tristă / Căci mirele este invalid”; „Câte un pic dă-mi și mie / Un picuț rămâne și ție”; „Fundul meu e ceas de aur / Merge așa cum vreau eu”; „O scânteie și încă una/ Și pizda foc lua”; „Sus, la poalele munților / E o fată sub un flăcău. / S-a culcat sub el, desigur, / Ca să scape pizda-i de mâncărime”; „Pune-ți mâna pe șoldul meu / Și-ndreptați tunul spre vale”...

Cimilituri: „Care este deosebirea între un brutar și un mire? – Brutarul bagă moale și scoate tare, iar mirele invers”; „Ce costum îmbracă mireasa pentru prima noapte? – Costumul lui Adam”; „De ce își închid purceii ochii când sug? – Pentru că le e rușine ca mama lor este un porc”; „Femeile o folosesc, iar fetele o poftesc. Ce e? – Verighetă”; „Bunica mea își desface picioarele, iar bunicul se lasă între ele. Ce e? – Fântâna și găleata”; „Jumătatea ei e în mâna mea, cealaltă jumătate este în gaură. Ce e? – Cheia”; „Mireasa, când intră pentru prima dată în casa mirelui, ce ia mai întâi între picioare? – Pragul”; „Moș Crăciun de ce nu are copii? – Pentru că în punga lui are numai bomboane”; „De ce se arde pâinea în cuptor, de ce se îneacă copilul în apă, de ce rămâne mireasa gravidă? – Pentru că se scoate târziu”...

Bancuri, anecdote: Nici în timpul servirii cinei nupțiale (primei mese) nu este slăbită dozarea ideii și sentimentului erotic. Imaginea vizuală a bucatelor erotice, comentariile declanșate de acestea sunt presărate alternativ de bancuri, anecdote erotice. Aceste specii folclorice presupun prezența unor specialiști care au un repertoriu bogat și dispun și de un talent adecvat de prezentare. Aceștia sunt cunoscuți, au și inițiativă, iar în lipsa acesteia sunt solicitați, sunt provocați. Repertoriul lor, prezența lor sporesc buna dispoziție ascendentă a nuntașilor, iar poantele erotico-obscene constituie un fel de punct culminant al atmosferei, un fel de pseudo-catarzis al stării afective. Tematica bancurilor, anecdotelor este împrumutată, în primul rând, din evenimentele legate de nuntă. Un exemplu:

„Mirii s-au prezentat în fața altarului (catolic) pentru oficierea cununiei religioase. Mirele, fiind un fumător pasionat, nu s-a astâmpărat nici acolo, dar în momentul ieșirii preotului la altar tot trebuia să ascunde țigara. Negăsind altă rezolvare a băgat-o sub rochia miresei. Aceasta, nu peste mult timp, a început să scote fum. Nuntașii, stând în bănci, au observat acest fenomen ciudat și au început să-l comenteze.

– Uite cumătra, spunea una către vecina de bancă, și eu am fost mireasă, îmi ardea și mie p...da, dar să scoate și fum, nu-mi aduc aminte.”

Câteva concluzii suplimentare:

Lucrarea a încercat să cupleze, mai mult, să descopere generalul în particular. De altfel sunt adeptul ideii că nu există fenomene generale fără susțineri particulare, locale. Acesta este unul dintre motivele pentru care am întreprins cercetări folclorice, antropologice timp de 40 de ani în aceeași localitate. Obiceiurile care realizează și însoțesc marile schimbări ale omului constituie de fapt un complex juridic al mișcărilor, relațiilor umane, al normelor comportamentale, morale care reglementează, marchează traiectoria individului în sânul comunităților rurale. În ciuda similitudinilor, culturile marilor schimbări au aspecte particulare specifice. Așa cum nimeni nu bea H₂O, ci apa unui izvor, unei fântâni locale, cu izul particular, tot așa trăiesc și se conduc și colectivitățile țărănești. Pentru cultura și morala sexuală a unei colectivități sunt valabile aceste concluzii sumare. Ele sunt și pot fi reprezentative pentru colectivitățile etnice mai largi, în cazul nostru pentru etnia maghiară. Nici particularitățile, nici diversitățile însă nu realizează individualizări excesive pentru că exprimă același fond de gândire și simțire, același pragmatism și instinct uman.

Cultura sexuală a satului Sândominic – schițată în ansamblul ei – în partea a doua capătă o prezentare pe verticală cu intenția conștientă de a reliefa specificitatea sexualității amplificate în jurul nunții, adică în jurul trecerii celei mai importante a individului în destinul său individual și colectiv la care individul tânăr, întemeietor de familie, participă și decide conștient. În acest context ideologic, nu este lipsit de sens să punctez două tendințe, două linii de forțe care merg paralel. **Erotica tendențioasă** a nunții comunicată prin practici magice, rituri, retorici diverse **care anticipează** următoarea trecere a căsătoriilor: trecerea din societatea adulților fără copii în cea a părinților, a întemeietorilor de familie. Formele diverse ale riturilor amintite converg în această direcție. Acestea pot fi considerate, după părerea mea, drept niște rituri, jocuri de inițiere în vederea îndeplinirii noului statut al omului într-o nouă etapă a vieții. Evident, misiunea lor este de mare importanță din punct de vedere al menținerii și supraviețuirii colectivităților. De aceea este nevoie, și aceasta este cea de a doua tendință, de **o strategie** care garantează împlinirea, succesul primei tendințe. Instrumentarul erotic și nu un for ideologic dinafara culturii tradiționale este cel care ține în viață și garantează realizarea idealului țărănesc: înfăptuirea familiei cu copii. Așadar, spiritualitatea și filozofia erotică a țăranului sunt părți componente integrante ale securității de asigurare a rezervei umane ale societății țărănești. O strădanie care nu este cu nimic mai prejos, decât celelalte condiții ale realizării umane.

Aș risca să formulez și o altă, ultimă concluzie: dragostea, ca sentiment, în societatea satului studiat de mine, nu a fost un principiu prioritar (!), susținător de comunitate. Dar erotica, sexualitatea da! Oricât de bizară pare opinia mea, o spun pe temeiul cercetărilor: în această comuniune s-a trăit și se trăiește sub imperiul a unei singure motivații: pragmatismul dăinuirii.

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BALÁZS, Lajos: *Eroticism, Obscenity and the Peasant Pragmatism of Survival*

Present paper aims to draw up a draft of the socio-cultural context of eroticism and of obscenity in the traditional sexual culture of a Hungarian village from the Szeklerland.

The background of this commitment consists in a fourty-year folkloristic and ethnographic research in the field of human life's great moments – birth, marriage, and death – an enormous task that led to the publication of three monumental monographs of these moments and of a synthesis on psychological grounds.

Under the influence of the quantitative immensity and – primarily – on the basis of the gathered material, within the framework of the preceding research the idea of an in depth knowledge of the culture and morals of peasant sexuality was born. I sensed a real deficiency of former research in the field of life's moments of passage. I am talking about a neglect with reference to the "binder", of that spiritual, affective, sensual, moral, psychic and factual substance that consolidates the three pylons of an individual's life and at the same time makes these fulfill their social mission and function in the rural community's life. In other words, I was dissatisfied with the fact that individuals' and communities' great moments – birth, marriage, and death – are treated in an isolated manner, separately from one another. Or the periods of time and the events taking place between these great moments of passage are filled and linked by factors such as love and hate, passion, attraction and refusal, interests, sentiments, instincts – thus spiritual and sincere drives, calculted and instinctual ones which in peasant societies are not at all outside their traditional culture.

The paper reliefs exactly those power lines of the book of approximately 800 pages which determine, what is even more direct the evolution of the erotic sentiment and acts of accomplishment, starting from childhood to their dusk, highlighting their multiple and arborescent general and particular aspects.



LITERATURE & ARTS

MIRABILE, Paul

The Mediaeval Eurasian Koine: The Art of Philology

Prolegomenon

A Human Experience

A human experience enlists the utmost sincerity on the part of him who desires to penetrate the territory of others- of the Other-, grasp their words and gestures, then transmit or translate them into a form that sustains their original force whilst conveying a meaning understandable to the reader. A human experience of the Other is not a statistical compilation of glossaries, customs or rites, a rational abstract synthesis of a people's material or spiritual heritage, methods which indeed have in many cases substituted the researcher's voice for the voice of the object of that research!

The Mediaeval Eurasian Koine that we have constructed over the past thirty-five years is one that stretches from Ireland to Anatolia, Anatolia to Southern India, China to France then back to Anatolia and finally to Siberia Russia, where the endless forested steppes connect Asia and Europe. The material for its construction are eleven mediaeval epic tales: the French *Song of Roland*, the Spanish *El Cid*, the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, the German *Das Nibelungenlied*, the Turkic *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, the Eastern Armenian *David of Sassoun*, the Tamil *Periypuranam*, the Chinese *Ji Bu*, the Irish *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, the Byzantium Greek *Digenis Akritas* and the Russian *Song of Igor*. Each epic tale is treated in its cultural environment, mediaeval and modern, yet fit into the koinic architecture of the whole, without, however, contracting any of its original uniqueness. Every epic tale of our koine composes a centre, and for this reason none forms part of the whole as a mere cog. None is superior to another. None more beautiful or well-crafted! They are all centres enlivened and animated by the myriad distinct voices that begot their respective creation...

Our koine is thus a vast network of an epic mediaeval discourse forged from the eleven languages that we have studied in both their mediaeval and modern forms. This epic discourse is a result of the many voices of the bard-poets that composed, executed and disseminated them from court to court and village square to village square. The rare beauty and uncommon vigour of these mediaeval epic tales lies now in the cultural stamp of their ethnic and religious identity, now in the underlying analogous heterogeneous and hybrid themes, figures and forms which emanate from these same singular cultural identities.

Indeed similar -but far from identical- historical forces have laid the conditions for the sundry commonplace literary themes and narrative figures and forms that we shall investigate in the following pages; themes, figures and forms that have converged to form and fashion the koine due to the voices of the mediaeval bard-poets and the subsequent interpolations of either mediaeval monks or later

aristocratic laymen. Themes, figures and forms forged either through direct contact amongst the nations or through parallel growths: **discursive themes** such as self-sacrifice, chivalry, battlelore, horse-companionship, betrayal, pride and humility; **poetic figures** such as alliteration, assonanced rhyme, iteration, cognate couplets, prose/poetic alteration, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and mnemonic formulaic verse and strophe; **narrative forms** such as strophic and monologue juxtaposing, bardic split-voice techniques (interpolated clauses, parenthetical adjuncts), stock motifs, close-up scenes, story-embedding, compound clustering, analepse and prolepse; in short, a grand eurythmy of sounds and forms all converging and diverging within the temporal framework that we have delimited -roughly the IX^o century to the XIV^o-, and the spatial configuration -Eurasia- where we have lived for some thirty-five years, and what we call the Mediaeval Eurasian Koine...

As F. Nietzsche stated: philology is the art of reading slowly! We have not only read the epic tales of our koine slowly, we have *read ourselves into them!* We have projected our experiences of living amongst the nations that produced them as a **method** of abolishing the distance that separates us from their mediaeval executions and evolving compositions, that separates us from those voices and gestures that enhanced and set them down as we read or listen to them today. The philologist is thus an explorer, an archeologist who adventures into the realms of Time during which voyage the origins of words and forms may reveal the substance of mediaeval bardic reality; namely, the authenticity of the bard-poets' relations towards his public. For these distant relations are those that the philologist must comprehend and enjoin himself to emulate if he is to empathize, in the present, with the nations that produced them. This method could be called 'inter-subjective'; that is, the philologist consciously takes into account the reality of others from whom he constructs his own...

Direct contact with others -with the Other- has constructed both our reality and that of the Mediaeval Eurasian koine. It is not a vicarious undertaking. Textual examination and daily commerce are so inseparable that the voices and gestures of the mediaeval tales seem to echo and transfigure in the present. Indeed, the Art of Philology belies 'distance': the intimate Encounter and commerce with the Other, mediaeval or modern, is what we define as the Art of Exposure; exposure to the Other's discourse, gestures, the Other's penetrating regard towards us either in mutual sympathy, silent enmity or profound empathy. For this reason our books comprise a whole gamut of social intercourse: enthusiasm and disillusion, poetic bursts and undisguised execration. Our investigations are not simply pages full of facts and figures... In short, the Art of Philology is an adventure of treading both the Text and the Soil, a geo-ontological adventure that has led us to the construing of the mediaeval epic tales and thereby to their gradual incorporation into an Eurasian koine.

We believe Eurasia to have its founding reality within a mediaeval reality, gauged from the analogical social, linguistic, architectural and literary themes, figures and forms of its epic tales. What similarities can be sounded between the Chinese *Ji Bu Ma Chen* (Ji Bu Insulting the Enemy) and the French *Song of Roland*? The Irish *Tain Bo Cuailnge* and the Turkic *Dede Korkut Kitabı*? We shall presently expose our findings to the readers. Suffice now to state that there is no axial point, no prime centre from which compossible analogies radiate. Our koine is not founded upon a polarised theory, a poise of contrary forces whose presumed simplicity engenders a dubious dialectics: East/West; backwards/modern; emotional/rational, etc.

We have founded the Mediaeval Eurasian Koine on an extremely complex form of interconnecting and interpenetrating elements, anti-dialectic because unresponsive to original archetypes or clinical dualistic sociological and anthropological notions such as elite/popular or folk¹, written/oral, national/local, language/dialect, voice/author dichotomies! Inter-subjectivity responds to inter-textuality; there exists no 'pure' elitist or popular form in the mediaeval epic tales of our koine. Neither can the philologist discern a purely written and oral form, nor distinguish between one voice and a multitude of voices, conclude that a particular tale is a 'national' *oeuvre* whose language founded the nation that it praises, or another be a mere circumscribed legend which quaintly limns the customs and traits of a culture! The remarkable Tamil epic tale the *Periyapuranam* (the Grand Epic) has wrenched as much enthusiasm and sympathy from us as *Beowulf*; similarly, we had as much pleasure in experiencing the *Song of Prince Igor* with its distant correlation the *Song of Roland*! Imbued with the sympathetic experience of the nations that created these tales, with the examination of the tales themselves, the pages of our books resound of this sympathy, of this shared experience...

As we mentioned above, our books contain human voices of the mediaeval past and our present. Subsequently, we have preserved the original forms of those mediaeval languages as we read them in the consulted editions. Here we refuse any editorial comprise! There is no transliteration into Latin characters of Chinese, Tamil, Russian, Armenian or Greek; the original forms have been preserved with, of course, their translations into French or English, and/or phonetic transcriptions or 'pin-yin'. These mediaeval forms are living ones; they do not belong to some linguistic museum locked up behind show-cases. To conserve the original forms of a Text is to hear once again the voices that resounded and extolled them...

As to the materials that we have gleaned in the construction of the koine, these are as heterogeneous as the epic tales themselves: besides all the variants of the narrations, be they mediaeval or modern, we have perused linguistic, historic, geographic and literary matter whose interest may appear to many as peripheral, but in fact because of its centripetal force it not only complemented our studies, it actually recomposed them at both contextual and formal levels. We have enlisted as many mediaeval chroniclers and poets as modern poets and erudites to the researching of the epic tales: journalists, critics, philologists, and novelists, whatever their language be. For like our multiplex sources, the languages of these sources are also multiplex: French, English, Spanish, Turkish, Tamil, Chinese, Russian, Irish, Italian, German...

To conclude our brief introduction, we have never pretended to undertake a textual interpretation alone of mediaeval epic tales. The full value of them, as we see it, lies in the circumstances of our Encounter with them on the soils upon which they were begot and nourished. We have erected or edified ourselves as we laboured and corrected our work. For the Encounter has transformed us at the same time that we have transformed the epic tales in the construction of the koine. It is a dual transformation, a transmutation into the Other, such as one undergoes when experiencing direct contact with a foreign people, disorientating at first, yet ontologically and existentially necessary if one is to reap any fruits of the relationship at all. To be more precise, we have dialogued with the mediaeval epic tales in the same way that we have dialogued with those people whose ancestors executed and composed

¹ By 'folk' we mean the art of a whole nation, not individual art.

them. This dialogue has its fundamental value in human experience and testimony; it has nothing to do with parenthetical 'field-work'. For to have lived many years amongst the populations of the koine is to have avoided the gross generalities caused by obsessional specialisation which leads to recondite abstraction, technical fascination which scoffs at practical, daily commerce and unexpected encounters, and especially chauvinistic or patriotic narrowness, engendered by a centuries' old scholarly or academic East/West dichotomy, provoked by military, political and economic interests. The interest of our project has its place elsewhere: a 'human interest' as its Latin etymology expresses: 'between beings'! A sort of 'togetherness' or inter-subjectivity, by which a project can be elaborated over many years and many lands with as many voices and as many hands...

Historical Encounters

The High and Low Middle Ages of Eurasia underwent extraordinary demographic upheavals. The gradual symbiose of the sedentarised peoples of Europe and the nomadic Northern-Germanic nations by conquest and alliance created novel identities of religious and national stamp. The Encounter between North and South produced a multitude of ethnic-centred peoples whose languages and customs indeed differed, but whose religion -Catholicism- became the solidifying material of unity. This Encounter gave birth to Europe!² The Frankish nation overran Gaul in the V^o century and although they imposed their presence, they integrated Gallo-Roman elements into their cast of military, juridical and linguistic cultures; thence the composing of the **Lex Salica** (Salic Laws),³ a compound of Northern-Germanic customs and Roman laws, establish the first 'European Laws' because inclusive of all the territorial ethnies under the first Merovingian kings.⁴

The three salient languages of mediaeval Gaul were Salic, Riparian and Latin,⁵ out of which the mediaeval French of the *Song of Roland* (Oxford edition) was fashioned.⁶ It is by reading the *Song of Roland* that the synthesis of the Northern-Germanic and Gallo-Roman societies can be fully gauged, one that is composed of Northern-Germanic paganism and its linguistic vehicle, and the Gallo-Roman early

2 Latin, too, was a solidifying factor of unity during the Middle Ages in Europe but only for the educated ruling classes.

3 We have worked out of J.M. Pardessus' *Lex Salica* (Paris:1843).

4 The first compilation was written out during Clovis' reign (VI^o century) and numbered 65 clauses, then augmented and amended throughout the Middle Ages up till Charlemagne's rule (XI^o) where the last text -Lex Emendat a Carlo Magno- (768) has a total of 99 clauses!

5 The Salic language was spoken by the Merovingians, it is part of the Low Germanic language family. Riparian was the tongue of the Carolingian House, part of the High German family. As to mediaeval Latin, we have coined the term **evolutive Latin** to avoid expressions such as 'Vulgar Latin' or 'Church Latin', firstly because the 'vulgar', or the people never spoke Latin, and secondly if indeed the clergy performed the Catholic rites in Latin and some wrote their works in Latin (Gregory of Tours, Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Venerable Bede, Saint Isidore, etc.) this ecclesiastical tongue was in constant evolution towards the vernaculars that would eventually supplant it completely. See Roger Wright's *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns 1982).

6 We believe Gerard Moignet's *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Bordas, 1969) to be the best document for the original Old French and his erudite commentaries. But also consult Raoul Mortier's *Les Chansons de Roland* (France: 1940) for all the versions of the *Song of Roland*.

ecclesiastical Christian heritage and its linguistic vehicle. With the image of an alchemical process of amalgamated and refined heterogeneous elements which produced a homogeneous epic tale, we comprehend the commingled identity of mediaeval France. We have called this alchemical process the 'Funnel Theory'...⁷

We discover similar historical Encounters in the pages of *Beowulf* (pagan Scandinavian and dawning Christian Anglo-Saxon cultural Encounters), of *El Cid* (Muslim and Spanish Catholic of the Visigoth nation), of *Nibelungenlied* (Scandinavian and Burgundians and Alemans),⁸ wherein customs and rites clash, and in their clash integration and assimilation follow. It were as if these mediaeval epic tales flowed out of the wake of the military Encounters, not simply as rippled signs betoken of combat bravura or heroic gestures, but more as that very assimilating force that created Anglo-Saxon England, Teutonic Germany and Hispania to which their respective epic tales corroborate and bear witness...

We see a similar historical process in Anatolia due to the Turkic invasions from Central Asia which penetrated the settlements of Armenians and Byzantium Greeks during the XI^o century. Again the confrontation pits a nomadic tent-culture against a sedentarised stone-culture. Unlike the European Encounter, however, the Turkic-Muslim and Armenian/Greek Christian Encounter produced a juxtaposing of ethnic nations and not a slow but steady symbiose of them! The conquered Armenians and Greeks learned Turkish but the conquerors, contrary to the Frankish peoples, never learned the languages or the customs of the vanquished. There has never been till this very day, neither linguistic nor demographic integration amongst the peoples of Turkey, but rather a disquieting hermaphroditic situation in which each ethnic group produces within itself without the Other! This Anatolian mediaeval heritage has become a Turkish Republican one, whose emerging religious, thus social perimetres can be faintly assessed in the perusing of *Dede Korkut Kitabı* and *David of Sassoun*: a mediaeval heritage of very heavy circumstances ...

There were no decomposable or recomposable forces in the great XI^o century and subsequent centuries' Encounter in Anatolia, only a *status quo* of a formal, punctilious tolerance commonly called **djimmī**, according to whose Koranic injunction the non-Muslim (Jew, Christian and Zoroastrian) was permitted to practice his religion as long as it was not opposed to Muslim practice or law. In short, Turks, Armenians and Greeks (not to mention Syriacs and Kurds!) lived side by side, crossing paths in the public domain but prohibited from penetrating the intimacy of the private domain; precisely that domain of the Other which prompts and stimulates the osmotic and symbiotic processes that we have witnessed in the Encounter between Northern-Germanic nations and those of Southern Europe, and what we shall witness in the mediaeval Encounters between Jain and Saivite in Southern Indian and Chinese Han and Indian Buddhist in Western and Central China...

It was in mediaeval Southern India, and more precisely in Tamil Nadu during the Pallava and Chola empires, where the majority of the events recorded in the *Periyapuranam* of the sixty-three Saivite saints

7 In French 'La Théorie de l'Entonnoir'. See our *La Genèse de la Chanson de Roland* (Dourgne:Voies Itinérantes 1987).

8 For the Old English version of *Beowulf* we have used Howell D. Chickering Jr.'s *Beowulf* (Anchor Press: 1977), for the *Cid*, *Poema de Mio Cid* (Mexico: Editores Mexicanos Unidos 1978) and for *Das Nibelungenlied*, W. Golther, *Der Nibelunge Nôt* (Berlin: 1939).

(nayanars) occurred in all their heroic gestures.⁹ We realise once again the importance of historical Encounters, this time between the Jains and the Saivites at both military and theological levels. Many of the Tamil saints of the *Periypuranam* confront their Jain enemies either in theological bouts or in open warfare! The exploits of the saints were sung by minstrels who praised the spreading faith of Saivism from its originating soil in Tamil Nadu up into Central India and down to Sri Lanka, then simultaneously overland through Southeast Asia and over the Indian Ocean (the Chola Lake!) to Indonesia! The width and breadth of the Chola Empire is equipoise to the epic tale that followed in its wash...

The sixty-three legends of the *Periyapuranam* have always been sung at temples (tal puranam)¹⁰ for they are sacred texts; yet these legends have also been recited in markets! Like all the epic tales of the Eurasian koine there can be no distinction between a sacred and a profane text: the mediaeval mind made no such severance. And if today in Europe this severance has been an intellectual reality since the Renaissance, in modern India the compartmentalisation of sacred and profane is considered a ridiculous error of thinking: today in India, as it was in the Middle Ages, the *Periyapuranam* is an epic for all, be they religious or laymen...

The richness of the Tang dynasty of mediaeval China is also elucidated by assessing the Encounter of the evangelizing Buddhist forces from India with the sedentarised Chinese of Confucian or Taoist cultures. The mediaeval Chinese epic tale *Ji Bu Ma Zhen* (Ji Bu Insulting the Enemy) purveys this auspicious Encounter in the most emblematic way: the story is of a Han knight, Ji Bu, who fights for his feudal lord, Xiang Yu (232-202), then goes into hiding when pursued by the rival emperor, Liu Bang (247-195), after Xiang Yu's death; however, the manner in which the story is executed has its origins with the Buddhist monks of India who narrated their tales with the use of wooden panels upon which were painted the scenes of the story they were reciting! The combination of a Chinese heroic tale recorded in Chinese annals¹¹ and a North Indian Buddhist oral execution is called 'bian wen', 'oral literature'.¹² *Ji Bu Insulting the Enemy* bears thus the stamp of a mediaeval Sino-Indian alliance, due to the Encounter of Buddhism and Confucianism, especially during the Tang dynasty (VII° to IX°) when Indian Buddhism had reached its apex in conversions, including emperors and their wives, and in monastic activity, where these thriving centres welcomed errant Buddhist monks or political dignitaries from Central Asia, Tibet, India and Mongolia. Here we see assimilating and symbiotic forces at their height; so high in fact that the Confucian Chinese, fearful of complete absorption, resorted to proscription and banishment of Buddhist monks and court officials, and to the expropriation of their property during the IX° century! This mediaeval alliance and subsequent effects, good or bad, is still very much alive in China today...

9 For our studies we have used Mudir G. Souppiramaniam's Tamil edition (with ligatures), *Periyapuranam and Tiruttontarapuranam* (Madras: 1951).

10 In Tamil /tal/ means 'sacred', it is of Sanskrit origin, and /puranam/ 'legend, tale'.

11 *The Biographies of historical Persons of Ancient Dynasties*. Ji Bu's entry comprises twenty vertical lines each of which counts forty-two characters of classical Chinese.

12 We have worked from the text *Dun Huang Wen Xue Zuo Xuan* (Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju 1957). There are other stories which belong to the 'bian wen' series, many of which recount the events of the Buddha and the trials and tribulations of Hell. Ji Bu's 'bianwen' is the longest: 640 hemistiches (or 320 verses), each verse composed of fourteen characters except verse 298 which contains only nine. All together the epic tale contains 4475 characters!

The Byzantine epic tale *Digenis Akritas* speaks for itself: the hero is 'born of two-races or bloods' (δίγενους) and roams the border -'borderer' (ακρίτου)- between the Byzantine Greek empire and the Arabic Muslim territories to the south of Anatolia. It is along this fluctuating frontier and within these two antagonistic cultures, now at war now in alliance during the IX^o and XIII^o that Digenis Akritas' heroic exploits took place, and his tale orally executed and finally written out. In Digenis' epic tale it is not the glory and prestige of Constantinople that aroused our interest, but Anatolia with its rich ethnic strata and suprastrata! Indeed from these hoary Anatolian cultures Digenis has been wrought, the Greek Byzantine and Arabic Muslim being the historical outflow of so many others buried under the fertile soil of today's central Turkey! He is a hero who combats for Greek and Arab, yet not as a renegade, as for example the Cid, but as one on the border of two existences who favours neither...His 'borderline' comportment is betoken of mediaeval reality: sundry realities that coexist, and in this co-existence reveal to us a Oneness, the many evolving and involving within this Oneness. Digenis practices alterity (otherness) -the quest of the Other- and in consciously doing so his Being is in constant Becoming...

Digenis Akritas wends his way alone in this mediaeval world of vying cultures and languages; he seems to disregard the flow and ebb of decomposing and recomposing of the forces that fashion forms; for that knight-errant, marginalising himself from the seat of political and economic power, which is Constantinople, and by the same token the Emperor of a vast empire, sallies forth in all his independent grandeur. There are no glorious battles in this tale, our hero battles alone: dragons, lions, bandits, Amazons, mauraders. But it is for this very reason -Digenis' choice of solitude by the practice of alterity and marginality- that his epic tale is so special in our Eurasian koine...¹³

So too with the last hero of our Mediaeval Eurasian Koine, Prince Igor! Whether Igor, who lived in the twelfth century, had been of mixed blood himself -Turko-mongol from his mother's side- may be a matter of conjecture.¹⁴ Nevertheless, his defeat at the hands of the Turko-Mongol hordes of Konchak, and the narration that ensued, *the Song of Igor*, fully purveys the historical importance of the mediaeval Encounter between the Orthodox Rus' and the Muslim Turko-Mongol tribes from the East. *The Song of Igor* is a veritable treasure-house of assimilated cultural and linguistic symbiotic forces that we have exploited from four cardinal directions: the Scandinavians (Varangians) migrating from the North; the Norman mercenaries of the Russian armies and at the Court of Kiev invited from the West; the Byzantine clergy, artisans and political figures streaming up from the South and the Turko-Mongol tribes invading from the East. These four tangent and penetrating forces have left their indelible traces in the *Song of Igor*, and it is for this very reason that we have compared the four epic tales of the aforesaid nations with Igor's Geste!¹⁵ We may even say that Igor's epic tale plays the rôle of a Eurasian geographic and cultural osmotic point for the other dominant cultures of Central Asia, especially the *Dede Korkut Kitabı*; but this point we shall save for our conclusion.

13 For the Byzantine Greek text we have used John Mavrogordato's *Digenis Akritas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

14 'Le Dit de la campagne d'Igor est une épopée nationale qui retrace après coup avec lyrisme l'expédition menée par les Russes en 1185. Mais le prince Igor, héros par excellence de l'ancienne Russie, était lui-même au trois quarts Polov et sa langue maternelle était le turc'. Jean-Paul Roux, *Histoire des Turcs* (Paris: Fayard, 1984), p. 158.

15 We have examined and compared several Scandinavian sagas with the *Song of Igor*. For our study we have used Roman Jakobson's excellent Old and New texts with English, French and Polish translations: *La Geste du Prince Igor* (New York: Rausen Brothers Printers, 1948).

From the differing yet analogous historical Encounters ensued works of an epic narrative art that embodied the idea of territorial expansion, religious fervour...the quest of a national identity! And it is because of these Encounters, violent or otherwise, that the Other became a reality, prevailed in the psyche of the mediaeval mind, be it occidental or oriental. It is this psyche that we shall presently probe...

Otherness and its Mediaeval Expression

Nomadic cultures clash with sedentarised civilisations: the spoken word with the written, a popular, folk culture with a refined urban one: their confrontation made emerge the consciousness of the Other, his tastes and exigencies, his mores and demands; in short, his Otherness...

Otherness made evolve, willy-nilly, ancient cultures into newer ones; that is, former forms and figures of societal expression were regenerated, revived and recycled from the collision of the contending forces. The mediaeval epic tale is one of the many examples of this 'newness' due to the awareness of the Other; perhaps a more precise term could be 'togetherness', which indeed translates the inter-subjectivity amongst individuals, and by the same token the inter-textuality which in the mediaeval epic tale reflects the novel issue of inter-subjective commerce.

We believe that the discovery of the Other was predominantly revealed through the practice of Discourse, initially oral but then written out: sermons, treaties, songs, poetry and the epic tale. But before we analyse the linguistic and literary configurations of epic narratives, let us, briefly, examine another paramount novelty ensued from 'togetherness': shared architectural forms...

The Roman-Gothic churches and cathedrals of Europe, as is known, represent the acme of Northern-Germanic and Greco-Latin civilising forces! Greco-Latin substrata combined with Northern-Germanic super-strata (Visigoth, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, Burgundian, Lombard, etc.) produced the greatest architectural monuments that exist in Europe. This symbiotic production has been admirably elucidated by Jurgis Baltrusaitis and Henri Focillon, we have not the space to develop these theses here. Be that as it may, in our studies we have likened these nicely blended forms with those of our mediaeval epic tales, for indeed they have been wrought from the same symbiotic forces!¹⁶

Now let us travel through Asia Minor and marvel at the architectural legacy that the Armenian and Turkic symbiose has effected. The Seljuk *kümbets* or mausoleums of Eastern Turkey resemble in both form (conic) and hieratic signification (the reemergence with one's Creator) the Armenian *drum* (dome) which crowns the mediaeval Armenian churches of the same geographic area, erected generally atop the

¹⁶ See especially Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Réveils et Prodiges 'le gothique fantastique'* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), Henri Focillon, *Moyen Age: Roman et Gothique* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1938) and especially stimulating *Moyen Age: Survivances et Réveils* (Montréal: Valiquette, 1945).

jamatoun (narthex). We have commented on these shared forms in our work *Dede Korkut et David de Sassoun: De Van à Roncevaux et au retour*.¹⁷

In South India one cannot but gaze in awe at the vast *gopurams* (gate-towers) of Tamil manufacture that usher the pilgrim into the Saivite temple grounds. They too resemble Armenian *drums* and Seljuk *kümbets*, spiralling upwards from wide bases towards their majestic peaks. Indeed, the Tamil (or Dravidian) *gopuram* is likened to the sacred mountain of Saivism, Kailash, where God-Siva dances his dance of creation...destruction...recreation...The *gopuram* is the combined ingenuity of Pallava and Chola artisans. At another architectural level, all the sixty-three saints of the *Periyapuramam* are remarkably sculptured in the friezes of the Airavatesvara Temple near Kumbakonam in Tamil Nadu and at the Mel Kadambur Temple near Cidambaram. Here the Tamil artisan has disengaged from the silent stone those salient arrested gestures of the poem, devout gestures that bear the weight of the saints' unconditional devotion to God-Siva...¹⁸

It is in China where the incomparable stamp of the Confucian pagoda and the Buddhist *stupa* fuse to erect the most gracious and lofty temples. Their soaring summits either limned against mountainsides or standing solitary upon the plains, transmit the same emotion of that nice blend which we read on the pages of *Ji Bu Insulting the Enemy*: a harmony that acknowledges the inseparableness of the sacred and the profane, of beauty and function, of Confucian reflection and Buddhist compassion...

But let us now return to the practice of mediaeval epic Discourse by exploring inter-subjectivity and the acknowledgement of the Other.

The Other bursts upon the scene; he wrecks havoc in our private domain and territories; his Otherness destabilizes our psychological economy. Concomitantly, however, the awareness of the Other will stir one's spirit and emotion to represent this Other, be it in congenial or dissonant verve. Because Discourse *represents* the Otherness of the Other, by the same token it also *presents* the subjective make-up of the narrating voice or voices who represent this Other! The narrating voice lays bare the emotional purport of the Other-enemy or friend whose declamations or undertones in their narrations vibrate in all their subjective clarity. The bardic voice of *Beowulf* intones undisguised hatred for the monsters his hero battles against. Likewise the spiteful narrative voice of the *Song of Igor*, who is quite displeased by the quibbles between Russian princes, and exhibits ostentatious contempt towards the pagans of the steppes! Similarly with the narrative voice or voices that recount Roland's tragic battle at Roncevaux; voices that conjure extraordinary racial odium towards the Moors. The Other-Muslim here, an ideological substitute to the Basques who indeed killed the historical Roland, are decried as canine, knavish and blood-thirsty, exactly those qualities that the French mediaeval audience were enjoined to hear and assimilate during the holy wars between Christians and Muslims.

Epic Discourse as we read it in the tales of our Eurasian koine has threaded its unity and cogency by the blending of the myriad bard-poets' or story-tellers' voices into a narratological Oneness. The mediaeval narratological voice is not monolithic, for indeed the subjective make-up of the bard-poets and the subsequent scribes was not! The Russian warriors of the *Song of Igor* are condemned for their

¹⁷ (Pondichery: Voies Itinérantes, 1993): 78-90.

¹⁸ See our study *Periyapuramam ou l'Eternel Moyern Age* (Pondicherry: Voies Itinérantes, 1995), pages 406-425.

internal bickerings: this is the story-teller's *reproachful voice*. But there is also the *lamenting voice* of Yaroslavna upon the ramparts of Putivl', and the *boasting voice* of the warriors, be they Russian or Polovcian. In *Beowulf* we hear Beowulf's own *recitative voice* when he brags of his former swimming exploits in the same way that Digenis plays the rôle of the bard-poet when he recites his adventures (chant six) to us, and this in a whole gamut of inflexions and tones ranging from the *boisterous* to the *pathetic*! Roland's *sardonic voice* enkindles the hate that Ganelon transforms into vengeance (this is also the case with the Cid's *sardonic voice* when addressing his future son-in-law), whilst his *haughty voice* replaces the horn that should have been sounded. Olivier's *supplicate voice* finds no ear, neither Aude's *lachrymose* one! In *Ji Bu Ma Zhen*, we have the dual pleasure to hearken to Ji Bu's *injurious* and *humble* voices and to Liu Bang's *vengeful* and *merciful* ones...

Epic Discourse is a centuries' long alchemical fusion, and in fact it is still in process of narratological elaboration because the awareness and acknowledging of the Other is a centuries' long endeavour. Did not Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats draw inspiration from the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* during the Irish revolt to use as a 'literary arm' against the colonizing British? And why did the mediaeval Irish scribes write down the orally executed *Tain* in the first place? Because the scribes, like Lady Gregory and Yeats, understood that the *Tain* is a tree, planted, grown and admired by every Irishman! A tree whose grand branches and wide leaves provide a refuge for the embattled Irish against English brutality and the massacres of their people. The long rolls of names and toponyms that have been recited then interposed in written form in the four versions of the Irish epic tale 'fix' the reality of the Irish soil, of Irish History, and Irish identity to that soil and History. The indefatigable repetition of these place-names attests to the Irish tradition of **dinnseanchas**, by which the etymology of the name of a town or village tells its tale! To seek out the meaning of the places mentioned in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* whilst walking through them as we did is to comprehend fully the story of Cuculainn, the History of the Other-Irish!¹⁹ Is not the town of Athlone 'really' understood when we learn that it etymologically means The 'Ford (ATH) of the loins' (LUAN) because it was there that the Dun Bull of Cuailnge threw the loins of the rival white bull from Finnbennach over the ford at Shannon River in the last fantastic combat of the epic tale? Indeed, it is this etymological lesson that purveys to us the intimate relation between Text and Soil. Let us listen to it for a moment:

'Tanic reme go himmargain Átha Móir.
& Ra facaib a lón in Finabennaig and. Gorop
de dá tá Áth Luain.'²⁰

19 The Tain Route covers 585 kilometres from Athlone (the mediaeval Connacht) in County Westmeath today, through Knockbridge (Cuculainn's death-place) to the Cooley Peninsula in Ulster County. See our etymological and geographic study in *Tain Bo Cuailnge 'Voyage de Pénétration'* (Hong Kong: Voies Itinérantes 2006) especially pages 410 to 432. For our studies of the Irish epic tale we have used the *Lebor na hUídre version*, R.I. Best and Osborn Bergin (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies 1992), the *Book of Leinster*, R.I. Best and M.A. O'Brien (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1956), the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, John Strachan and J.G. O'Keefe (Dublin: School of Irish Learning, 1912) and the *Stowe version*, Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1978).

20 From the *Book of Leinster*, loc. cit. page 398.

'He (the Dun Bull) came to drink again at Athone and threw the kidneys
of Finnbennach there; this is how
its name became Athlone.'²¹

The Otherness of the Other thus has a place in the story-teller's conscious, good or bad. Cuculainn battles cattle-rustlers at a time when Ireland was divided into five autonomous, warring regions. That Other, Queen Mebd and King Ailill, penetrated Cuculainn's private domain -his psyche intimacy- and piqued him. Once his passion aroused, the Other incurred his wrath and subsequent pursuit of revenge! The story-line may appear simple to us (like all mediaeval epic story-lines) but not the passion that sets the story in motion, indeed extremely complex because excited by the Encounter with the Other...

The bardic Discourse assesses its cogent unity through the interpretation of the Encounter with the Other, attempting willy-nilly, to profit from the Other's experience because it seems to be an authentic one; that is, the Other remains who he or she is and not who the story-teller is. This may appear contradictory since we have just recalled some of the story-tellers' rather biased visions of this Other: and yet, without this authentic experience there would, perhaps, have been no epic tale to tell! It is, we believe, for this very manifest reason that the mediaeval bardic voice is multifarious, notwithstanding the discursive unity: there can be no unity without distinction!

The bard-poets in forging this mediaeval discursive unity had recourse to narratological techniques that shaped the contours of the Discourse, that strengthened it, that provided it with as many nuanced hues of sound and form as the unwavering solidity of its Oneness. These are the oral-aural techniques of the mediaeval world of communication. It is the world of **Oralture**: where to be a good story-teller meant to be a good listener! Formulaic, iterative and parataxic execution cannot function if the listener privileges the signified (signifié) and not the signifier (signifiant). Mediaeval epic narration was an oral and aural art, for it was the signifier that transmitted the signified. The aural impact -the bardic voice- imparted meaning to the attentive audience. The division of prose and poetry had no signification for the mediaeval mind because in the words of Marcel Jousse: 'Dans la transmission orale, il n'y a point de distinction entre poésie et prose.'²² Here then are a few of those narratological techniques executed by the mediaeval bard-poet during his recital of an epic tale...

Narratological Techniques in the Recital of a Mediaeval Epic Tale

To explore a mediaeval epic tale (or any Text of the past) the explorer-philologist must abolish distances. His exploration is an adventure into the realms of Time, during which the origins of words or expressions may reveal the substance of the bard-poet's reality; that is, the authenticity of his intentions, of his special relation to his public...

²¹ Our translation. This is one of the many instances of the **split-voice technique**; here the story-teller shifts the main thread of the narration by effecting a **parenthetical adjunct** of a very pedagogical nature.

²² *Exercices de Style* (Paris: 1925)

The repetition of words, locutions, verses and strophes in mediaeval oral narration is not a sign of lexical impoverishment or of bardic ignorance; it discloses the very essence of the mediaeval mind, its manner of story dramatisation by iterating words that weave the motif of the drama or enhance a character's behaviour, by repeating locutions that set markers for both the storyteller and their listeners so that narrative unfolding spins off not in a linear fashion but in a spiral one, progressive indeed, yet coiling backwards periodically because each part of the tale is taken up by others, winding or coiling out gradually in varying degrees of intensity, somewhat like a fugue, until the resolution, by reiterating verses and strophes that either act as a mnemonic narratological device for the bard-poet in his long tale, and at the same time allow an extremely mobile audience to follow the thread of the story, or function as a recital technique by which those recurrent verses and strophes draw the audience ever deeper, not so much into the story itself, but rather into the *substance* of the story; namely, the signifier which imparts the story-teller's affective involvement or investment in his tale, his empathy with a character or a nation. In short, iteration and formulaic repetition cannot be considered as mere rhetorical ornaments for the sake of fine diction or as literary depletion. At a morpho-iterative level, it should also be pointed out that grammatical techniques as syllable and word redoubling enrich the iterative system of mediaeval epic narration by a continuous play on sound structures. The doubling of adjectives, nouns or verbs and reduplicated syllabic compounds in Turkish, Tamil and Chinese bear the tale along at a rapid, spiral pace, the second doubled word echoing the first, or the meaningless first syllable of the compound echoed by the first syllable of the second lexeme. In the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* we read reduplicated adjectives like 'yıldar yıldar' 'bright bright' (very bright), 'ķas ķas' 'loud loud' (loudly)²³, 'bam bam' 'slow slow' (slowly), etc, reduplicated nouns like 'kanlu kanlu' 'blood blood' (bloody), 'arķap arķap' 'ring ring' (ringed), 'kara kara' 'black black' (pitch black), etc, and verbs like 'ķūt ķūt' 'thump thump' (like a bull), 'caķla caķla' 'splash splash' (like waterfalls or brooks: a babbling brook!), 'fısl fısl' 'whispering', 'gele gele' 'coming', etc. There are hundreds and hundreds of these reduplicated lexemes in the *Book of Dede Korkut*.²⁴ We can also read, but to a much lesser extent, reduplicated syllabic compounds such as yepyeyil 'grassy green', 'sapsarı' 'yoke yellow', 'kipkırımıza' 'rudy red', 'kapkara' 'coal black', in which if indeed the first syllable of the compound is meaningless, meaning, however, is fully transmitted by alliteration. Meaning is 'heard' through the impact of the signifier; that is, through its acoustic impact!

Another technique of echo-play in the *Book of Dede Korkut* is **cognate derivations**. For example, 'damir donun geyan' 'dressed in sturdy dress' or 'ūzeārinā ķōkdī' 'knelt on his knee', etc.

Reduplication and echo play are also intoned in *Ji Bu Ma Zhen*; for example: 'shì shì' 'often often', 'hūn hūn' 'obscure obscure', 'zhuān zhuān' 'twirl twirl' (twirling), 'jiā jiā' 'family family' (kith and kin), just to list a few.²⁵

In the *Periyapurānam*, too, reduplicated nouns²⁶ create a multiplicity of objects: /manimani/ 'jewel jewel' (enjewelled), /va:yava:y/ 'mouth mouth' (a mouthy person), /etiretir/ 'face face' (face to face or

23 As for example, 'ķas ķas ķūldī' 'he laughed loudly'. We are working out of Dr. Muharrem Ergin's Azeri edition of the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* (Istanbul: Ebru, 1958).

24 In Turkish they are called *aynen tekrarlar* and are employed in both oral and written speech.

25 See our translations and commentaries in *Ji Bu L'Épopée chinoise aux heures médiévales* (Castres: Voies Itinérantes, 2003), especially pp. 127-202.

26 The art of reduplication in Tamil is called /atukkut tolar/, that is 'repetition of words in order'.

confront), /maram maram/ 'woods woods' (woody), /kaṭṭikaṭṭi/ 'bundle bundle' (bundles of or thickening), /valivali/ 'road road' (from generation to generation), /muttummuttum/ 'pearl pearl', etc., and the redoubling of adjectives an intensity of space or manner: 'me:lme:l/ 'high high' (ever-higher), /ve:ruve:ru/ 'different different', etc., and verbal reduplication quickens the pace of an act or a phenomenon: /mirumiru/ 'sparkle sparkle', /kondukondu/ 'shivering' /kulunkikulunki/ 'shake shake' (shaking (of laughter)), /kaḷakaḷa/ 'splashing (of water)', etc.

We have not found any reduplicated forms in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, *Digenis Akritas* nor in the *Song of Igor*, albeit its use is quite widespread in spoken and written Irish, Greek and Russian today. This also holds true for the *Song of Roland*, *El Cid* and *Das Nibelungenlied*. One may feel inclined to deduct that narratological redoubling is an 'oriental' art of narration more than a western one: perhaps...²⁷ Let us now turn to the figure of parataxis.

Parataxis is a *method* of narration; a juxtaposing of hemistiches, verses or strophes without the adhesive material of conjunctions, coordinates or adverbs of time and manner. Parataxis organises the structure of all the epic tales of our mediaeval koine, one that builds dramatic scenes by adjoining 'blocks' of decor, monologues and images whose interstices constituent those 'elliptic blanks' into which the listener's imagination penetrates and participates in the construction of the story! The interstices of paratactic rhythm allow the listener to partake of the unfolding story as if he or she, too, empathized with the characters, as if these spaces of eloquent silence allowed him to share the story with the bard-poet. As Sédar Senghor said of parataxis: «...les mots sans ciment sont liés par leur poids.»²⁸ It goes without saying that this weight depends on the bard-poet's talents, however, he must bequeath 'space' for his audience to share, that is 'fill in the blank spaces' of the unfolding narration. Parataxis is the bard-poet's strategy; psychologically it demands the listener to remain always prompt, wary, and this can only be accomplished by his participative imagination in the creation of the epic, in which the bard-poet inspires a collective engagement, provokes the reciprocal rhythm of an oral and aural exchange, stirs his listeners own creative imagination to respond to his own. It is this very dual vocation which shapes the form of the mediaeval epic tale, and this dual vocation cannot be effective without the interstices that parataxis construction inspires and imparts...

As we mentioned above, it is the signifier that confers full meaning to the ever-hearkening mediaeval audience. It is the acoustic impact from which derives signification and pleasure of the ear.²⁹ Alliteration and assonance impart to the audience signification and aural pleasure because in mediaeval art of narration they are veritable Figures. The clashing of metal, the thumping of steps, the resounding cries of warriors are all highlighted through the interlacing of consonant clustering and assonance. The blending of both, as in the *Periyapurāṇam*, the *Song of Igor* or the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, create a remarkable symphonic euphony!

27 Nor have we come across a reduplicated form in *David of Sassoun*, though this epic be of Eastern Armenian stamp! Reduplication is very much present in African languages today, but since the majority of them have no written forms, besides Swahili, Wolof, Hausa or Yoruba -many Africans writing in French, English, Portuguese, Arabic, Africaners-, it is difficult to determine whether or not the reduplicated forms would have reached a written form.

28 In *Ethiopique* 'Epîtres à la Princesse'.

29 This is not tautological. We may listen to something quite beautiful, let us say a foreign language, but not understand it.

There is so much reverberating alliterative weaving in the *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, *Beowulf*, the *Song of Igor*, *Nibelungenlied* and in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* that researchers have attempted to compare the differing systems of mediaeval epic alliteration to see whether they are translatable into each another, and if so, could form a huge common language of oral/aural communication, particular to mediaeval epic transmission.³⁰ On the other hand, it is assonance that imparts meaning in the *Song of Roland* and in the *Cid*.³¹ In the *Periyapurāṇam* and *Digenis Akritas* it is the subtle blending of both which we have called **antithetical values**.

Meaning is heard! It resonates in the ears of the audience. Alliteration and assonance are not rhetorical ornaments, there is no 'clashing of consonants' or 'slithering of vowels'; but an oral ply of identical consonants that generate a play of morphological and syntactic analogies, of melodious open or closed vowels that either end a verse, creating thus a rhyme, or a hemistich which then create inlaid rhyme patterns.³² Rhyme creates meaning! In the *Song of Roland* the theme-word 'mort' (death) is often assonanced to 'or' (gold), 'corns' (oliphante), 'cors' (body) of 'tort' (fault). The signifier [ɔ] pattern can be interpreted as Roland's *death* of *body* caused by his *failing* (tort) to sound the *horn* (cor) putting an end to his *golden* (or) aura!

In the *Cid* we read a contrastive assonanced pattern with the phoneme [o]: « Fabló mio Cid e tan mesurado: 'Grado a ti, señor padre que estas in alto! Esto me an buolto mios enemigos malos.' ». In the first verse of [o]s 'fabló' (spoke), mio 'my' 'mesurado' 'measured', grado' thanks to' and 'alto' (high) we hear the Cid offering lofty thanks to God. In the second verse, however, in spite of the continued [o] pattern the tone becomes threatening: 'Esto' 'this' 'mios' 'my' 'malos' 'terrible' 'enemigos' 'enemies' 'buolto' 'planned' (This is what my terrible enemies have planned). The bard-poet links both verses acoustically with the same assonanced pattern in order to create a discursive contrast: God is on the Cid's side and is given thanks//the Cid's terrible enemies are no match for God because He has seen through their evil designs!

In the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* alliterated verses resound of invocatory pleadings or hymnic chants:

« Dofil gnúis as grato do
dobeir mod don bancurreo
duni óc is alaind dath
dofeith deilb ndracuín don chath »³³

This quatrain is sung by the prophetess Fedelm. The dominating alliteration theme-consonants are the alternating voiced [d] and voiceless occlusives [t]. It is the ply between these phonemes that create the unity of the quatrain, that purvey its meaning:

30 We are thinking of the research underway at the Baku State University in Azerbaidjan where professors and students are currently comparing the systems of alliteration in *Beowulf* with those of the *Book of Dede Korkut* in view of translating *Beowulf* into Azeri.

31 This being said, there is alliteration in the *Song of Roland* and the *Cid* but it is not a dominant sound/meaning pattern.

32 For example in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*.

33 In the *Leincester version*, page 144.

« Here is a fine face which (I see)
gives esteem towards bebies of women
youngster whose sweet skin shade
shows a serpent shape amidst battle. »

We have attempted to seize the original alliterating sound pattern with our alliterating initial and medial [s] and semi-vowel [w].

If indeed the bardic alliterating patterns of the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, *Beowulf* and *Dede Korkut Kitabı* attain very high degrees of aural transmission, it is in the *Periypuranam* that we hear the most intricate weavings of alliterating and assonanced architecture. As we said above we have called this complex interweaving **antithetical values**,³⁴ by which the 'cīrs' (hemistiches) and the 'viruttams' (strophes) of the legends are constructed by a paradigmatic and syntagmatic intertwining of repeated consonants and vowels whose intricate and thus vibrant blending creates the unity of each 'cīr', each 'viruttam', each legend...the unity indeed of the whole width and breadth of the *Periypuranam*! This extraordinary union of 'antithetical values' has nothing to do with 'literary genius'; it is the Tamil bard-poet's oral ingenuity,³⁵ his well-learned craft of verse-making that has composed this resounding epic tale...

To comment on the stock motifs and formulaic expression of our mediaeval epic tales would require an entire book; suffice to say that there is none that ignores recurrent words; for example in *Digenis Akritas* we have found three words that elaborate a triadic theme whose semantic rôle structures the narration: 'ἄπειρος' 'boundless', 'εὐθύς' 'at once' and 'θαυμάσιος' 'wondrous'. These three words act as attributes, either in quality, quantity or manner throughout the eight chants of the Byzantine poem.³⁶ Neither does any ignore recurrent locutions, verses or quatrains: whole strophes are repeated in the *Song of Roland*, verses in *Ji Bu Ma Zhen* and in the *Song of Igor*. The story-tellers of our koine speak different languages, but there Discourse is basically similar...

There is one narratological technique that we would like to comment on briefly, which is read in the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* and in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*: it is the alternating 'spoken verses' or 'heroic chants' with the 'prose narrations', a bardic technique quiet absent in our other mediaeval epic tales.³⁷ It is interesting to note that in these 'spoken verses', orally declaimed by the heroes, alliteration and assonance, not to speak of rhyme, is more predominant than in the 'prose narrations', generally declaimed by the bard-poet himself, or a hero less inspired to poetic effusions! The high percentage of 'spoken verses' in both epic tales seems to indicate that the heroes hold the stage as much as the bard-poet does! As to the 'prose narrations', another identical narrative technique that we have discovered is what we call **percursory dramatic narration**, by which the bard-poet voices all the mighty attributes of a hero as he gallops onto stage, not divulging his name until the very end of his monologue...

³⁴ See our *Periypuranam: l'Éternel Moyen Âge*, loc. cit. pages 326-342.

³⁵ In its etymological meaning 'that what begets'!

³⁶ See our *Digenis Akritas*, loc. cit. pages 185-201.

³⁷ In Turkish the 'spoken verses' are called 'soylama'. They resemble the 'sprechverse' of mediaeval Germanic poetry.

One last narrative technique that we would like to expose is what we call **juxtaposed monologues**. The voices of our epic heroes as they declaim or harangue in strophic fashion do not intertwine to form dialogues but are 'juxtaposed' or 'adjoined' to each other as if each hero voiced his or her view or opinion, however, without heeding to any adverse or conflicting view that could alter or shift the course of events that are unfolding before the public's eyes (ears)! As if each hero incarnated that 'person' who must fulfill the destiny that has been traced for him or her, without any obstacle to impede that fulfillment, and which in most cases is a tragic one! 'Conversations' or 'arguments' do not waver the fate of a hero: there is no psychological evolution as we experience when reading novels, only gestures that enact the designated rôle. Roland and Olivier do not 'discuss' the pros and cons of sounding the horn to alert Charlemagne; it is only when all is lost that Roland sounds it loud and clear. Indeed, the song must be sung, and a well-sung song must it be; namely, tragic! Roland's death announces the arrival of Charlemagne and his revenge against both the Moors and the 'traitor', Ganelon...

Dialogue as a means of developing character relations, thickening thereby the story line has absolutely no signification in a mediaeval epic tale; it is the story-teller who enacts all the rôles the heroes embody, not depriving them of any free-will, so to speak, but acting out their parts in a predestined resolution that in fact holds neither suspense nor denouement! Juxtaposed monologues confirm the destiny to be accomplished, each hero declaiming his or her lot of that destiny as if they were upon a stage voicing bombastically that lot more to some imaginary audience rather than to those who are on stage with them! Discourses are delivered as a means of identifying the hero to the events, never to solve internal conflicts or struggles. Beowulf will be killed by the dragon: the audience knows this very early in the recitation; it is *how* the bard-poet expresses this anticipated death which keeps the mediaeval listener 'riveted to his seat'...Prolepse or anticipation is that bardic Figure which stirs states of uncertainty in the audience through the recitative craft of the bard-poet; the mediaeval epic tale is no detective or police thriller! And indeed prolepse and analepse (flashback) form part of mediaeval bardic narratological lore because they are also means of putting into motion the spiral movement we have already spoken of; not only do they 'shift' Time slots, but more important still, they 'shift' or 'split' the bard-poet's monotonous voice into a whole gamut of polyphonic utterances, inflexions and modulations, a whole range of narratological devices that we have generically termed the **split-voice technique** whose many voices include the superlative, vocative, apostrophic, sententious, conspiracal, reminiscient and proverbial, and whose frameworks for infixing the voices are, for example, story-embedding (contes à tiroir), self-assuming responsibility, subjective-rôle play, reported speech patterns and close-up scenes. The mediaeval epic tale is not a third-person, objective account of a hero's deeds or misdeeds: it is a polyphonic resonance whose inordinate pleasure of the ear and spirit stems from the recitative strength of the bard-poet; that is, his knowledge of these narratological devices which determines him as a 'good' story-teller or a 'bad' one!³⁸

With such a wide weal of narratological devices, and with as many voices to express them, how then is the translator to interpret and transplant them into our modern languages? How is he or she to seize the bard-poet's discourse and his heroes' voices in order to render this discourse and the voices as dramatic and vivacious as they were heard to the mediaeval audience?

38 For a lengthy study of these **split-voice techniques** see our *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, loc. cit. pages 215-256, *Digenis Akritas*, loc. cit. pages 185-251 and *Le Récit d'Igor*, loc. cit. pages 110-116.

Translation: The Acknowledging of the Other

Inspiration for our mediaeval Turkic, Armenian, Tamil, Chinese, Irish, Byzantine Greek and Russian translations has been drawn from theoreticians like Maurice Blanchot, Walter Benjamin, and from our professor Henri Meschonnic. This being said, it is the practice of translation, or better put, the Act of transferring Discourse, that has circumscribed our method, that has directed our striving for and acknowledging the Other.

Our mediaeval epic translations attempt to voice the mediaeval bard-poet's Discourse. They are philological experiences which position the translator-philologist between the Discourse of the original Text and his or her own Discourse; a method that generates a hybrid Text by which towards the surface (the translator-philologist's translation or target-Text) the mediaeval bardic discursive voices (source Text) rise and transpire, there converging and coalescing. It goes without saying that this dual-reading of a translated Text entails the complete subjective commitment of the translator-philologist in the same way that the bard-poet committed himself, subjectively, to his public narration! It is thereby a spiral method: the translator-philologist delves into the mediaeval bard-poet's Discourse, learns his recitative devices and tactics, then plunges into his or her own Discourse so that mediaeval voices and gestures can be re-enacted upon a modern stage.

This method can only be effected if the translator-philologist acknowledges the subjective commitment of the mediaeval bard-poet; namely, seize his Discourse, for it is the bardic Discourse that intones the mediaeval bardic voice, that asserts his meaningful intentions much more than the language in which it was couched. The philological experience of translating Discourse has enabled us to grasp, simultaneously, two Discourses and two voices: the bard-poet's and ours! It has enabled us to penetrate this Other whilst remaining ourselves...

Discourse is the voice of that Other -here the bard-poet-, one intimately linked to a subjective mood, and although this voice represented an historic epoch, for indeed no individual cannot *not* be bound to his community's events and culture, its conscious and reflective pose towards it posits his Discourse as a subjective activity of an individual.³⁹ In sum, the translator-philologist who recreates the original by forging his or her own Discourse by way of the original Discourse acknowledges the Discourse of the Other: this is what we call the *Ethics of Translation*. It is the Art of Calque, a sub-division of the Art of Philology...

The Art of Calque lies not in the translation of one language to another; that is, a simple linguistic exercise that in the majority of cases mutes the subjective voice of the author (or authors) by smothering it (them) with the voice of the translator. Calque seeks to make the Other's voice rise to the surface of the translation, and there commingles with ours, the translator-philologist's.⁴⁰ However, this perilous adventure entails doing violence to one's own language, transgressing language convention and prescribed rules. For Discourse is not a system: it is linguistic creation! We have translated *Ji Bu Ma Zhen* into French and English by applying an **iconic method** of transferring the vivid images contained in

³⁹ All human beings possess a language but how many have forged a discourse which is not an opinion? This Discourse-forging the mediaeval bard-poets effected, and it is this that the translator-philologist must also forge!

⁴⁰ In other words, the translator-philologist must transcend the *actual shape* of the Text so as to attain the *essential form*.

Chinese sinograms -which we call iconograms- into images wrought from French and English tropes and figures. We have translated *The Song of Igor* into French and English by applying an operic method of transferring the vivid sounds of Russian alliteration and assonance into sounds generated by French and English alliteration and assonance! In our efforts, we have indeed done violence to both the French and the English languages in creating our own Discourse to respond to the Discourse of Ji Bu's and Igor's bard-poets...

Concretely, the Art of Calque requires a fine ear and eye so as to refashion the Other's distinctive *sounds* (alliteration, assonance, phonesthemes, echoic-words, rhyme), *forms* (mass suffixation (as in *Digenis Akritas*), pre-verbals (*Digenis Akritas* and the *Song of Igor*), compound clustering, cognate forms), *structures* (asyndeton, polysyndeton, parataxis, hemistich balance, adverbial and adjectival positioning) and *images* (tropes, figures, close-up scenes), which the translator-philologist forges from his own language. The translator-philologist, through his transferring trials and tribulations, becomes a poet!⁴¹ For it is the sum of the signifiers that comprises Discourse, and once interpreted as voices of Discourse, will purvey the signified. Let us here give a few simple examples of discursive rendition.

In Chinese we hear reduplicated patterns as 'cháng cháng' 'often often'. We have translated this locution as 'oft often', or 'míng míng' 'clearly clear'. We also read the AABB pattern: 'fēng fēng huǒ huǒ' 'hustling bustling' or 'piào piào liàng liàng' 'attractively attractive'. We have attempted to seize these iterative patterns through the use of alliteration and pleonasm in our translations.

The pre-verbals of Russian and Byzantine Greek, as we have read them in the *Song of Igor* and *Digenis Akritas*, do have analogous forms in English (phrasal verbs) and in French (verbal compounds⁴²); for example, 'прикрыты' 'conceal' or 'перелить' 'to pour out'. In *Digenis Akritas* we read composed forms such as 'κατήγαγον' whose attacking first syllable 'κατα' means 'down' and root verb 'αγω' 'to bring'. In an English translation we would translate the compound with a phrasal verb: 'bring down'; in our French translation we have employed the auxiliary 'laisser' and the verb 'choir'.⁴³

Turkic and Tamil syntax, because they are agglutinate languages, posed innumerable obstacles in rendering a syntactic verisimilitude in English or French, the verb coming at the end of the verse or phrase, especially in the Azeri of the *Book of Dede Korkut*, where grammatical rhyme ends many of the heroic chants. It is true that we could end a verse with 'talked' 'stalked' and 'walked', all of whose past-stem end in [t]; this '-ed' grammatical marker does not, however, have the same phonetic value in 'called', [d] or 'expected' [id], albeit they share the same morpheme!⁴⁴ In our English and French translations of the *Periyapurānam* we have ended many of the verses with a verb, fully realising that this syntax is far from conventional acceptability:

41 'Le traducteur est un écrivain d'une singulière originalité, précisément là où il paraît rien revendiquer aucune. Il est le maître secret de la différence des langues, non par pour l'abolir, mais pour l'utiliser afin d'éveiller, dans la sienne, par les changements violents ou subtils qu'il lui apporte, une présence de ce qu'il y a de différent, originellement, dans l'original.' Maurice Blanchot, *La Tâche des Traducteurs* (1977).

42 For example, **parcheminer**, **parfaire**, **parcourir**, or **accourir**, **encourir**, or **prevenir**, **prevoir**, **prémunir**, etc.

43 In our *Digenis Akritas*, loc. cit. pages 254-306. The example was taken from chant VI.

44 The repetition of a lexeme or of a grammatical marker (tense, participle, mode) at the end of a verse as read in the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* is called *redif* in Turkish. Similar anaphoric rhyme schemes, especially grammatical ones, are also very present in the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*. See our study in *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, loc. cit. pages 215-240.

'The swift changing musical air of the hilly tract true
the rising trebled air of the 'Taram' and the cerebral air of the 'Uzai' he poured forth,
resounding the Letters Five of Him of the cool Ganga flowing from His matted hair;
then the sweet divisions of the guttural notes and the combination if the fifth and first notes he
fulfilled.'⁴⁵ (strophe 25)

or

'Into the southern direction on the great flanks thick with woodlands the heroes went on;
boars cruel, elks in gangs, majestic, many hordes
crowded close in droves, whose foot-steps scouts tracked;
with mighty broad missiles and nets our hunters on all sides ran'⁴⁶ (strophe 74)

In our French translations the uncanniness of the Tamil syntax transpiring to the surface of the French rendition can be disorientating at a first reading:

'Comme le soleil rougeâtre qui baigne dans une mer à la lumière crépusculaire,
et comme la ténèbres brune, épaissie, l'emmêle, le ceint, ainsi
il porte un atour travaillé dans une vieille peau d'éléphant et
comme le beau corail, sur Son corps divin, cette peau moirée brille.'⁴⁷

or

'Ce office, avec amour et sans erreur il désir à faire
si on veut dire comment, jadis, a fini l'état des adeptes dévoués
C'est par l'amour de la vérité pour Civa, le Pur que l'acte éveille;
c'est la coutume dextre de l'amour, de la grande offrande d'éternité.'⁴⁸

Finally, the semantic choice of our translations respects the etyma of the original, whereby we have had recourse to words⁴⁹, locutions and tropes that correspond, as best as possible, to the Middle Ages,

45 Paul Mirabile « The Legend of Saint Anayanar: the Musician », *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies*: Pondicherry, (Vol. 12:1 January and July 2002):246-254.

46 Paul Mirabile « The Legend of Saint Kannappa: the Hunter, », *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies*: Pondicherry, (Vol. 11: 1, January and July 2001): 153-207.

47 Paul Mirabile, *La Légende de Saint Siruthondar ou le Petit Serviteur* (Pondicherry: Voies Itinérantes, 1996), page 29.

48 Paul Mirabile, 'La Légende de Saint Sakkiya' dans *Periyapuramam ou l'Eternel Moyen Age*, (Pondicherry: Voies Itinérantes, 1995) pages 188-202.

49 For example, a **muster** of peacocks, a **trib** of goats, **battleseats** (saddles), **nakers** (drums) and in our French translations 'marri' (sadness), 'isnel' (quick) 'tabur' (drum), 'ost' (army), 'desafrer' (deprived of), etc.

even if this method means creating words and expressions or rehabilitating them from their mediaeval past.

In short, in order for the translator-philologist not to efface the Discourse of the bard-poet -that Other- he must distinguish the singular, distinctive traits and features of that bardic-Other, then explore his own experience of Discourse so as to translate them, no matter how uncanny or weird they may ring to the ears of the modern reader or listener. By translating a mediaeval epic tale the translator lets him or herself be transformed by the movement of the Text in the same way that the mediaeval listener let him or herself be transformed by the voice of the bard-poet...

For indeed, to translate a language can become (but not always) an impersonal and mechanical exercise; to translate Discourse is a poetic and psycho-linguistic adventure that demands the ontological investment of the translator-philologist's own poetic and psycho-linguistic adventure of Discourse. It is this great adventure which presumes an **Ethnic of Translation**...

The Mediaeval Epic Heroes

A koine supposes similar or analogous values. We have seen that out of historical Encounters and parallel growths conditions for these shared values grew, distended and interlaced. It may go without saying that if story-telling narratological techniques appear common to all the bard-poets of Eurasia, then logically the heroes of their tales will also share commonplace values: this induction is both correct and incorrect...

It is true that all our mediaeval epic heroes avail of superhuman qualities, overwhelming strength, sharp wits, strong wills, large hearts. They all incarnate that individual whose grand exploits have been sung for centuries. Whether these doughty deeds were really effected has no incidence on the qualities of the epic song itself: the bard-poet treats his hero as a living testimony to the grandeur of his eternal feats. Be that as it may, within this analogous framework each hero possesses not only distinct 'national' traits that demarcate each from the other, but at the same time, due to these distinctions, complement one another, for similar historic circumstances will condition a hero's view of the world, and therefore, the story-teller's view of his hero's view!

The death or capture of a hero appears to satisfy a certain latent yearning in the psyche of the mediaeval audience. But a yearning for what? Surely not for their hero's death? And yet, without Roland's death how could terrible retribution have been meted out by Charlemagne, and thus quench an audience's thirst for revenge against the common enemy of mediaeval France, the Muslim? Retribution is always expected in some way or another, for without it there would be no sense in the 'tragic' (although anticipated) death of the hero! But for retribution to function another empathetic spur is needed: betrayal! Roland was betrayed by Ganelon, hence, the act of death and the act of vengeance. Betrayal in *Nibelungenlied*, too, plays its sinister but effective rôle: Sigfried is betrayed and killed by Hagen, Kriembald avenges Sigfried's death by having Hagen killed along with all the Burgundians at Attila's court! Betrayal plots the tragic death, thus urging the vengeance that gratifies and appeases. In the *Book*

of *Dede Korkut* the great hero Bamsi Beyrek, whose epic deeds outshine all his warrior companions, is treacherously betrayed by his uncle Aruz in the twelfth and last legend. On his dying breath he asks his companions that this betrayal be avenged: it is by Bamsi's brother Kara Göne who cuts Aruz's head off. Then Aruz's home was raided and his territory pillaged.

The Cid is betrayed by King Alfonso who banishes him from the Christian kingdom; he vents his vengeance by fighting for the Moors. This being said, even though his sons-in-law beat his daughters, and in spite of his banishment, the noble Cid will pardon them then return to his Christian king.⁵⁰ To pardon is a rare sentiment in the mediaeval epic tale: CuCulainn pardons none, neither Charlemagne (in spite of his fervent Christian faith!), nor any of the Nibelungen heroes. Beowulf could hardly pardon half-humans and a dragon! In our Eastern epic narrations the Turkic nomads never pardon; they do convert, but this is not a pardon! The four brothers of Sassoun pardon no one, nor do the Tamil saints; they convert but never pardon, and this irrespective of their deep, Saivite faith. It is in *Ji Bu Ma Zhen* where pardon functions admirably after insult, humiliation and the call to wrathful vengeance! The Han emperor Liu Bang forgives the noble knight Ji Bu, and in this forgiveness all the meaning of chivalry rings clear and true: tragedy is avoided through the nobleness of heart and the intelligence of mind. Ji Bu may just represent the paragon of knighthood in our koine...

Must mediaeval heroes be 'historical' in order for listeners to relate to them empathetically? Roland, Charlemagne, the Cid, Igor, Ji Bu, the heroes of *Nibelungen* to a certain extent, the majority of the Tamil saints! What of Beowulf? He seems not to have any historical record: does this make him less sympathetic in the eyes of an Anglo-Saxon audience when his timely hour arrives? Would any mediaeval listener shed a tear for a fictitious, fabulous grey-bearded king who leaves his throne to battle against a dragon far from his land? They probably would, for it is not the historical authenticity that drives the listener to empathize with a hero, it is rather the values that he bears with him and purveys to the audience by his acts. Beowulf is not even Anglo-Saxon; he is of Scandinavian blood. Yet he chooses to lose his life in battling the evil dragon in the 'Land of the Angles' instead of living out his last years in kingly comfort: no mediaeval (or modern?) listener could not be sympathetic towards such a person, historical or not! And how about the four Armenian heroes of Sassoun in *David of Sassoun*; are they historically attested? It seems rather not, albeit many Armenian kings bear the name David! In fact, Sansar, Meher the Lion, David the daredevil and Little Meher belong to a hybrid world of rough mountain-clad Armenian legends and enchanting silvery sanded Arabian fairy tales. The long narration takes place between Bagdad and Sassoun, the desert lying in between, imbued with supernatural figures and events. David's grandfather, Sansar, marries the daughter of the king of the jinns from the Green City, Forty-Blonde Braids! From this fantastic wedlock Meher the Great is born. Meher in turn marries a Muslim, Ismil Khatoun, and from this mixed union David is born. David then marries Princess Khandouth, daughter of the king of the Blue Rock, Vatcho-Mardjo. But David, after defeating his half-brother Melik of Egypt in a battle of giants (David and Goliath?), exchanges rings with Sultane Tchemechkik, a Muslim. He is seduced by the Sultane and this illicit union, out of which a daughter is born, brings about David's young death: this same illegitimate child kills her father with a vengeful arrow! Princess Khandouth throws herself off a tower to her death...

⁵⁰ In later versions he kills his two sons-in-law.

Finally, Little Mehr, David and the Princess' son, errs from place to place, seeking the answer to his father's adulterous act with a Muslim to the expense of his Armenian mother! Marked by the seal of shame, finding no outlet to vent his humiliation, Little Meher disappears into the Rock of Van and there remains ever petrified in silence and in penitence for the sins and errings of his ancestors...

The four pillars of Sassoun erect a House of conglomerate alloys: extravagant and wily Armenian aristocrats, jinns, Muslim foes, enticing women, the result of which is the slow decay of the House, rife with error, thus grief. It is curious to note that if the heroes of Sassoun possess superhuman strength, such as Beowulf's or CuCulainn's, they are more 'human' than Beowulf and CuCulainn, inasmuch as they are subject to misdeed and sin. Their worlds are now marvelously supernatural now perfectly mundane. The intermingling of so many variegated colours into this remarkably painted fresco make *David the Sassoun* the most awe-inspiring of our mediaeval Eurasian epic tales. Furthermore, more than the heroes themselves, it is the town of Sassoun that avers the privilege of heroism: a sort of topographic prowess that wards off assaults from all quarters regardless of the four heroes' sorrows and plights...

Of the sixty-three hero-saints of the *Periyapuranam*, all but eight have been historically recorded of which thirty-two lived in Tamil Nadu between the VII^o and the XII^o centuries. At a first reading, the thirty-two do not appear to have much in common with our other heroes, be they European or Asian! Nevertheless, and in spite of the vast cultural divergences, sundry converging ethical, military and social values can be gleaned. The Act of sacrifice for one's God or feudal lord (bhakti) is ever-present in each of the legends, although none dies tragically in sacrifice! The Saivite *nayanars* (saints) cannot be considered as superheroes, albeit their exploits prove quite remarkable, even fantastic. Saint Kannappa gouges out his eye to give it to his Lord, God-Siva. The saint is even willing to gouge out his second one: the merciful Siva stops his determined hand...Saint Siruthondar and his wife merrily chop up and fry their only son to feed the beggar who has called upon them, and who is in fact Siva in disguise! The potter, saint Tirunilakanta, commits adultery, but his comportment is forgiven after him and his wife have been put to the trial by God-Siva. The earthy, human and humane traits of the Tamil saint-heroes, forever put to the test by the cantankerous Civa, who appears to each in all his manifold divine attributes, can be likened to Roland's arrogant pride (did he not sound the horn?), David of Sassoun's flaws, Beowulf's boasts, Ji Bu's oratory prowess, the Cid's and Igor's battle wit. Sacrifice (saint Sundura, Kannappa, Moorti), combat prowess (saint Yenati, Siruthondar, Muruga, Eri-Pattha), spiritual élan in the conversions of Jains such as is recounted in the very long legend of saint Tirunavukkararasar; even extraordinary events occur: wounds are miraculously healed (saint Arivattaya), stones are transformed into flowers (saint Sakkiya), pariahs walk through fires and are perfectly cleansed (saint Tirunlai Povar), yogis become as small as atoms to enter into the grace of God-Siva (saint Perumizhalai Kurumpar), water serves as oil to keep the temple-lamps alit (saint Naminandi), a woman hero walks on her head up a mountain to receive Siva's blessing (saint Ammaiyar of Karaikal), etc.

To peruse the deeds of our Tamil heroes of the *Periyapuranam* plunges us into an uncanny world of flamboyant achievements, yet strangely familiar with those of the other mediaeval epic tales of our koine, for sacrifice, exuberance in joy and hate, combat valour and spiritual élan form the subjective-make-up of all our mediaeval heroes, and it goes without saying, their intrepid story-tellers...

Igor Sviatoslavich, the valiant prince of mediaeval Novgorod-Seversk has deep roots deep in Russian History: he is of the prestigious Chernigov family. His sally against the invading Turko-Mongol tribes in

1185, and his capture by them, has led several historians to compare Igor with Roland.⁵¹ The comparison is indeed accurate. Igor, unlike Roland, however, is not killed but captured. Yet, like Roland he goes into battle singing that warrior code which repudiates all forms of pusillanimity: « it is better to die than to be taken prisoner » (verse 10) which echoes Roland's hearty verse: « Malvaise essample n'en serat ja de me » (verse 1016).⁵²

Igor's capture, the death of his companions and his ultimate escape from the enemy camp set the stage for Russian vengeance. Igor, too, is betrayed: he bickers with his brother who leaves him to fight the invading nomads on his own. The bard-poet averts his audience in many a hue and tone about this abandonment and unbrotherly conduct. Igor does fight alone, and this chivalrous bravery reminds us of Roland's, the Cid's and to a certain extent Digenis'...

We have left Digenis Akritas for the end because we consider this gallant to be the most uncommon of our koinic heroes. Digenis is the knight-errant! He battles both Byzantine outlaws and Muslim warriors. He even combats an Amazon! His blood being mixed, he chooses not his nation; he fights for women, for himself; he shuns Constantinople as he does the Caliphate at Bagdad, although he builds his desert palace on Arabic soil in the north of Iraq. Digenis accomplishes his emblazoned deeds not for any emperor or king or nation, but basically for his own errant renown, galloping free and proud in the deserts of Anatolia, the gaunt individual battling within the mediaeval framework of restrained collectivity. As we see it, Digenis is that knight who, unlike any of our other mediaeval gallants, does not transcend individuality to any social or racial solidarity. For this reason, he is by far the most fascinating and problematic of them all in both Word and Deed. His primary and perhaps only flaw: women! For he too, like David of Sassoun, let himself be seduced...and not only once! Digenis, and to a lesser extent David, may be interpreted as anti-heroes; that is, those who could not conquer their instincts or overcome their passions...⁵³

Conclusion: The Continuum of The Mediaeval Eurasian Koine

One of the sub-titles of our work 'L'Eternel Moyen Age', places the explorer, and subsequently the reader, in a diachronic, spiral movement comprised of many synchronic sojourns; that is, human experiences, which has connected the past with the present...the present with the past. The brief halts that gave rise to the books of our project should be interpreted as so many pauses on the long geo-ontological road of life, so many plunges into a not so distant past. It is not a question of a nostalgic quest for the chivalrous, a reactionary urge to restore monarchical authority, a rebellious romanticism whose vent is the Fantastic Gothic: it is the bard-poet's cleaved voice or voices which bear the weight of

51 G. Patrick, « La Chanson de Roland et le Dit des Guerriers d'Igor » *Romantic Review* (France:1924): Vol. 15., and Dimitri Likhachev, *слобо о полку изоребе и культура его еремени* (Leningrad: 1978).

52 'No bad example will never be said of me'.

53 But was this not Samson's flaw as well? And he a Nazirite...

their heroes' chosen destinies that seem to dwell on without and within us, haunt our daily activities, here and now. Destinies which bear an historical ultimatum whose benightedness defines, paradoxically, enfeoffed public opinion when tyrannical leaders have recourse to 'barbaric' methods in solving political conflicts or when xenophobic interlopers (the Other?) invade our private domains. The scabrously abused expressions 'barbaric' and 'mediaeval' or the ubiquitous 'Dark Ages' then ring out in approbation to stigmatise an ignominious event or person or nation, and in doing, so relieve our 'civilised' and 'modern' conscious. It would seem that the values for which the mediaeval knights fought, the story-tellers narrated and the audiences expected to hear have remained ours...for the better or the worse. Values such as strong identification to one's community or religion which can provoke the mistrust or the rejection of the Other, or on the contrary, will stir a desire to err on the borders of several ethnic and religious communities and amongst them plant the seeds to make flourish multi-culturalism.

Values such as image-manufacturing⁵⁴, fabricated out of the creative imaginations of the mediaeval 'ymagier' or 'ymager', those sculptors and painters and illuminators who narrated the scenes extracted from the books, sacred or profane, of their ancestors so that an illiterate population could partake of their ontic and existential signification by means of their beautiful forms and colours. Mediaeval art did not separate beauty and function. Friezes, icons, frescoes, tapestries emblazoned the grand epic tale of humanity in the most vivid gestures. The love of reading images has never been as compelling as it had at the end of the XX^e and as it has today!

The Middle Ages appears to have 'made a come-back': J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and his trilogy the *Lord of the Rings* did not only become a cult book in the 1970's, its adaptation to the screen has become a cult film (Peter Jackson: 2001 and 2003). Is it due to the fantastic special effects that enliven all the creatures of Tolkien's creative imagination, or the Beowulfian plot that underlines the whole tale (Middle Earth, Mordor ('death' in Old English), and into which many modern spectators feel compelled to penetrate, drawn by the latent message of companionship, combat valour and uncalculated heroism which the prodigious images offer? For like the epic voice of the Middle Ages, and the images that represented them on material supports, it is the signifier (acoustic or iconic) that transmits the signified!

On the other hand, the 1961 Hollywood production of *The Cid* does not avail of any latent message: Charleton Heston is surely emblematic of hero-worship! He is both the Cid who battles heartfully and the Cid who is placed erect in a saddle upon his trusty horse, quite dead, and sent against the armies of Yusuf. He is taken for a ghost and Yusuf's warriors lose all heart. The image here is indeed captivating, one that strikes the heart more than the mind...

Das Nibelungenlied has undergone interesting transformations since its mediaeval executions. Behind the bombastic tones of Richard Wagner's opera *Siegfried* (1874) lies Germanic nationalism and Wagner's own anti-Semite opinions. His monotonous interpretation of Siegfried as some patriotic hero loses all its mediaeval polyphonic nuances. In Wagner's opera we hear but one voice: his! and not the myriad split voices of the mediaeval bard-poet. These operic images were meant to arouse a Germanic nation to its Teutonic chivalrous past, to mobilise a people towards its chosen destiny. And as F. Nietzsche stated so precisely:

⁵⁴ The word here is used in its etymological sense: 'made by the hands'.

« Wagner sums up modernity! »⁵⁵

On the contrary, Fritz Lang's 1924 film *Nibelungen* is a subtle work of art whose black and white images seize the stark contrarities and antinomies of the mediaeval poem in all its polyphonic colour...

Values such as the emotions that drama will enkindle in the heart: over the centuries the mediaeval voice shifted to the modern stage and although the pleasure of the ear indeed remained, on the stage after the curtain has been drawn, it is the pleasure of the eye that prevails. Furthermore, stage-drama is an art that presents problems which hound a society, and whose vocal, gestual and decorative functions seek to draw empathy from the spectators. Stage-drama is a social engagement not just a 'night out at the theatre'!

Jean Deschamps' dramatic production of the *Song of Roland* at Carcassonne in 1957 sets out to present a composed vision of the epic tale: the decor is mediaeval (Carcassonne is a mediaeval city), the choice of language (many words and locutions are of mediaeval fount), but the theatre-writer's interpretation is decidedly modern: a song sung on the pilgrimage road to Saint Jack of Compostella, interpretation that modern philologists like Menendez Pidal and Joseph Bédier confirmed, where in fact fragments of the mediaeval *Song of Roland* were most likely recounted by the travelling pilgrims. This modern interpretation is a far cry from its bellicose mediaeval message, as could be expected after two world wars and millions dead...

Thomas Corneille's dramatic interpretation of *Le Cid* (1637) bears witness to the social problematics of a XVII^e century France: duelling amongst aristocrats! Don Rodrigo of Bivar does not defend a national cause, but defends the right to duelling, which at Corneille's time was prohibited by Louis XIII. The Corneillian Cid is an aristocrat who must defend his honour that has been dishonoured, and this had to be carried out by a duel! Indeed, the sentiment of shame so prevalent in the mediaeval narration has been nicely represented in the play, as well as that Spanish sense of honour, for they are inseparable emotions. Yet it is the duel that highlights the drama, stimulates the audience, rouses their interest and emotional investment more than the mediaeval Cid's banishment and struggle against both Spaniard and Moor to regain his piqued honour. And this can be expected: is not Thomas Corneille and his audience men and women of their times?

The twelve legends of the *Book of Dede Korkut* have, alas, been poorly represented on the stage, in spite of the drama that each legend contains. We must thank the erudite Güngör Dilmen for his remarkable representation of Deli Dumrul (fifth legend of the twelve) whose 1982 production captures all the humour and ignorant blundering of the 'crazy' hero who made people pay toll either to cross his bridge or not to cross it!⁵⁶ The angel of death, Azrael, by God's command, will take care of this strange warrior, and in doing so will teach him the limits of what a human being can ask or not ask from God's creatures...And this vital sentiment has neither temporal bounds nor spatial confines...

55 *The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 156.

56 Little Meher in David of Sassoun has also transformed a bridge into a vehicle of limitless power by beating those who cross it and those who do not cross!

We have already commented on Lady Gregory's and W.B. Yeats' translations and rewritings of the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* for the Abbey stage in Dublin as a means to promote Irish culture in combating the English at the beginning of the XIX^e century. Yeats' *With the Sea* (1893), *On Baile's Strand* (1903), *At the Hawk's Well* (1917) and the *Death of Cucuhulain* (1939) all testify to his and Lady Gregory's 're-actualisation' of the combative Hound against invading forces, be they Queen Mebd's cattle-rusting or English exploitation and oppression...⁵⁷

Prince Igor's mediaeval misfortunes have produced the most modern epic opera *Prince Igor* by Alexandre Borodine.⁵⁸ Because of his dual origins (his mother was Circassian) Borodine puts on stage two worlds of music, dance and gestures: Slavic and Oriental. Slavic stoicity (music) vies and clashes with Polovcian voluptuousness (dance)! Borodine's operic fresco certainly seizes that mediaeval alchemical osmose⁵⁹ which consists of the seepage of one tradition into another. He has proven that mediaeval values are perfectly comprehended by the modern audience, or better put, that these mediaeval values, tenacious as they are, possess a longevity that no epoch has yet been able to cast aside...Borodine's images put on stage the History of Russia in all its symbiotic width and depth...

Finally, values such as ideological mobilisation to which modern epochs have had recourse in their propaganda battles against the common enemy. Here, too, the mediaeval epic tale has played decisive rôles. Did not the *Song of Roland* form part the 'agrégation' examination in 1870, the year of the French capitulation at Sedan? Was it not sung in secondary schools during the Second World War? Were there not vicious battles between Jacob Grimm and Joseph Bédier for claims of patrimonial possession of the Text, Bédier insisting that the song was 'notre génie nationale' (said in 1913) whereas the German erudites countered by bringing attention to the Germanic elements of the Old French language (its discourse?) the popular stamp of its narration (Volkgeist) and especially the fact that Charlemagne (Karlemagne?) was a Germanic emperor whose many palaces pepper the lands of Germany and not France? Do not the Germans also maintain that practically all the statues of Roland are to be found in Germany,⁶⁰ and that Roland has always symbolised for the German people justice, urban rights and commercial privileges, in other words, bourgeois rights? It was perhaps Gaston Paris, the French philologist who spent many years in Germany who emphatically summed up the *Song of Roland*:

« un esprit germanique sous une forme romane. »

A national and ethnic compromise? Perhaps this sums up both the mediaeval and modern art of diplomacy...

57 See our contribution to this interesting re-actualisation in « Légendes d'Irlande: Lady Gregory et la *Tain Bo Cuailnge* » *Liber Mirabilis* : Carcassonne, (Vol. 41, winter 2006): 5-30.

58 Created and first performed at the Mariinski Theatre in Saint Petersburg in 1890.

59 Was not Alexandre Borodine a chemist by profession?

60 There is only one statue of Roland in France at Dole. The others were indeed erected in Greifswald (1398) today destroyed, Brandbourg (1402), also destroyed, Leitmeeritz (1539) still standing, Göttingen, still standing, Halberstadt (1381) destroyed, Perleberg (1498) still standing and Stendal (1525) still standing. See Rita Lajeune and Jacques Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l'Art du Moyen Age* (Liège: 1967), volumes I and II.

On a more synchronic scale, but as equally belligerent, our hero Digenis Akritas found himself quite inextricably entangled within the murky webs of Greek and Turkish Realpolitik: was not the Greek plan to invade and 'free' the Greek population from Turkish tyranny called the *Digenis Plan*, drafted out in 1963 and put into operation in 1973 by the Greek generals, a military operation that if succeeded (but it didn't!) would have annexed Cyprus to mainland Greece?⁶¹ Digenis might have indeed spoken Greek (Byzantine Greek!) but he never stepped foot in Greece; as we have mentioned, his home were the desert sands of Anatolia, and his 'patriotism' was the untrammelled freedom of the knight-errant...

Quite the contrary, the Turks appear to be politically or socially disinterested in the *Book of Dede Korkut*, besides a few excerpts of the legends printed in their school manuals at middle and high school levels. It was rather a shock to the Turks that in the wake of the dismantlement of the Soviet Union, Azerbaidjan declared the *Dede Korkut Kitabı* to be their patrimonial founding Text. Ruffled over this expropriation, Turkish intellectuals demanded justifications...and got them: the legends are not written in Turkish but in Azeri, which professor Muharrem Ergin, a Turk himself, had confirmed in the 1950s.⁶² Furthermore, the majority of the toponyms mentioned in the *Book of Dede Korkut* are located in today's Azerbaidjan, a fact that cannot be debunked. At last, there has been such insignificant and scanty research done on the epic tale in Turkey, compared to the tons of research on it in Azerbaijan in the last fifteen years that Azeri professors and researchers have concluded that it cannot but be theirs! Turkish erudites have responded by designating a compromise term for the language of *Dede Korkut Kitabı* 'Eastern Anatolian', which in any case is Azeri! It is no coincidence that much research has been done on the legends in Turkey since the Azeri declaration, and an annual conference is held at Bayburt. Be that as it may, this has left Turkey without a patrimonial Text: does a country need one? This question can only be answered by those peoples who seek to restore national identities that have been purposely inhumed under layers of political dogma.⁶³

As to Ji Bu and our Tamil heroes, their words and gestures have been hardly exploited by modern artists, intellectuals or politicians. The Middle Ages have always been a thorn in the side of the Chinese, artistic presentations draw their inspiration from earlier or later dynasties. Nevertheless, the novelist, Jin Yong, as we see it, draws much of his narrative inspiration from the Tang period, and his hero in the novel *Lian Cheng Jue*⁶⁴ does seem reminiscent of a certain Ji Bu!

Unfortunately our Tamil hero-saints cannot even vouch for a novelist in their favour: the sixty-three *nayanars* are hardly even eluded to in North India much less outside of the sub-continent. Besides our efforts, very little work, artistic or intellectual has been devoted to one of the most wonderful mediaeval epic tales of Eurasian...of the world! Save a few plays dedicated to saint Siruthondar in the Mumbai area, the heroes of the *Periyapuranam* must wait patiently for their day under modern suns...

So much for the modern visions of the epic tales of our Mediaeval Eurasian Koine. In conclusion, if our readers still have doubts about the objectivity of our koine, it suffices to add that any objective reality

61 The plan is also known as ENOSIS.

62 In his works *Dede Korkut Kitabı* (Istanbul: Ebru, 1958) and *Dede Korkut Kitabı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

63 For example, the Turkic epic tale *Alpamysh* is Uzbekistan's patrimonial founding Text. Similarly, the epic poem *Manas* is the patrimonial founding text of Kyrgyzstan.

64 (Beijing: 1999)

is always gauged by the myriad subjective voices that comprise it. As to our koine, these voices are the story-tellers', their heroes', their listeners' (future story-tellers!), the translator-philologists', the erudites' and the readers'. Could reality be more objective than that? Could reality be more subjective than that? These two realities, which in fact are One, we have experienced without and within us. There is no truth of fact that we have not touched with our hands, seen with our eyes, heard with our ears. In sum, this has been our geo-ontologic adventure, an adventure of applied philology to both the Text and the Soil that we have called the **Philology of the Future...**

And since this adventure has been imbued with, let us say 'a personal touch', we may here confess a slight penchant for the *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, not due to any qualms we may have of the other epic tales or contention about their beauty, charm and undaunted spirit, but due rather to the width of its geographic confines: Mongolia to Anatolia, to the breadth of its social evolution: a Shamanist tribe to an Islamic community, and to the depth of its existential demeanour: the Oghuz and Seljuk vision of the Other-Perse, -Armenian and -Greek.⁶⁵

The alchemical osmotic process is what truly delimits our Mediaeval Eurasian Koine, in which ethnies and religions have been infused and assimilated as if poured into a gigantic funnel out of whose conduit the finest well-crafted poetry that only integrated and assimilated elements can produce streamed forth. Indeed the Funnel Theory is only a Figure, but one that purveys the image of blended and ever-blending communities and cultures. It is a Figure that presupposes a communion of unlike constituents which must, nilly-willy, exist side by side. A Figure that is very much ours today...

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⁶⁵ See our article « Les douze légendes du Livre de Dede Korkut dans le Destin du Peuple turc » *Liber Mirabilis*: Carcassonne, (Vol. 53, March-April 2009): 4-68.

PLÁJÁS, Ildikó Zonga

A Different Lesson on History of Arts

Impressionism: Sensation & Inspiration

Highlights from the Hermitage

16 June 2012 – 13 January 2013

As the door of *Café Guerbois* opens, for a moment light falls on the excited faces of several artists: the dense smoke blurs the sharp contours and the colors suddenly turn lighter. We are in the late 60's in Paris and as the absinth vanishes from the glasses, the discussion gets more heated...

The *story* of the impressionist movement from Paris is presented by the current exhibition of the Hermitage Museum in Amsterdam, a true adventure, even for those who are not connoisseurs. Without the ambition of being exhaustive or representative, the exhibition succeeds in capturing the *inspirational impressions* of this enticing period, through the historical context and accurate narration.

But back to *Café Guerbois*, the Académie and the upcoming Salon de Paris were once again the main worries of those sitting at the table around Édouard Manet. Broadly controlling the French artistic life, the Académie des Beaux-Arts was rewarding the artists faithful to the traditional French painting standards at the annual Salon, whereas the works of our group were consistently rejected. But what was so different and seditious in this new emerging style?

The didactic disposition of paintings in the exhibition hall, just as the complementary narration, leads us towards the answer. Let us give a glance to these two portraits, in order to remain at a less subversive subject, accepted both by the Académie and our young artists.



(1) Carolus-Duran (Émile A. Charles Durand):
Portrait of Princess Anna A. Obolenskaya, 1887.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



(2) Renoir, Pierre-Auguste:
Portrait of the Actress Jeanne Samary, 1878.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

While the *Portrait of Princess Anna A. Obolenskaya* of Carolus-Duran won many medals, Renoir was seeking recognition at the Salon in vain with his painting picturing the actress Jeanne Samary. However, the differences between the traditional academic style and the colour and brush handling of the new fashion are obvious, none of the two works are pure representatives of their trends.

Carolus-Duran was a prominent member of the French art society but also a good friend of Manet, whose influence is shown increasingly in Duran's work. The portrait of Anna Obolenskaya is painted in a traditional way, according to the requirements of academical style: sombre colours, clear contours, suppressed brushstrokes, carefully finished outlook, nevertheless the flower in her hands looks somehow improvised, with light brush strokes and an air of transience: i.e. impressionist, one may notice.

On the other hand, Renoir, faithful to the impressionist principle, depicts his subject unposed, in a quasi-feasible surrounding, without artificial lighting and impressionistic contouring, yet this painting clearly carries the traces of Renoir's effort to get recognition from the Salon, in order to end his financial problems. This time his attempt failed.

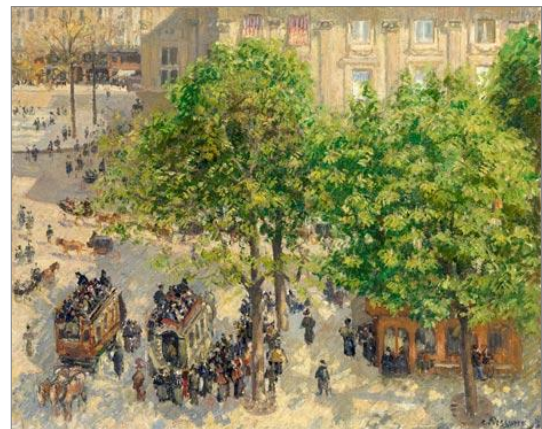
Counterpoint proves to be the organizing principle of the entire exhibition. The works of the impressionists exposed thematically or style-centered are always contrasted by the works of mainstream artists, painted in the academic manner, resulting in a gripping story on history of arts.

The contrast between the French academic style and impressionism is illustrated by various examples. The (3) *View of the Champs-Élysées from the Place de l'Étoile in Paris, 1878* by Edmond-Georges Grandjean, for example, faces (4) Pissarro's *Place du Théâtre Français, Paris, 1898*; and not to leave any room for misinterpretation, the narration attached to this part of the exhibition states: 'The differences are immediately obvious. It is the apparent reality versus an impression of the reality. Precision versus the ephemeral.'



3. Edmond-Georges Grandjean: *View of the Champs-Élysées from the Place de l'Étoile in Paris, 1878.*

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



4. Pissarro: *Place du Théâtre Français, Paris, 1898.*

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

As the academic style required, Grandjean had chosen his viewpoint carefully creating a symmetrical composition of golden mean, pared with a punctilious representation. Pissarro, on the other hand, rented a room at Hôtel du Louvre and looked out of his window. He writes in a letter to his son: 'It is perhaps not terribly aesthetic, but I am delighted that I can attempt to paint these Paris streets, which people usually say are ugly, whilst they are so silvery and so vibrant and radiate such a light. This is something quite different from the boulevards: this is totally modern!!!'

While on the first level of the exhibition the context of history of arts and the main features of the emerging style from the second half of the 19th century are presented, both in a figurative and a literal sense, the second level gives a more detailed insight of certain themes and personalities.

Beyond the overall picture embedded in a well organized and appealing narration of French impressionism, for me the strength of the exhibition lays in the enticing little stories and details of the period represented in a more readable than accurate fashion.

The fascination for real life, the constantly changing colours and lights or the ephemeral images of ordinary subject matter of the impressionists, thus is presented in a broader story which also includes the spread of photography, the quick extension of the railway network in France and - maybe the most important event - the invention of the paint-tube. Beyond the intellectual-artistic climate, all these factors contributed to the emergence of curiosity towards new subjects matters and elaborations in painting. Before that, it was just not possible to paint outdoors, en plein-air, as the paint was drying up too quickly. By the 19th century, artists were finally freed from their studios and a new connection with nature was established.

The members of the Barbizon school, an important precursor to impressionism, were the first ones to explore the possibilities offered by these improvements. For example, Charles-François Daubigny, one of the central figures of the Barbizon school, was so fascinated by the view of river banks, that he turned his famous boat Botin, into a studio.

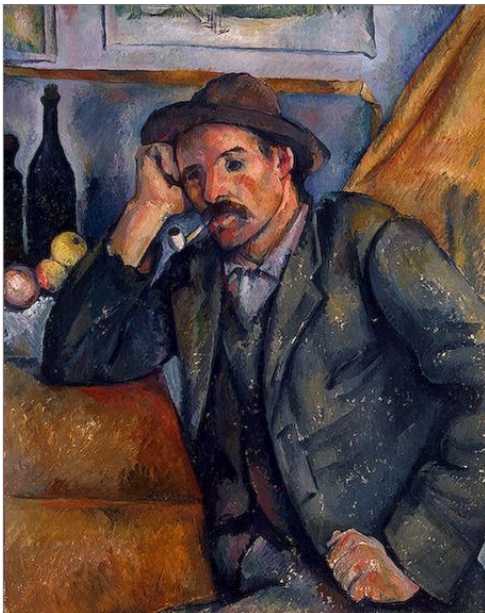


(5) Charles-François Daubigny, *The Pond* [*L'Étang*], 1858.

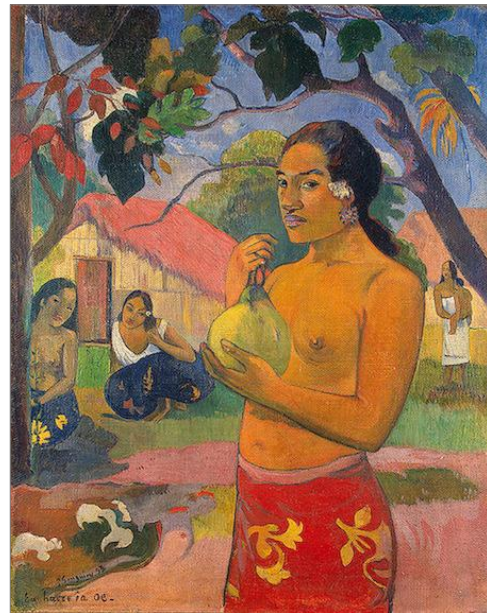
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The landscapes, especially those of Claude Monet, represent the core of the impressionist collection of the - otherwise extremely varied - exhibition. And here we can experience once again the power of storytelling. As walking out of the exhibition hall, along with the image of the artists sitting in Café Guerbois, another image enchanted my imagination: Monet is sitting on top of the French coast cliffs, soaking wet from rain and sheltered from wind, to capture the sight from different viewpoints, in changing weather and different light conditions in numerous paintings.

Due to the divergent nature of the exposed collection of The State Hermitage Museum, a couple of Post-Impressionist paintings are also included, as the context has already been set up. Through the *Smoker* of Cézanne early Cubism, while through the paintings of Gauguin, Fauvism and Expressionism are evoked.



(6) Cézanne, Paul: *Smoker*, between 1890-1892.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



(7) Gauguin, Paul: *Woman Holding a Fruit; Where Are You Going? (Eu haere ia oe)*, 1893.
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The inclusive narration opens the aperture of the exhibition. The last story takes us back to 1988, when Gauguin shares the flat with Vincent van Gogh in Arles for nine weeks. The dramatic story at first look might seem out of context, but the exhibition has already proved that every story is carefully placed and has its specific role. For that matter starting from the 29th of September 2012, the Van Gogh collection is temporarily hosted by the Hermitage Amsterdam, giving the unique opportunity to visit the two collections side by side.

The exhibition, far from being an overview of impressionism, gives us a masterclass of how a heterogeneous collection should be addressed, in order to integrate the divergent pieces in an exciting

holistic story of the history of arts. The result is a gripping narration of what happened in the artistic life of the second half of the 19th century in France, unquestionably worth witnessing!

Photo credits:

1. Carolus-Duran (Émile Auguste Charles Durand): *Portrait of Princess Anna A. Obolenskaya*, 1887. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.
2. Renoir, Pierre-Auguste: *Portrait of the Actress Jeanne Samary*, 1878. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.
3. Grandjean, Edmond-Georges: *View of the Champs-Élysées from the Place de l'Étoile in Paris*, 1878. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.
4. Pissarro, Camille: *Place du Théâtre Français, Paris*, 1898. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.
5. Charles-François Daubigny: *The Pond [L'Étang]*, 1858. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.
6. Cézanne, Paul: *Smoker*, between 1890-1892, © State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.
7. Gauguin, Paul: *Woman Holding a Fruit; Where Are You Going? (Eu haere ia oe)*, 1893. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets.



TRAVELOGUE

TAPON, Francis

Czech Republic — Eastern Europe's Most Civilized Country

My first visit to Eastern Europe was in 1992, when I had just graduated from college. For Americans, doing a European tour after college is a rite of passage. Just three years after the Iron Curtain came down, those 22-year-olds who craved some edginess stuck a toe in Eastern Europe. In my case, my best friend and I visited Prague and Budapest. Although nowadays Czechs and Hungarians will tell you 10 times per day that they are in *Central* Europe, not *Eastern* Europe, in 1992 they were only saying it about twice a day.

Prague—Eastern Europe's most beautiful city

In my opinion, Prague is not only Eastern Europe's most beautiful city, it is one of the five most beautiful cities in the world. Venice and Paris are the only two major European cities that top Prague in the City Beauty Contest. In 1992, Prague was like a supermodel who had just finished a five-day muddy backpacking trip: you could still tell that underneath all the dirt and grime, there was a hottie.

Today, Prague has not only taken a shower, but she has put on some makeup and a glamorous dress. Tourists have showered the city with money, enabling her to restore herself to her glory days when she was the capital of the Holy Roman Empire and, later, the capital of the Habsburg Empire. Even the worst flood in 200 years barely slowed down renovations—nearly \$4 billion poured in to help Prague bounce back. When I returned in 2004, just two years after a major flood, I couldn't see any damage and was once again enamored with the city's beauty. Today, this city of 1.3 million is a gem on the world stage. It seamlessly blends 900 years of architecture (Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Art Nouveau, Cubism, and Modern) into one tight package. It is not only an incredibly romantic city, but nearly every architectural marvel has a story behind it.

Take the saint's tomb in St. Vitus Cathedral, for example. The Czechs started building this Gothic cathedral in 1344 and finished it almost 600 years later. While it was being built, King Wenceslas IV was suspicious of his queen, so he demanded that John of Nepomuk, the priest who heard her confessions, reveal what she had confessed. John refused, saying that it's against church code to do so, even if the king demands it. The enraged king had John suited up in heavy armor, and tossed to his death in the Vltava River. For his loyalty to his priestly oath, he was canonized a saint and rests in a Baroque tomb made with two tons of silver.

New York has Brooklyn Bridge, San Francisco has the Golden Gate Bridge, but Prague has the *Karlův Most*—the Charles Bridge. Its 30 unique statues can inspire you on a sunny day or frighten you on a foggy night. It's hard to pick Prague's prettiest part, but this breathtaking bridge is my favorite. Built in 1357, it was Prague's only bridge until 1841. It was so well built that it survived the catastrophic 2002 flood. The bridge's best story was in 1648, when unlikely heroes (armed students and Jews) stopped an unlikely invader (Sweden) from crossing the bridge, thereby ending a 30-year war.

The Czech way to start a war

Even Czech windows have stories. In 1419, someone in the *Novoměstská radnice* (New Town Hall) threw a stone at marching Christian reformers, who, in a vengeful fury, broke into the building and threw a dozen Catholic councilors and a judge out the window. If the fall didn't kill them, the mob did. This event, which sparked a 17-year war, is called the *Defenestration of Prague*. *Defenestration* comes from Latin, meaning *out of the window*. About 200 years later, the locals would start an even bigger war by throwing some other Catholics out of a different window.

That famous window grabbed the headlines in 1618, when the Protestants did what they do best: protest. After convicting two Habsburg Catholic governors of violating the freedom of religion, Protestant nobles ignobly chucked them (along with their scribe) out of the upper window of the Prague Castle. This act is naturally called the *Second Defenestration of Prague*. What history books usually neglect to mention is that the Catholic guys fell 30 meters (100 feet) in a dung-filled moat and were barely hurt. However, they bruised their egos enough to declare war on the Protestants. For the next 30 years, Christians killed each other in a fight that would have an unimaginative name: the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The Protestant Czechs lost the war, a quarter of the Bohemian population died, and much of Central Europe lay in ruins. For the next 300 years the Germans would beat the Czechs into submission, forcing them to learn German, become Catholic, build baroque buildings, and make tasty beer.

The Wallenstein Palace is another amazing building in Prague with a story of divine justice behind it. Albrecht von Wallenstein was a Protestant until he realized that the Catholics would win the Thirty Years' War. Therefore, like Bulgarians, Italians, Romanians, and Slovaks in WWII, he switched to the winning side. Then he stole all the money from his former Protestant buddies to build himself a sweet palace. When the Catholic emperor found out that Wallenstein was going to switch sides again and rejoin the Protestants, he had Wallenstein assassinated.

After the Thirty Years' War, the triumphant Catholic clerics built the ornate *Malá Strana* (Little Quarter). They emphasized the ostentatious Baroque style throughout the district (and especially in the St. Nicolas Church) because that's exactly what the Protestants hated. Another nice Prague neighborhood is the Hradčany district, where you'll find the Prague's largest monastic library, the Strahov Library. Next to model ships, there's the most unusual exhibit you'll ever find in a monastery: a couple of whale penises.

What makes Prague special is that it's one of the few European cities that wasn't damaged during WWII. That's because the Czech Resistance made a deal with the Nazis: leave freely, just don't destroy any of the buildings on your way out. The Germans honored the deal and surrendered to the Red Army a few days later. Nevertheless, the Nazis did leave a trace.

Prague was once home to 120,000 Jews; today, about 4,000 remain *in the whole country*. For centuries, Jews had cycled between prosperity and persecution. The Vatican was the first to order the construction of a walled Jewish ghetto in the 1200s, because it felt Jews and Christians shouldn't mingle. Prague holds Europe's oldest still-open synagogue, which was built during that era. Over the centuries, the Jewish population grew, but then the Nazis nearly killed them all. The three sisters of the most famous Czech writer, Franz Kafka, were murdered during the Holocaust. The Nazis had plans to exhibit Jewish artifacts in The Museum of An Extinct Race.

Older than the Jewish Synagogue is Prague's *Staré Město* (Old Town), which is so beautiful that it can bring tears to your eyes. The highlight is the *Pražský Hrad* (Prague Castle): the world's largest ancient castle, covering seven football fields. A story-filled astronomical clock animates on the hour. Lose yourself in the street maze and you might end up in *Nové Město* (New Town), which isn't exactly new—it was founded in 1348. Today, its St. Wenceslas statue is famous for being the epicenter of many Czech protests. For example, one Czech student made the ultimate protest there—he burned himself alive. To understand why, we have to go back to the spring of 1968.

Prague Spring

In April 1968, the Czechoslovak communists instituted policies that resembled the *glasnost* and *perestroika* policies that the USSR would introduce 17 years later. They released political prisoners, relaxed the heavy economic intervention, stopped censorship, reduced travel restrictions, and encouraged democracy. It's everything that Gorbachev would do 17 years later, but in 1968 the Soviets weren't ready for such radical reforms. Moscow demanded that the Czechoslovaks reverse their policies. The Czechoslovaks called the event the *Pražské Jaro* (Prague Spring), because it represented "socialism with a human face."

The Prague Spring lasted through the summer, until August 21, when Soviet tanks rolled through Czechoslovakia along with 200,000 Warsaw Pact soldiers. That's more soldiers than the US sent to Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein. The Soviets expelled 14,000 Communist Party functionaries and fired 500,000 communist members. Over 300,000 fled the country. The USSR imprisoned rebels and sent educated professionals to labor camps or to become street cleaners. The Soviets sent Czechoslovakia's President to work for Slovakia's forestry department.

A few months after the Warsaw Pact killed the Prague Spring, a student protested the action by burning himself alive. As his flesh burned, he staggered down the steps of the *Národní Muzeum* (National Museum), and then collapsed. A cross-shaped monument marks the place where he fell. What's tragic is that he wasn't dead. It took him four agonizing days to finally die. The next day, 200,000 Czechs gathered in the square in his honor.

When a young Gorbachev visited Prague soon after that student's self-immolation, he saw anti-USSR graffiti and encountered workers who didn't want to talk with any Russian visitors. That trip was an epiphany that made him realize what every Eastern European already knew: that communism was unjust and unsustainable. The Prague Spring planted the seed of *perestroika* into Gorbachev's brain. Nearly 20 years later, when he finally had the power to usher in a Prague Spring all over Eastern Europe, he did.

Discovering the rest of Czechia

Many countries have long, flamboyant names. One the worst offenders is The United States of America. What a mouthful! Fortunately, we have shorter versions (USA or America). Other countries with long-winded names have a short alternative: The People's Republic of China (China or PRC), The Russian Federation (Russia), and The Republic of Moldova (Moldova). Unfortunately, the Czech Republic hasn't popularized a catchy word to call itself. In an effort to promote one, we'll use the best candidate:

Czechia. That way, when someone asks, “Where are you going?” or “What country makes the best beer?” you can say, *Czechia*, instead of *the Czech Republic*. Now let’s explore the rest of Czechia.

Whenever I told Americans that I was going to spend a couple of years traveling in Eastern Europe, they would usually say, “So you’re going to Prague?” For many Americans, Prague is Eastern Europe. This is ironic for two reasons. First, the Czechs hate it when you say they’re from Eastern Europe. Second, Prague is the least Eastern European city in Eastern Europe. It might as well be in France. The only difference is that the Czechs are polite.

* * *

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

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

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

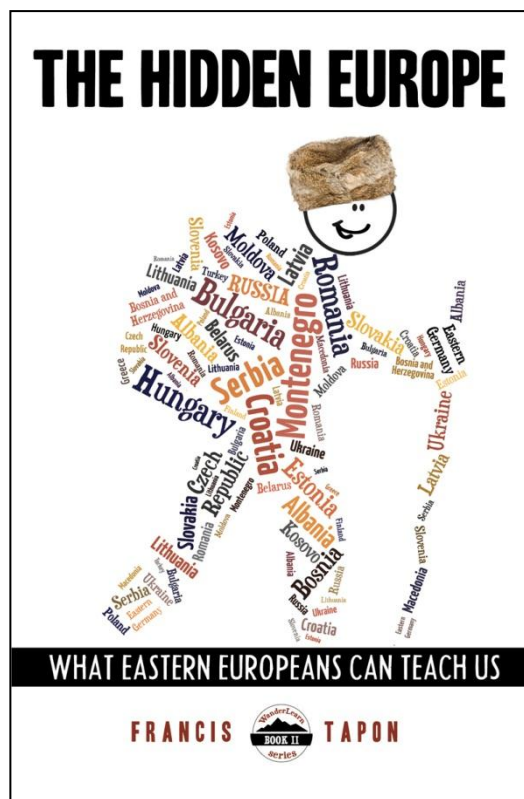
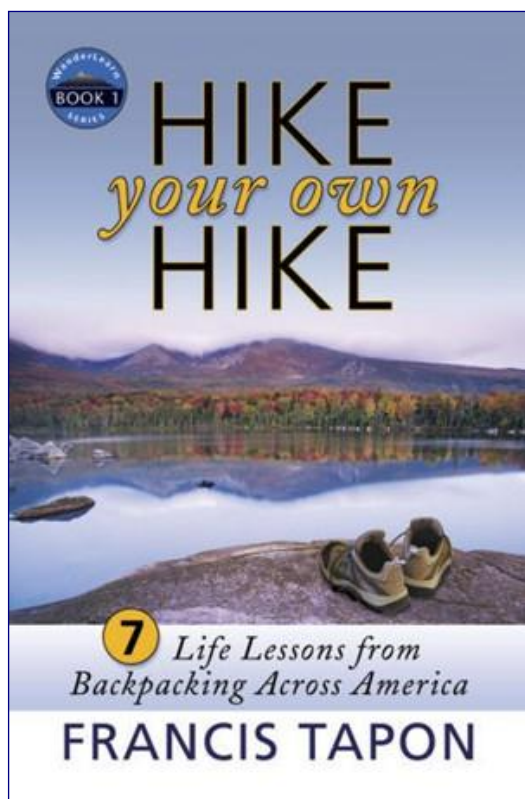
In 2001, he sold the little he had to hike the 3,000 km Appalachian Trail. Then, after consulting for Hitachi, he visited all 25 countries in Eastern Europe in 2004. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the 4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip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

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

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

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

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



CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON EURASIA

VÁMBÉRY, Ármin

In Herat and Beyond It

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

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

The large, flourishing valley, intersected by canals, in the centre of which the city of Herat is situated, is called *Djolghei-Herat* (the Plain of Herat). I saw with surprise how rapidly the wounds inflicted by war had healed. But two months ago savage Afghan hordes had been camping in the neighbourhood, trampling down and laying waste everything, and behold! to-day the fields and vineyards are boasting of their intensest verdure, and the meadows are covered with a luxuriant sward dotted all over with field-flowers, making them look like embroidered work.

We entered by the gate of *Dervaze-Irak* (viz., the Gate of Irak). The gate itself and the houses surrounding it were one mass of ruins. Not far from the gate, in the interior of the city, was a lofty fortification, which, owing to its phenomena, was more particularly exposed to the hostile missiles, and now there was nothing left of it but a heap of stones. The wooden framework from door and window was gone, it having been used up as fuel, of which there was great scarcity in the city during the siege. In the deserted openings of the houses were seen naked Afghans and Hindoos squatting, worthy keepers of a city in ruins. At every step I advanced the desolation became more appalling; entire quarters of the town were empty and deserted. The bazaar alone, or rather that part of it covered with the cupola, which has withstood many a siege, presented an interesting picture of life characteristic of the confluence of Persia, India, and Central Asia at this place. It was a wonderful sight to see the astonishing variety of types, complexions, and costumes amongst Afghans, Hindoos, Turkomans, Persians, and Jews. The Afghan, whose national costume consists of a shirt, drawers, and a dirty blanket, assumes sometimes the English red coat, but on his head he wears the never-failing picturesque Hindoo-Afghan turban. The more civilized affect in part the Persian dress. Arms are the universal fashion; private citizens as well as soldiers seldom come to the bazaar without sword and shield, and persons wishing to look distinguished carry with them a whole arsenal. The Afghan is both in appearance and demeanour the rudest and most savage, every one passing him with a great show of humility, but never did people hate a conqueror more intensely than those of Herat the Afghan. The surging, variegated crowd before me was pleasant to look at. There were moments when, seeing Afghan soldiers in English uniforms and with shakos on their heads, I thought that after all I was now in a country where I had nothing to fear

from Islamite fanaticism, and that I might drop the mask which had become intolerable to me. But only for a moment, for upon reflection I could not help remembering that I was in the East, where appearances are most deceptive.

As I mentioned before, my purse was quite empty. I tried everything in my power to procure myself the necessary travelling expenses. I waited upon the reigning prince, Serdar Mehemmed Yakub Khan, a youth sixteen years old, and the son of the then king of Afghanistan. The king had entrusted this youth with the government of the conquered province, he having had to hasten to Kabul where his own brothers were plotting to deprive him of his throne. The young prince was residing in a palace very much battered by the siege. He was dressed in a uniform with a high-standing collar, and would sit, most of the time, in an arm-chair at the window: and when wearied with the great number of petitioners which it was his official duty to receive, he would order military drills and manoeuvres to be executed on the place below his window and inspect them from there.

As I was stepping into the courtyard of the palace in the company of Mollah Ishak, the military drill was just at its height. Near the door of the reception hall a crowd of servants, military men and petitioners were lounging. Thanks to my huge turban and pilgrim-like appearance every one made way for me, and I could reach the hall without interference from anybody. When I stepped into the hall I found the prince seated as usual in his arm-chair, with the Vizier on his right side, whilst ranged along the wall were standing other officers, mollahs, and people from Herat. In front of the prince were the keeper of the seal and four or five servants. As became my position as a dervish I entered with the customary salutation, and exciting no sort of comment by it, I went up straight to the prince, seating myself between him and the Vizier, after having pushed aside the latter, a stout Afghan, to make room for me. There was a general laugh at this intermezzo, but I kept my countenance and immediately raised my hand to recite my customary prayer. The prince looked at me fixedly during tlic prayer. I observed an expression of surprise and hesitation stealing over his face, and after I had said "Amen," and the whole company smoothing their beards responded to it, he jumped up from his chair, and pointing at me with his finger, he exclaimed, laughing and yet half astonished, "I swear by God, thou art an Englishman!"

A loud burst of laughter followed the original remark of the young prince, but he, in no wise disconcerted, approached, stood up in front of me, and then clapping his hands like a child who had guessed right at something he added, "Let me be thy victim! confess thou art an Ingiliz in disguise." But I now pretended to act as if the joke had been carried too far for my forbearance, and said: "*Sahib mekum* (stop this); dost thou know the proverb — 'he who even in fun takes a true believer to be an unbeliever, becomes one himself?' Give me rather something for iny *fatiha* that I may continue my journey." My grave looks and the citation made by me somewhat perplexed the young prince, and sitting down again, half ashamed of himself, he excused himself by saying that he had never seen a dervish from Bokhara with such features. I answered him that I was not from Bokhara but from Constantinople; and having shown him as a proof my passport and spoken to him about his cousin Djelaleddin Khan, who had visited Mecca and Constantinople in 1860 and met with a most distinguished reception on the part of the Sultan, he seemed to be perfectly satisfied. My passport passed from hand to hand, everybody approved

of its contents, and the prince giving me a couple of krans called upon me to visit him again whilst I remained in Herat, an invitation of which I did not fail to avail myself.¹

Time dragged on heavily while I was waiting for a caravan at Herat, and I grew very impatient at the delay. There was a sad and depressing air about the city, terror of the savage conqueror could be read in every face, and the recent siege and devastation continued to form the ever-recurring topics of conversation. At length, on the 10th of November, 1863, I left this entrance-gate to Central Asia, joining a larger caravan going to Meshed, with which I was to accomplish the remaining portion of my journey. The caravan consisted of two thousand persons, half of whom were Hezares from Kabul who, for the most part poor and miserable, were proceeding with their kith and kin on a pilgrimage to the shrines of Shi-ite saints. The caravan forming thus a large body of men, its members were subdivided again into smaller bands. I was assigned to a troop of Afghans from Kandahar, who were dealing in furs and indigo, and were conveying these articles of merchandise to Persia.

I thought that I had emptied the cup of bitter sufferings to the very dregs during my wandering through Central Asia, but it was reserved for the journey from Herat to Meshed to convince me that there may be miseries greater still than those I had already endured. I was utterly destitute of money, of everything, and to satisfy my daily wants I was thrown upon the charity of the Afghans and Tadjiks. The Tadjiks were poor pilgrims, themselves but scantily supplied with the bare necessities of life. And as to the Afghans, their known avarice and meanness of character might give me a dispensation from telling how hard it was to excite their pity. I fared best when we happened to pitch our tents near some inhabited village. In such a case my Tartar and I divided the village between us; I would go in one direction and beg for wood and fuel, whilst he would go in another begging for bread and flour, and on meeting again we would exchange parts.

The inhabitants of this region, though very poor themselves, did not turn a deaf ear to our appeals for charity. With food we were tolerably supplied, poor and mean as it was in quality; but what caused us the most terrible suffering was the bitter cold prevailing towards autumn in this part of the world. Such was the effect of the cold cutting blasts coming from the north-eastern plains that the intense cold would pierce through the thickest cloak in which a person might wrap himself; and the animals themselves came very near being benumbed by it. All the way from Shebesh until we were two stations from Meshed, I had to pass the night in the open air, lying on the hard frozen ground, in the ragged dervish dress which I had on me, and which served the purposes of both pillow and coverlet. Many a time I would not dare to close my eyes for fear of freezing to death. I besought the hard-hearted Afghans to let me have one of their spare horse blankets; with chattering teeth and in a most piteous voice I vainly appealed for hours together to the cruel barbarians bundled up in their warm fur skin cloaks. They only jeered at me, saying, "Dance, hadji, and thou wilt get warm." The high plateaus of Eastern Persia will for ever rank in my memory with the sand of the deserts of Central Asia.

Near Kafir-Kale we met with a caravan coming from Meshed. From a member of this caravan I learned that Colonel Dolmage, an English officer in the Persian service, an old acquaintance of mine, was

¹ It was the same prince who afterwards succeeded his father Shir Ali Khan upon the throne of Kabul. In spite of having proved himself at the beginning of his career to be a valiant soldier, he nevertheless turned afterwards a cowardly man by participating in the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and the rest of the English officers who took part in the British Mission to Kabul.

still residing in Meshed, a piece of news which was very welcome to me. Ferimon was the first village inhabited by Persians, and a warm stable made me forget the sufferings of many a day past. At length, on the twelfth day after our departure from Herat, the gilded cupolas of Imam Riza loomed up before our eyes. We had reached the city of Meshed, for the sight of which I had been longing.

Besides, in approaching Meshed, there were other motives — motives of humanity — at play, which quickened my pulse and made my heart beat with something of the regained dignity of a man who escapes from moral slavery. In Meshed I was at length to be restored to myself; I was to fling off, to some extent, the artful disguises with which, in fear of life, limb and liberty, I had had to surround myself, to discard the shameful rags which lowered me in my own estimation, to put an end to the pitiful anxieties to which I had been continually exposed, and last not least to exchange a life of hardship, discomforts and privations for one of comparative ease and comfort. Nor did I entertain the usual fears, which haunted me elsewhere, as to the reception I might meet at the hands of the authorities; the governor of the province was an enlightened prince, an uncle of the king of Persia, and under his auspices the government was conducted, in appearance at least, more in accordance with European ideas. To all these cheering reflections was added the hope of meeting and embracing again, after all these weary wanderings, an old friend of mine — perhaps the solitary European who had pitched his tent so far east and was now living in Meshed. Under all these combined impressions the very cupola, under which the mortal remains of Imam Riza repose, blazing with its resplendent light far into the outlying country, seemed to me a beacon which was to guide me to a harbour of safety. I even caught the enthusiasm of the thousands of people who were flocking to the tomb of the saint, and could almost imagine myself one of the pilgrims who hail with emotions of unutterable thankfulness and pious joy the sight of the holy place, after having wearily wandered over the immense distances from their several homes.

It may not be uninteresting to know who this Imam Riza is, the renown of whose sanctity has made such a lasting and deep impression upon the minds of a large portion of the Eastern world. Of the twelve Imams he is the eighth. He was a contemporary of the Caliph Maamun, a son of the famous Harun el Rashid. This Caliph's envy and jealousy of Imam Riza was roused by the general esteem in which he was held, and the unbounded devotion which was shown to him by the sect of Shi-ites, then already very numerous, but not daring yet to enter publicly into the area of religious sectarianism. He was banished by the Caliph to Tus, a town in the vicinity of the present site of Meshed. The banishment had not the desired effect; in his abode of humiliation he became again the object of general veneration, so the Caliph had poison administered to him in a cup of wine, thus ridding himself of a dangerous and hated rival. The memory of his name did not die with him; from a beloved leader of a sect he rose to be a martyred saint. His death in exile seems to have especially commended him to the imagination of the travelling public as their patron saint; and he was honoured, in this, his quality, with the title of Sultan al Gureba (Prince of Strangers).



CHRONICLE

OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála**In the Footsteps of Khasar in Inner Mongolia**

The Inner Mongolia autonomous region of the People's Republic of China has many surprises for the researcher as well as for the curious visitor. Next to the treasures of the Hunnic past and the traditions related to Genghis Khan international sport events based on the traditional masculine virtues (horse riding, archery, wrestling) have been recently established where local champions are challenged by distinguished foreign players. Two archery competitions were held this year in the county; one in Ergune, cradle of the Mongolian civilisation (between 20 and 23 August, 2012), the other in Ordos, former Hunnic center (between 25 and 29 August, 2012). Both were named 'harba' – equivalent of 'shooting' in old Mongolian.

As mentioned above, the locations were carefully chosen. The first one took place in Ergune which lies near the Chinese-Russian border. According to old inscriptions, there lied the cradle of the Mongolians. As reported by the 14th century chronicler, Rasid-ad-din, with the Turkish occupation of the Orhon valley, heart of today's Mongolia, the ancestors of Genghis Khan were forced towards the East, founding refuge in a canyon close to the rives of the Ergüne river. After a while, they increased in number and strenght and brook out. However, this ancient territory remained important for Genghis Khan and he gave this land, rich in pastures and water, to his brother, Khasar. Khasar built a palace near the river. The other brothers also received territories in the neighbourhood. Owing to Khasar, Ergüne became a real center for archery which has been practised here uninterruptedly the past 800 years. This might have been the place for the great shooter Esunge to receive his first lessons from his father.

Although for most specialists in Mongolian studies Genghis Khan dwarfs other heroes, the people of Eastern Inner Mongolia never fail to remember Khasar, the fearsome archer, their greatest warrior.

From the Mongolian Chronicles (Secret History of Mongols, Golden Summary) we know that Khasar, two years the Great Khan's junior, was Genghis Khan's most faithful brother. Since their early childhood they were in intimate connection: most of the times they played with each other and defended each other's interests in front of fellow children. According to a folk tale, a bird called Garuda brought two eggs to his nest; out of one egg came out Khasar, out of the other two yellow dogs. The latter is the sacred animal of the Mongols. We also learn from the chronicles of Rasid-ad-din -and this is also how locals remember- that the great archer's given name was Jo'chi and he got the nickname Khasar after his distinguished bravery in battle because khasar originally meant „beast”. Later he received the veneration 'bogda' (= 'saint'), similarly to the great khan.

Genghis Khan and his brothers did not have an easy childhood. After the death of their father they lived in extreme poverty. However, as soon as they grew up they searched for alliances within their tribe. The future khan usually sent his brother Khasar on mission because Khasar was always successful in diplomacy. Nevertheless, it was not his diplomatic success but his bravery in captainship that won the greatest admiration among people. When Genghis was first elected khan, he gave his brother the title

'Kabtu' meaning 'talentful archer' and appointed him guardian of quivers. With it came greater independence and power. Khasar led an independent army and attacked the Jin dynasty (1125-1234) of North China several times.

Between the rivers Gegen and Ergüne, on the territory received from his brother, Khasar founded a city. Unfortunately, not much is left of it by now. Next to what used to be the main entrance two columns were erected with inscriptions in Chinese and Mongolian languages announcing that there lived Khasar, general of the great Mongolian Empire. The city was square, well arranged, and it could be reached through four gates. There was an outer and an inner city. The palace has not yet been excavated and only a heap of earth signs its location. Mongolians consider the place sacred. Some venerate the spirit of the great ancestor by tying special ribbons ('hadag') to the spearwood erected near the palace location, others sprinkle it with brandy or milk, still others donate money.

In state administrary affairs Khasar often quarreled with his brother Genghis khan and once he even offended empress Borte. We do not know whether it was the family conflict or other reasons that made the great warrior move out of his land. According to the tradition, he found new home near the Kuku-nor. Family quarrels might have calmed down with time, as Genghis asked his brother to accompaigne him in a war against the Ordos-based Tanguts. None of them thought it would be their last adventure. Although Khasar had long been suffering from gout, he fulfilled his brother request and set out on the long and tiresome journey. The later descendants of Khasar have been blaming the Genghisides for causing the death of their ancestor. In the war camp Khasar got treated by a Kitai doctor called Li, but the side effects of a gout attac eventually killed him. He got buried at the Great Montaigne. After his death, his brother did not live long either: Genghis died of a contagious disease, although some chronicles report that he died on a wedding night similarly to Attila the Hun.

In honour of the great khan, his best friend Boorchu established a memorial at the heart of the Ordos, which is called ever since Ejen khoroo, Governor District. Here not only Genghis but also Khasar is venerated; the latter receiving a separate pavilion where incense can be burnt as remembrance offering.

The thankful posterity also built a separate cult center for Khasar, where his bow, arrow, sword and various other belongings are kept. In Darhat Muuminjangat district, Holbogatu township, at a place called Sine Bulga, a shrine was built in his honour. It lies nearby Chagaan Oboo ('White Sacred Hill') and the great ancestor is being regularly honoured there up to our days, with offering of sacrifices five times a year. Most of the times, death feasts are held on the 27th day of the month, mostly in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th and 10th lunar months. Researchers fail to explain the choice of number 27. It is possible that Khasar died on day 27 in 1227. Since we know that most victims of gout attack die in the spring and autumn period, we can hypothesize that Khasar died on day 27 of the 5th month.

Horcin people, considered fearful archers, believe to be descendants of Khasar. They live in Eastern Inner Mongolia and are proud of their ancestors and like to be challanged by archers of other Mongolian tribes as well as foreigners. They keep the remembrance alive: they not only venerate the black and white flag symbolizing the Mongolian unity but also the colorful flag of Khasar which is made of black and white yak hair. The Horcin built a temple to him where milk and meat is offered on illustrious days of the year. The white horses, whose forefather was ridden by the great warrior, are still considered

sacred. According to the steppe tradition, also family members of the great khan had right to ride white horses.

The Virtue of Esunge

However, when Khasar moved out of the Ergune region, it did not remain without famous archer, as his second son Esunge remained there. In war campaigns he accompanied either the great khan or his father. On his way home from the 1224 to 1225 campaign, Genghis pitched camp near Bukus in the Altai Mountains and organized an archery competition. On this competition Esunge shot an arrow at 335 alds distance (around 502 meters). The great khan was so delighted that he had the achievement recorded on stone. This stone, which was laying for long time on the lands of Esuge, is one of the earliest monument of Mongolian writing. It had been found in 1832 by the Russian G. I. Spassky who collected it for the Hermitage where it is kept up to now. The inscription goes as follows:

„After the victory over Sartool Genghis-khan made a feast for all the mongols. During the feast arrow shooting competition was organized. The best shooter was lord Yesunke, a grandson (or, according to some sources, nephew) of Genghis-Khan, who shot an arrow up to the 335 fathoms"

In the near future, next to the monument of the Mongolian archer, a new stele is going to be erected for a Hungarian archer. During the 2012 Ergune competitions József Mónus shot 100 als further than Esunge setting a new flight archer world record with 653 meters distance.

An Ancient Shamanic Reminiscence

Hulunbuir County is known to be an old shamanic center where Buddhism has never gained so much importance as to supersede the older tradition. Old customs and traditions have survived there and actually the reliefment of old traditions became a favorite element of modern-day performances. On the opening of the archery competition in Ergune a group of students presented a shamanic ritual. Although they weared modern clothing some traditional pieces also came to our sight; next to the headgear and drum, there was a piece of mirror worn in the neck designated to keep the evil away from the person by turning back all curses and poisons to their sender.

In the Ergune camp we discovered a triple 'obo', which is called by the locals 'nadam obo', that is 'sacred hill' and serves as a sacred place for venerating the spirits during ceremonial feasts. A local shaman also showed up in the camp who participated at the shooting competition trying to prove that the owner of spiritual forces is able to triumph over trained sportmen. He told us many interesting stories. For example, he said that in his region the ancient sacred places consist of 13 obos and that 13 was a sacred number for Mongolians. I remembered to have heard locals talking about the building of 13 obos in Khövsgöl Province (Northern Mongolia). It also occurred to me that the hills near the palace of Genghis khan were also likely to have functioned as obos and probably existed already in the Hun era.

They were built next to each other and the Chinese called them 'long cheng' that is 'dragon wall' because from a distance they looked like a snaking dragon.

The local shaman told us about the manner the obos were built in the past. If someone was struck by lightning he was not buried with the others but under a sacred hill, an obo. This ancient custom is strongly related to the habit of offerings beneath the foundations of buildings. We can trace this custom throughout Inner Mongolia as well as in those areas of the Caucasus which were inhabited by the Huns.

In a book on Inner Mongolian traditions I found relevant information –showing complete accordance with the words of the shaman- on a Hulunbuir tradition that lightning-struck people are buried under sacred hills, or obos. This ancient custom has another parallel, namely, the Mongolian deer stones. Accordingly, when putting up idol stones, horse skull or bones of other sacrificial animals were buried under the stone.

Among the customs related to lightning probably the most interesting is the one found at the Horcins who live in Eastern Inner Mongolia and consider themselves descendants of Khasar. In that region local shamans offer sacrifices to the spirits of lightning-struck men or animals. Most of the times a white horse is killed as a sacrifice and its blood is spread on trees – a similar custom occurred among the Huns of the Caucasus. The man carrying out the sacrifice is called 'kuvan' by the Horcin which is very similar to the Hun and Western Alan name 'Kuar'.

Lightning, that is to say God's arrow, was considered as heavenly grace by the Hun-Scythian people and they carried out special rituals at the place where the lightning struck. The Chinese Bei si chronicle reports about a special ritual among the Juan-juans, who ruled Inner Asia in the 5th and 6th centuries and were in tribal relationship with the Huns: „They rejoice during thunder and lightning. At every thunder they shout, shoot arrows towards the sky then leave the place and go elsewhere. The following fall, when the horses are fat, they ride them back to the place of lightning. They bury a ram, set fire, draw their swords, then their women shamans prey, similarly to the (Chinese) ceremony intended to chase away evil spirits and then they race their horses round and round the place, even hundred times. Men collect a bundle of willow twigs and dug them in circle, then pour it with milk and kumis.”

The location of lightning was probably marked so that they could carry out the ceremony next year. In this ritual, the worship of the sword, foremost symbol of the war god, is crucial. It is probable that the ram was not buried but his meat was prepared in a special way. The above described Juan-juan custom of racing horses round a place was also known by the Hungarians as we can read about a similar event in Anonymous' Gesta Hungarorum. Just to add a note here: the evil-chasing ceremony, or 'vu', mentioned in the Chinese source, is very similar to the shamanic traditions. In recent years it has become more widely accepted among historians of religion that the Chinese adapted the Hunnic tradition. It is probable that the magic with the willow twigs came from an earlier fertility rite which used to assure good harvest and ample growth of livestock for the community.

We encounter this ancient rite throughout Inner Asia and in the Caucasus as well. According to Moses Kalankatuatsi Caucasian Alban historian, who recorded the history of Caucasian Albania, our immediate ancestors, the Huns living along the Caspian sea worshiped a god named Kuar who time by time hit people with lightning. The Christian author wrote that the Hun considered the lightning as a sign of heavenly anger. For this reason the shamans consecrated an animal to the god in order to appease

his anger. According to the Dagestan researchers such ceremonies may have taken place in the spring and early summer when lightning is most frequent. Similar ancient rites are more difficult to detect within the Islam world than in Christian or Buddhist territories. For this reason, we encounter ancient Hunnic rites most probably among the Caucasian Christians: Gruzians and Ossets. There survived the belief that being struck by lightning is a good sign and for this reason a sacrifice is done in a forest in honour of an ancient god – however, the whole rite was given a Christian overcoat. Sometimes, stones are piled as a remembrance of the dead and next to it a pole is erected on top of which a goat skull and skin are arranged. Around the lower part of the pole the favourite clothes of the dead are placed. The Caucasians believe that the most powerful gods favour goat as sacrificial animal. Following the funerary ceremony, the Osset, Karachay and Balkar people –similarly to the Huns- organize a funerary banquet in the vicinity of the tomb where relatives and acquaintances bid their last farewell to the deceased in joyful atmosphere. Herds struck by lightning enjoyed special treatment as well. The surviving animals were set free, only their limb was marked in order to sign for the others: these were sacred animals.

The Hun Headquarters in the Ordos

The international archery competition continued in Ordos, at the former headquarter of the Huns, as a principal event in the “Ordos nadam” program series. The Inner Mongolian organizers found Engebei (Dalat district, Northern Ordos) a suitable place for the event, whose name means peace and silence. Not far from this wonderful resting place was found in the 1970s the Ordosian Hunnic golden treasure, whose greatest piece is the so-called Hunnic royal crown. In this region the spirit of Genghis Khan is still honored; the locals built a sacred hill and a yurt camp in his remembrance. The nearest monument to here is in Ordos city which is called Dongsheng in Chinese and it is the fastest growing industrial center in the region. The Ordos Museum is to be found in the heart of the city where next to the wonderful Hunnic Bronze age objects we find various findings from the 5th to 4th century AD. Luckily, not only the museum vitrines guard elements of the Hunnic past but they can also be traced in some Mongolian traditions. I believe this is the reason why we, Hungarians, feel so comfortable in this distant district. We often hear from researchers that gastronomy changes very fast with time and therefore the similarity of food types does not tell anything about population relationships. I believe the thousands of years old cooking utensils and cooking pots that can be seen in the Inner Mongolian Museum of Hohhot are so much similar to the ones used in Hungary that they make us question the above idea. And not only the cooking pots but also the food that is prepared in them. Seen from Inner Mongolia, Hungarian and German theories claiming that most Hungarian dishes were adopted from Turkic people in the course of the 16th century, appear strange. In the previous Hunnic headquarter, in Inner Mongolia, we encounter almost identical dishes, where people have never heard of Ottoman conquerors and the adoption of dishes.

Chinese food is very exotic to us, but Mongolian dishes appear well-known to the Hungarian stomach as soups are prepared in an almost identical manner from the Ordos to the Carpathians. Meat soup gives the basis of main meals, sometimes with meat balls or with filled pasta. The most special Mongolian soup is the ‘lagsa’, which is very similar to our ‘lebbencs’ soup, even the word ‘lagsa’ reminds us to the

Hungarian word 'laska'¹. We also tried various versions of pickled cabbage in the Mongolian inhabited and the Chinese inhabited parts of Northern China. When I asked about the provenance of the dish I was answered that it originated in the neighboring Shanxi province. Shanxi had long been a Hunnic territory. Can we hypothesize that this speciality is a Hunnic heritage? The Chinese 'laoping'² also talks about a Northern, Hunnic origin, as well as the other Hunnic dish, the 'hosor'.



Morning call in the Ergune Camp by the Hungarian champion József Mónus.



A Mongolian participant congratulates József Mónus.

¹ 'lebbencs' is a dough of flour, eggs and water, rolled out and dried, then broken into small pieces. 'Laska' means pasta.

² 'laoping' is a sort of girdle-cake fried in oil.



The international archery competition.



Nadam-obo in Ergune. The participants here venerate the local spirits.



Mongolian fighters at the opening of the Ergune Competition.



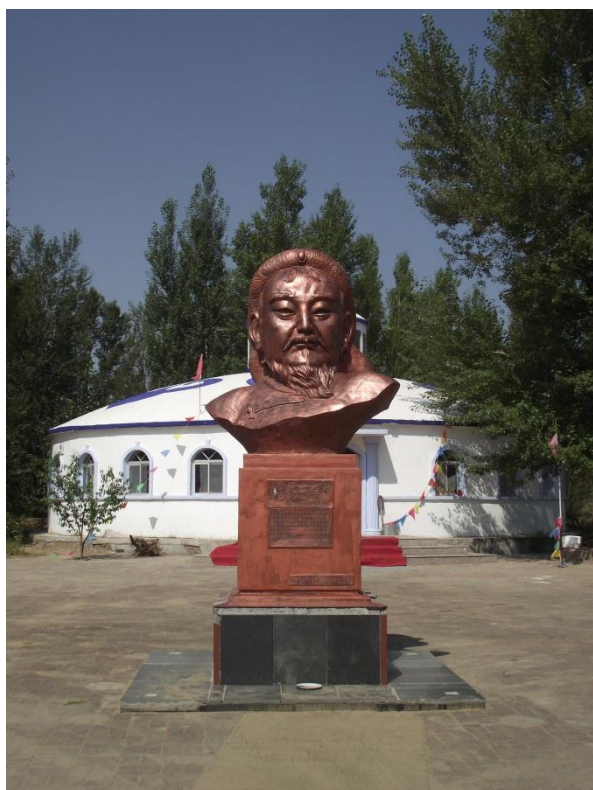
Entry to Khasar.



Opening of the Ordos Nadam international sport competition.



Sand dunes of Engebei. The Huns probably traveled this place in the past.



The cult of Genghis Khan is still alive among the Mongols of Ordos.



Hungarian and Mongolian traditional clothing: the commonalities of the Hunnic ancestry are still visible.



A Mongolian shaman is exhibiting his skills at the horse archery competition.



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- ✚ 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.
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