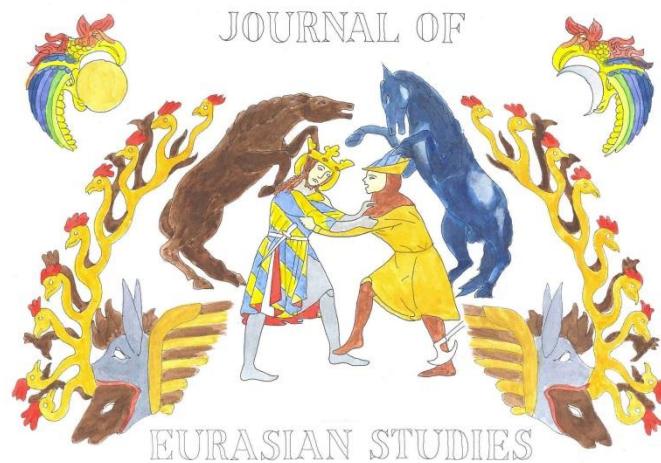


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4. Author(s) must take all care to develop their ideas on their own; there should be no cases of plagiarism,
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DEAR READER,

TWO WINNERS OF THE NOBEL PRIZE IN LITERATURE 2012

Professor Peter Englund, Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, on 11 October 2012 announced that the Nobel Prize in Literature for 2012 was awarded to the Chinese writer Mo Yan (pen name for Guan Moye). Every reader of Mr. Guan's books, both Chinese and foreign, rejoices in this great award because his very unique way of writing and the power which emanates from his books makes his work unforgettable. Next to his books, his influence in popular culture through film adaptations has also been immense. The movie *Red Sorghum*, based on parts of his novel of the same title, marked the directorial debut of internationally acclaimed filmmaker Zhang Yimou in 1987; the movie catapulted Mr. Zhang to the front-rank of Chinese directors. *Red Sorghum* also marked the debut of actress Gong Li. It is also worth mentioning another adaptation of Mr. Guan's writing, the movie *Happy Times*, directed again by Zhang Yimou and based on the short story *Shifu: You'll Do Anything for a Laugh*.

The other winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature for 2012, though unofficial, is the classical Chinese novel. Undoubtedly, the Nobel Prize in Literature has a tremendous impact on bringing writers to the attention of readers. It is highly probable that the world-wide readership of Mo Yan will increase substantially and more and more people will not only enjoy his books but will come to the realization that his oeuvre is very deeply rooted in the traditions of the classical Chinese novel. Hopefully more and more people will discover the jewels of the classical Chinese novel like *Three Kingdoms* and *Outlaws of the Marsh* by Luo Guanzhong, or *Journey to the West* or *Dream of the Red Chamber*, which are frequently mentioned by Mo Yan as formative influences. Indeed, if this discovery takes place, then the Nobel Prize for Mo Yan served his purpose manifold.

* * *

Approaching the end of the year I wish to thank in the name of the Board of Editors all our authors who submitted valuable writing and made the Journal of Eurasian Studies possible. I also wish to thank the attention of our readers. And finally I wish you all a Happy New Year!

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, December 28, 2012

HISTORY

SZABÓ, Christopher

The Magyar Raids: Fact and Fable

Background

There is no consensus on the exact starting date of the military campaigns undertaken by the Hetumoger ("Seven Magyar") tribal confederation in the ninth and tenth centuries. Some historians begin in 862, when the first Hungarian or Magyar troops appear in the East Frank Kingdom (later Germany) as allies of the Moravians.

However, as this campaign was part of the movement of the Magyar people from their former homeland of "Atelkuzu" ("Between the Rivers") in today's Ukraine, Moldova and Romania, into the Carpathian Basin, which would form their land for the next 1,100 years, the campaigns leading up to the so-called "Conquest" will not be dealt with here.

What is important is that the movement of some 200,000 men, women and children, and maybe more, with their herds of horses; cows; camels, sheep and goats and even pigs was done in an orderly, organized fashion that needs further research. It is quite possibly the major event in Continental Europe at the end of the Ninth Century.

To cover this vast movement (and how big it was can be seen by comparing it with the relatively puny American "Wagon Trains" into the West or the Boer Great Treks of South Africa) it was necessary to obtain alliances with the "Great Powers" of the day as well as smaller polities. Thus the Seven Magyars moved into Transylvania, Upper Hungary (northern Hungary, Ukraine and Slovakia) and the Great Hungarian Plain in alliance with the Byzantine Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, which at this time included the East Frankish Kingdom (East Francia) and what are now Austria, Switzerland and northern Italy.

It is interesting to note that the Magyars, often described as "barbarians", kept their side of the alliances, but the Byzantines betrayed them in 895, likely causing serious losses among the Magyar army on the Balkans. But up until 900, the alliance with the East Franks stayed firm.

The Problem

The general "narrative" or storyline, about the "Magyar raids", in most sources available to the general reader, whether "serious historical works" or ahistorical commentaries and do-it-yourself websites including blogs, goes something like this. (It must sadly be mentioned that certain Hungarian historians, due to a sense of inferiority, also represent the events this way):

"The Magyars had begun their predatory incursions into Germany, in which they destroyed everything, wherever they penetrated. When, in the year 907, they again

advanced against Bavaria in larger numbers than ever, the Margrave Luitpold summoned the entire fighting force of his people for the defence of the country. The Bavarians, however, were completely defeated, 5 July, 907, in a battle in which Luitpold himself, nearly all the Bavarian nobles, and a number of bishops, were killed. The land then became an easy prey to the barbarians and was ruthlessly devastated.”¹

This version of events is ahistorical. It is merely a surface reading of secondary sources and fails to seek causes and effects. It also leaves out a number of contemporary statements in the sources and simply omits key facts. It also reverses the order of who attacked whom. In reality, the Bavarians and the troops of the Holy Roman Emperor Louis the Child attacked the Magyars.

And it is at this point that the narrative must be changed. Usually, readers are given the impression that the Magyars, for some reason of their own (such as “barbarism,” as in the quotation above) attacked the Holy Roman Empire and generally wreaked havoc until Otto the Great taught them a lesson in 955 and they slowly turned towards civilization, a process that was completed, depending on whom you believe, either in around 1000 A.D., or is still ongoing.

In this version of events, no military or political reasons are sought, therefore none are found. The weakness of the argument is the concept of the “barbarian”, which is brought in to explain the apparent actions of the Magyars. Additional biased ideas, such as their “paganism” and general supposed “primitiveness” are all that are needed to explain their raids into “civilised” Europe and Byzantium.

Some Answers

An in-depth look shows this view to be inadequate, to say the least. The present article addresses this problem. I will endeavour to show that the necessary information is available to all who are interested in what happened. It is hoped that a revision of widely-held views will result.

Failure to comprehend the Magyar horse culture

During the research for this paper, which lasted well over a year, the author realised that most historians did not comprehend the Magyar social system. It can safely be stated that there is huge ignorance of the extremely strong cultural system which lasted from well before the 10th Century to post WWII times in rural Hungary. This was the system of the family-extended family-tribe-tribal confederation which was more lasting than any Western monarchical system and more lasting than most Chinese dynasties.

How did it work?

¹ <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01751b.htm> The Catholic Encyclopedia, Arnulf of Bavaria, lines 1-8. Accessed 14 October, 2011. 16H00.

The basic element of Old Magyar society – and indeed, of many other Steppe societies – was the extended family, called a “*had*”/ had/. The word today is a reference to military organisation, but it originally just meant the extended family which included not only a father, mother, children; but also uncles, aunts, in-laws and grandparents all living in an organised unit.

The *had*, which numbered about a hundred people, was also called “*falu*” /falu/ and which today means “village”, was part of a “*nemzetség*” /nɛmznɛtse:g/ or clan. Hungarian chronicles say there were 108 such clans, which would comprise a number of villages as well as the territory of the clan leader, his military retinue and a number of tradesmen as well as herdsmen. A clan would be numbered in the thousands.

On the next level was the “*törzs*” /tɔrʒ/ or “tribe”. The Magyars are recorded as having seven such tribes but three “Kabar” tribes also joined them and then when they settled in Hungary between 890 (or so) and 900 they no doubt added the Avars, who were a majority at the time, as well as the few Slavs and other ethnic groups, to their numbers and organisation.

Finally, based on material given to him by Bulcsú /bulcsu:/ and other Árpád family members, Constantine VI “Porphyrogenitos” (“Born in Purple”) in his *De Administrando Imperio* describes three supra-tribal offices, that of the Kende, the Gyula and the Horka.

Scholars argue as to who were the Kende and who the Gyula, but for a long time Bulcsú was the Horka.

The Kende, according to both Constantine and Arab sources was a kind of sacral king, the military commander was the Gyula and the Horka was a kind of judge.

It should be noted that during the 10th Century, Volga Bulgars as well as Petcheneg groups settled in Hungary and were placed on the borders as border guards, along with others.

It is therefore a mistake to say that the Hungarian state only came into being with the rule of Saint Stephen (Grand Duke from 997), King from 1000 to 1038. In actual fact, the Grand Duchy (for lack of a better expression) of Hungary came into being around 890 and lasted until King Saint Stephen “upgraded” it. However, it has been shown that the Magyars were settling into a relatively permanent state right from 895 onwards.

What seems to confuse people is that the Magyars continued to live in felt tents or mobile homes called yurts or gers in Turkic and Mongolian languages (although these were reserved for the wealthy) until at least the 13th Century and that a certain percentage of people continued a kind of transhumance pastoralism from 895 onwards for centuries.

But it was precisely this settling into the Carpathian Basin that took a century or somewhat less, from about 890 to about 960 and which involved the settling in specific areas of “*hads*”, clans and tribes. This is mentioned by Hungarian chroniclers as the Parliament of Pusztaszer, (896) which presumably demarcated the areas of the major tribes. However, it can be imagined that disagreements over land, grazing rights, planting and harvesting, as well as finding good market-places for internal and external trade, was something that took time and could not be rushed. This fact will be referred to when describing the reasons for the Magyar expeditionary campaigns against the Western Europeans and Byzantines below.

The man who probably studied this aspect of the Old Magyars more than any other is the well-known Professor Gyula László (1910-1998) who first described the Old Magyar culture in his *A honfoglaló magyar nép élete*² (The Life of the Landtaking Magyar People) published in 1944 and in more detail about four decades later in *Árpád Népe* (Árpád's People) published in 1988³, all of which was based on decades of archaeological work. In *Árpád Népe* László describes his excavations at Felgyő in Csongrád County, in southern Hungary. So far, the 10th Century village outside Felgyő is the only Conquest-Era Magyar village fully excavated in the Carpathian Basin, although other sites have been found.

It might surprise many, but László found not only evidence of yurts (tents, mobile homes) but also wattle and daub; wooden and even brick-built houses belonging to the Magyars. He further found proof of a number of trades, including agriculture, at the dig. Subsequent discoveries of sickles and other agricultural items which do not bear resemblance to Western models, but are similar to those used by the Khazars, indicate widespread agriculture in 10th Century Hungary.

István Kiszely⁴ and Gyula László, as well as others including János Gömöri, have investigated the various trades that existed among the Ninth and Tenth Century Magyars and the following list, though, incomplete, should also underline the fact that the Hungarians of that time were a far cry from "wandering nomad barbarians".

- Bee-keeping.
- Agriculture. (Including ploughing, as well as smaller scale agriculture using the sickle.)
- Herding (this, at least, is not a surprise.) The heritage of specialist herding has remained in the language, with words for various "herds", such as "*gulya*" as "herd of cows" etc.

Trades included:

- Tanners
- Leatherworkers
- Potters
- Bowyers
- Saddlers (There were still traditional saddlers in the 1930s.)
- Wheelwrights
- Traders
- Silver-and-goldsmiths, jewellers. Their work is among the most impressive of what remains of the Old Magyar culture.
- Blacksmiths. At least 100 smelting sites⁵ (forges) have been found all over the Carpathian Basin, which produced iron for making swords, stirrups, bits, hoes, sickles, spades and so on.
- Swordsmiths. The Magyar swordsmiths knew the damascening process.

² Múzsák, Budapest, 1988. ISBN 963 564 363 2 (Facsimile edition). Original published in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in 1944.

³ Helikon, Budapest, 1988.

⁴ Kiszely, I. A magyar nép őstörténete. Őseink mesterségei. (The Ancient History of the Hungarian People. Our ancestor's trades. Accessed 20 May, 2012 <http://mek.oszk.hu/06400/06403/html/#121>

⁵ Hungarian National Museum, The Ancient Hungarians. Handbook to the Exhibit, 1996, p. 63.

In other words, the "traditional" Western (and until the 1930s, even Hungarian) view of the Conquest and Duchy-era Hungarians as being so-called "nomads" (meaning "wanderers") sadly remains, misleading those interested in history. An example can be found in this blog post:

For the nomads, violence was normal. War was their only activity requiring large-scale political organization, and success in warfare was almost the only way for a man to achieve high status. Peace was essentially unknown; during periods of disunity when war against the civilized world was not being waged, small-scale local skirmishing and raiding took its place.⁶

One could argue that this author is not a historian and that this is only a blog post. Below, the work of a scholar from a highly-respected university will be looked at. Sadly, there is not much difference between the two. This author even denied the steppe people he wrote about their capability of building wagons!

It is not known for certain how the Huns secured a steady supply of swords, cauldrons, bows and wagons.⁷

To be fair to the author, Dr. Christopher Kelly of Cambridge University, he does try to put the Huns in a better light than earlier British authors, but sadly, his sources are all English, French, Latin and Greek with a few Russian references, but no close studies of the Huns from Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Mongolia or Hungary, even though many of these people have a special comprehension of the steppe peoples, being descended from them. To leave out what cultural anthropology calls the "emic view"⁸, that is, the "insider view", would seem to be irresponsible.

Like most Western authors (and I will touch on the works of some others) sadly Dr. Kelly, it seems, cannot conceive of steppe peoples ("nomads") making their own swords, or their own wagons. One has to wonder where the ancient Cimmerians and Scythians got wagons or bows, being physically distant from agricultural people, or how they mastered the art of bending wood to build their yurts? (The same steam-bending of wood is used to bend yurt roof-pillars, wagon wheels and bow sections.) His concept of the Huns (or any steppe people) is that they constantly wondered to and fro, apparently without any rhyme or reason. Sadly, despite the valiant attempt by many scholars in recent decades, this outdated view still holds sway. His idea of how the Huns got their fearsome composite recurved bows is revealing:

⁶ Emerson, J. (Authorship is not made completely clear) Nomads in Eurasian History. http://www.idiocentrism.com/turan.nomads.htm#_ednref36. Accessed on May 13, 2012.

⁷ Kelly, Christopher. Attila the Hun. Barbarian Terror and the Fall of the Roman Empire Vintage, London. 2008. P. 27.

⁸ Personal discussions and lectures by the late Professor Ken Pike at the University of Oklahoma (OU) 1986.

The combination of highly-specialised labour, up-front investment in materials and a long lead time was only practicable in a settled community. The composite short bow cannot easily be made by a steppe nomad on the move.⁹

This is true. What the author is apparently unaware of is the concept of the "winter camp" which did not move, where the children, the elderly and the women stayed while the pastoral element of the community moved the herds to warmer pastures or looked after them *in situ*. Many of these camps later coalesced into villages and towns, as Hungarian place-names show clearly.

One also has to wonder, if "nomads" couldn't make bows, how it is that the various peoples had different bows within the "composite" and "recurved" category. The Hun bow was quite different from the later Avar type, in that it was asymmetrical while the even later Magyar bow was fully symmetrical.¹⁰

Yet a practiced eye can immediately spot the difference between the small Scythian, the big proto-Xiongnu and later Hun bows, the Magyar bow and say, the later large Mongol bows. Obviously each people had its own indigenous bowyers. It is well-known, for instance, that the Huns invented the bone stiffeners which made their bow so much more powerful than the earlier Scythian type. The Cambridge scholar goes on to say about other specialty trades among the Huns:

They may have incorporated smiths, carpenters, wheelwrights and bowyers into their clans. These men might have offered their services willingly or, captured on raids, have been forced to work as skilled slaves.¹¹

Archaeologists, like Ulambayar Erdenebat and D. Bajar, of Mongolia, Sergei Minyaev from Russia, and their Hungarian and Ukrainian (and other) colleagues, all have found Xiongnu, Hun, and in some cases, Magyar or other "steppe" people's fortresses, permanent houses as well as unique types of wagons, swords and stunning jewellery and a host of handicrafts that were unknown or less developed in other lands¹². Most have found proof of indigenous bronze and iron-smelting.¹³

What is disappointing is that a Cambridge scholar can remain unaware of the Huns' iron-smelting, wagon-building and bow-making! Incidentally, in the Caucasus region, southern Ukraine and the Crimea, there was a wagon with high sides used until recent times called "Madjar" wagon, clearly a reference to the people of that name, which is referenced in Soviet encyclopaedias and local sources.¹⁴

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Szöllősi G. "Az avar íjak és a magyar íj feljődéstörténeti kapcsolatai.". IN: Fegyveres nomádok, nomád fegyverek. III Steppetörténetei Konferencia. Balassi, Szeged, 2002.

¹¹ Ibid III.

¹² Nomads and Settlement: New Perspectives in the Archaeology of Mongolia, Silk Road Journal Volume 8, 2010.

¹³ Minyaev, summary of Ivolga excavations: accessed 13 May 2012 <http://www.archeo.ru/eng/themes/xiongnu/recent-iss.htm>

¹⁴ Helilov-Nyitray. Ősmagyarok Azerbjajdzsánban. (Old Magyars in Azerbaijan) Hun-Idea, Budapest, 2008

The case is just as bad when one looks at the Magyars. No less an authority than the Encyclopaedia Britannica says this about the period under review:

During the next half century, the Magyars were chiefly known in Europe for the forays they made across the continent, either as mercenaries in the service of warring princes or in search of booty for themselves—treasure or slaves for domestic use or sale. Terrifying to others, their mode of life was not always profitable. Indeed, their raiding forces suffered a number of severe reverses, culminating in a disastrous defeat at the hands of the German king Otto I in 955 at the Battle of Lechfeld, outside Augsburg (in present-day Germany). By that time the wild blood of the first invaders was thinning out, and new influences, in particular Christianity, had begun to circulate.¹⁵

So, according to this respected source, the Magyars were in essence a large, highly-organised lot of bandits!

The Arabic writings give evidence in the Ninth Century of the Magyars' wealth, such as the Hudud Al Alam, which states simply:

They are very rich people.¹⁶

Macartney quotes Gardezi about the same topic:

Their clothes are of silk brocade and their weapons are of silver and (two) are encrusted with gold.¹⁷

If the Magyars were recorded as wealthy in the Ninth Century and again in 950, there was no reason for them to seek wealth by robbing and plundering Western and Byzantine states. A more reasonable explanation has to be sought for the Magyar "raids" (military campaigns) than the weak theory of the "needy barbarian".

And yet, not only the Britannica, but also highly respected historians perceive the Hungarians as "predatory" and "nomadic". The American historian and Emeritus Professor, Charles Bowlus, describes

¹⁵ Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. "Hungary", accessed May 13, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/276730/Hungary>.

¹⁶ Minorsky, V. § 22. Discourse on the Majghārī Country. http://www.kroraina.com/hudud/hud_22.html

¹⁷ Macartney. C.A. The Magyars in the Ninth Century. Cambridge University Press, 1968. Appendix.

the Hungarians during the era of the Dukes as "predatory mercenaries". In his chapter on "The Early Hungarians as Mercenaries, 860-955"¹⁸, he concludes:

Archaeological evidence suggests that before Lechfeld there had been in Nyírség a flourishing bachelor culture based on mercenary activities. Afterwards there was a crash from which the region did not recover until the late middle ages when, ironically, Hungarian cowboys drove long-horned cattle on the hoof up the Danube to burgeoning cities such as Nuremberg and Augsburg. In the long run military predation was not a better way for the Hungarians to make a living in the Carpathian Basin than agriculture and pastoralism

He is mistaken about the "crash" in the Nyírség Region, which suffered no economic "crash" and was wealthy enough in times much earlier than the "late Middle Ages", it is sufficient merely to consider the great Synod of Szabolcs in 1092.¹⁹

Perhaps he was fooled by the fact that most of the Magyar leadership moved further west in the 10th Century, but this was due to the conquest of Transdanubia and their move to a more central location. Still, his conclusion ignores the fact that agriculture and pastoralism were already practiced by the Hungarians in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.

Clearly, if the respected professor's basic facts are wrong, then his conclusion must indeed be wrong. He has the Medieval Latin and Byzantine (Greek) sources at his fingertips, so what is the problem? How could he be so wrong? It would seem it is in the above-mentioned widespread beliefs about "nomads" which being incorrect, must lead to incorrect assumptions. Bowlus, it seems, like other Western historians, cannot conceive of the Hungarians living off their own land and adding value to their own products by trade, and therefore not needing to be a "predatory military" culture.

We shall see below why the Hungarians attacked both the West and the East. Whatever the reason, it was not a need to "make a living". Nonetheless, the agriculture is proven by written contemporary sources as well as archaeology, as are the other trades. Perhaps it is time this was more widely known?

Another typical problem is the one-sided approach to the "raids". Nowhere does Bowlus, or the author(s) of the Britannica section, consider the Hungarian side. Did they not feel threatened by the Bavarian invasion of 907? Did they not want to protect themselves from Petchenegs, Germans, Bulgars or others? The Western view is one-sided and therefore, of necessity, incorrect.

The findings of Hungarian, Russian, Mongolian and Chinese historians and archaeologists shatters this view of a "nomad culture" and shows a balanced, peaceful society which resorted to war, not as a "normal" activity, but as a necessity. Indeed, their society, being very rigid and highly structured; precluded war and even fighting. The Shi Ji refers to a Xiongnu law that forbids the partial drawing of a

¹⁸ France J. (Ed). *Mercenaries and Paid Men*. Koninglijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands. 2008.

¹⁹ Német Péter. A szabolcsi földvár kutatásának hét éve. IN Régészeti Barangolások magyarországon. Ed. Szombathy Viktor. Panoráma, Budapest, 1978.

sword in peacetime. To those familiar with old Hungarian customary law, the idea of a lawless society in which only war mattered, or the more nuanced "military predation" would seem inconceivable.

Therefore the myth of the "wandering nomad Magyars" can be laid to rest, hopefully once and for all.

Magyar Raids or Pre-emptive Attacks?

Usually it is assumed that once the Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin -- minus modern-day Transdanubia -- around the year 895/6, that they, being "barbarians" and therefore poor, and hearing of the wealth of Medieval Europe, wished to share in it, so they began "raids", motivated by nothing else other than the desire for plunder.

That the Hungarians were indeed in an alliance with the Holy Roman Empire's emperor is made clear in two sources, Widukind of Corvey and Liutprand of Cremona, both written about 50 years later and concerned with what they saw as the emperor's misbehaviour in allying himself with "heathens" and using "heathens" to fight for his ends against Christians.

Liutprand, in *Antapodosis Liber 1, cap 13*, says (in translation):

Arnulf in the meantime ... for pain. Called together the Hungarian nation .. the eager, bold, powerful ... only greedy for slaughter, and plunder, to help him.²⁰

Authors of history books and online sources therefore cannot say there is no medieval material to refer to. And there is much more than this!

In short, the Magyar campaign against Emperor Arnulf's vassal, King Berengar of Friuli was done in alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor and the goal was to bring his vassal into line. The Hungarians were invited as the Empire's resources were stretched by other wars.

What to call the Magyar attacks?

Obviously, what one calls a given action will affect the perception of that action; therefore it is vital that correct terminology be used from the start. If the claim that the Old Magyars were only interested in plunder and had no conception of strategy or even of a supra-tribal organisation is true, then their attacks could indeed be called "raids". There is, however, so much proof that this is not so that another name must be sought.

²⁰ Arnulfus interea... pro dolor . ..Hungariorum gentem cupidam, audacem, omnipotentis Dei ignaram, scelerum omnium non insciam, caedis et rapinarum solummodo avidam, in auxilium convocat, IN: Eintritt de Ungarisches Stammebundes....p 27. Footnote 64.

Adventures?

The period from about 899 to 970 is usually called “kalandozások kora” or “Age of Adventures” in Hungarian. No doubt this would have been correct if the military campaigns were looked at from the point of view of a young man going to the mythical “Sea of Óperencia”, which is understood to be a reference to Upper Austria, from “Ob der Enns” or above the Enns River, which in fact did serve as the Hungarian/Bavarian border for most of the period.

However, it is too romantic a notion to see the whole thing, without seeking cause or effect, as just a period of “adventures”.

The other view, quoted above, according to which the Magyars were only capable of “plundering raids” and “military predation”, is clearly untenable, considering contemporary written sources plus the simple fact that mounting expeditions consisting of thousands of men and horses was extremely expensive and more could have been achieved using the standard method of trade.

Therefore, considering, as shall be seen, the size of the expeditions -- from about 300 men and around 900 horses to 5,000 men and possible 15,000 horses – all carrying bows, arrows, all using saddles and full horse tack, at least a third wearing metal armour and all wearing leather armour, these would have been extremely expensive to mount.

So why did they do it?

The expedition in alliance with Emperor Arnulf has been mentioned, as has the invasion of Hungary of 907. What happened in between?

On December 8, 899, Emperor Arnulf of the Holy Roman Empire, ally of the Magyars, died. At the time, a Hungarian army under the command of Prince Szalárd /'spla:rd/²¹ was deployed in Italy. As it happens, this is the only army about whose numbers have remained. According to Liudprand's *Antapodosis*²² the Magyar army was a third the size of the 15,000-strong Italian army raised by Berengar of Ivrea, so it was five units of 1,000 (*ezred*) for a total of 5,000.

This army had gone to Italy in alliance with Arnulf and was still there when he died, even though it had achieved its main aim of defeating King Berengar's army. (At the Battle of the River Brenta on September 24.)

Considering the fact that the Muslim chronicler Ibn Rusta, (writing in Isfahan after 903) had written “Their leader rides at the head of a cavalry troop of some 20,000”²³ writing of the Magyars in the East, and

²¹ Nagy, Kálmán. A honfoglalás korának hadtörténete (The Military History of the Landtaking Period) Heraldika, Budapest, 2007. P-140.

²² Ibid. 141, referring to both the Venetian Chronicle and Liudprand.

²³ Author's translation from the Hungarian. Kmoskó, M. A mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről (The Muslim Writer's on the Peoples of the Steppe). Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár. Balassi, Budapest, 1997. P-207

after the peoples of the Carpathian Basin joined the Magyars, it would appear this number could have doubled for an absolute maximum defensive force of 40,000, although even this number is unlikely.

Five thousand men sent on an expeditionary mission would be quite possible and is the most reasonable figure for Szalárd's army.

It was the death of the pro-Magyar Arnulf that started what would eventually be inaccurately termed "Magyar raids". According to the *Annales Bertiniani*²⁴ in the spring of 900, a Hungarian delegation visited Regensburg, to re-negotiate the treaty with Arnulf's son, Louis the Child (incidentally, the last Carolingian king of Germany). Louis was a minor at this time and the real leaders of Germany, or East Franconia, like the regent, Bishop Hatto of Mainz²⁵, were against any alliance with the "pagan" Magyars, whom they despised.

However, what they did next was less than wise. They arrested the ambassadors on the trumped-up excuse that they were "spying". This, not surprisingly, led to war. This was the first step that led to the strategy that deployed the Magyar armies and which is misinterpreted as "barbarian raiding".

Until this time, the Magyars had scrupulously observed the Danube as the border and it is even possible that this was Grand Duke Árpád's original plan. After all, the river is very wide and therefore offers an excellent defensive line, the other side of which was used as such for almost five hundred years by the Romans.

As a result of the arrest of the ambassadors and violation of the treaty, many historians believe Grand Duke Árpád ordered up the army of Szalárd from Italy and invaded the region west of the Danube, adding it to the Grand Duchy of Hungary from the year 900.

This was followed by what could correctly be called "raids" by the Hungarians into Bavaria, but these were most likely not centrally-directed campaigns, as will be seen. These were also very small-scale efforts, probably local in origin.

The second step leading to the great Magyar campaigns was a "peace feast", in which King Louis invited the man he thought to be the Hungarian king, Kurszán /'ku:rsa:n/. Heinz Dopsch writes:

While Orientalist historians have reported a dual leadership of Hungary, as was common among steppe peoples, the Alemannic and Bavarian sources speak only of a sacred Grand Prince or king who is referred to as Kende or kündü or rex or dux. During the ongoing clashes, Bavaria invited the Hungarians to a banquet in 904 and there killed Kende Kurszán (Cussal) in a deceitful way²⁶.

²⁴ Ibid. Nagy, p-175

²⁵ Hatto I. (2012). In **Encyclopædia Britannica**. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/256949/Hatto-I>

²⁶ Heinz Dopsch STEPPENVÖLKER IM MITTELALTERLICHEN OSTEUROPA – HUNNEN, AWAREN, UNGARN UND MONGOLEN. Lecture at the University of Salzburg, 2003/4. http://www.uni-salzburg.at/portal/page?_pageid=1285,685785&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

(The full document can be found at <http://www.uni-salzburg.at/pls/portal/docs/1/544328.PDF>) Translation by author.

Is it any surprise that the Hungarians eventually targeted much of Europe? First, they find the Holy Roman Empire imprisons envoys – an unheard of behaviour. A few years later, they “deceitfully” assassinate one of the Hungarians’ two kings, or dukes. Should the Magyars have just adopted an attitude of “grin and bear it”? Which nation, or tribe, or civilisation, would have accepted two such massive insults and not attacked the West with all the resources at their disposal?

And yet, aside from some local activity, dealing with border squabbles, the Magyars did not initiate a major attack on the Holy Roman Empire! But who is always assumed to have been the aggressor? The Hungarians!

Studies should be undertaken to see how these deceitful actions affected the policies of the Magyar Duchy. Some longer range operations were undertaken even before the watershed year of 907, but these were quite small in comparison with the truly large campaigns that would eventually be sent against Western Europe in 937 and 954.

In brief: In 904, the Magyars allied themselves with their former opponent, Berengar I, an alliance that served him well in later years, when they became the mainstay of his power in northern Italy.²⁷ This served the Hungarians well too, because while armies were tied down in internal squabbles in Italy, they could not attack Hungary.

The Magyar Duchy also completed the destruction of the Moravian Kingdom, which by this time was on its last legs, sometime between 903 and 906. The Magyars also responded to a request by the still-independent Dalmatian people, a Slav group, which was in danger of being swallowed up by the Holy Roman Empire. In this case, in 906, there is a record which indicates two Magyar armies, who were operating against the Duchy of Saxony without co-ordination. This would soon change.

In fact, it was only in 907, when a vast army (by the standards of the time) made up mainly of Bavarians under the auspices of the Holy Roman Emperor, invaded Hungary with the aim of destroying the Magyar Duchy. It must have become clear to the Magyars that peaceful co-existence with Western Europeans and notably the Empire, was simply not possible. They, quite clearly, decided on a military response.

But what do we actually know about the Hungarian Duchy from 890 to 1000 AD? The truth is, very little. Beside the material given above, it appears the Hungarian Duchy or Grand Duchy or Principality, that is, the period between 895 to 1,000, when Grand Duke Vajk took the throne as King Stephen I (later Saint Stephen), is only of importance to the present article in answering the question of political organisation. Was there some form of political unity, or were the Hungarian tribes and clans in a state of disorganisation, wandering around the Carpathian Basin, herding horses and cows, and occasionally, on impulse, attacking their neighbours?

According to the consensus of Hungarian historians, there was a Duchy-wide organisation. Some believe that there were two main power systems, east and west, because western sources known nothing of Árpád. Either way, given the fact that all the military expeditions were carried out in alliance with Europeans and that the shifting alliances were obviously carefully followed, added to which the

²⁷ Nagy K. Ibid, p-175

archaeological data shows both offensive capability and defensive earthworks it must be clear that these expeditions were military campaigns, part of a carefully thought out, planned strategy.

This strategy was a result of the three factors referred to above: The arrest of the Magyar envoys in 900; the murder of Duke Kurszán and the major invasion of 907. That it was indeed these factors, and notably the last, that made the Hungarians realise that peaceful coexistence with the Holy Roman Empire was impossible and the only way to survive in their new home was to keep their enemies weak by a divide and rule strategy. The idiom: "Attack is the best form of defence" best explains the so-called "Magyar Raids" which were in fact in-depth defensive actions.

That this was indeed the case is shown by the fact that not counting a minor and failed raid in 950, the Holy Roman Empire did not attack Hungary again until 1030. From 907 to 1030 is well over a century and the time won by the military campaigns gave the polity the opportunity to develop without becoming a vassal of either Germany or Byzantium.



LINGUISTICS

CZEGLÉDI, Katalin

**The Nature of the Relationship
between the Hungarian and Turkish Languages**

1. The compilation of geographical names in the areas of the Volga river and the Ural mountains (Dictionary of geographical names¹ / Toponyms; Phonetics; Ancient syntaxe; System of roots of words; System of grammatical morphemes; Kinds of words; Semantics) that I have been carrying out in the course of the past 40 years has offered many new insights on the field of grammar. Among them one of the most important issues is the relationships between the Hungarian and Turkish languages, because it touches upon the fundamental question of the origine of Hungarian and Turkish languages, and the history of the people. These new insights got further confirmed when I found that 1600 words in the dictionary and grammar *Divan Lugat at Turk* by Mahmud al-Kāšyāri had Hungarian parallels. I re-examined these words together with their grammatical morphemes in the light of my database of geographical names. The conclusions derived of this comparison partly confirmed, partly completed my previous results; namely that Hungarian language is an important member of the Scythian-Hunnish languages. Turkish languages are unambiguously descendants of the Scythian-Hunnish languages. This also means that Hungarian and Turkish languages have common roots. These results have pivotal consequences for a wide range of presently accepted theories; such as the most widely accepted form of language family relationships (supported by most Hungarian and foreign researchers up to date); the issue of Hungarian language being member of the Uralic language family; and the issue of Hungarian loanwords from Turkish, Iranian and Slavic languages. In the present paper I am going to show evidences in relation to bird names. Thematically grouped names from the dictionary of Kāšyāri will be compared to their Hungarian parallels. At the end we will be able to understand: the present official view of the Hungarian Academy on the origin of the Hungarian language is not acceptable, needs to be reexamined or completed.

2. Many Hungarian words are considered to be ancient heritage from the period of *Uralic language unit* or *Finno-Ugrian language unit* or *Ugrian language unit* by most Hungarian Academic philologists. Evidences are usually shown in the form of parallels from one or more Uralic languages, but parallels from Altaic languages are generally neglected although most of the times they are equally present. Very often we find parallel words even in Indo-European languages. It would be crucial to collect and examine these parallel words together because it could potentially modify our concepts of language relationships. The 1600 parallel words in Mahmud al-Kāšyāri's book provide ample evidences for that; for example: Kāšyāri. *tār-* 'to let' < *tā-*: root of the word + *-r-*: affix, Hung. *ereszteni* 'to let' see. *ereget* 'to let one after the other'. See Hung. *ered-*, *ereszt-*, *ereszték*, *ereszkedik-* 'to take its source, origin, to let go, juncture, to slant, wood', etc. The basic word of the word family *er(e)* is ancestral word from Finno-

¹ Compilation of words related to all kinds of geographical units, such as waters (sources, rivers, lakes, marshes, bogs), mountains, fields, valleys, towns, villages etc.

Ugrian times according to the TESz², see: Vog. *täärt-* 'to let', (TESz) <³ Vog. *tääär-* (< *tää-*: absolute root of the word + *-r-*: affix) relative root of the word + *-t-*: affix. The relative root of the word family can't be ancestral word from Finno-Ugrian ages. The same word is also known from other Turkish languages; e.g.: Chuv. *jar* 'to send, to let', OldT., KB. *yd*, Yak. *yty*, Alt. *ys, ij* 'to send', tefs. XII-XIII. *ir* 'to send', Hak. 'to send' (YEGOROV 1964). Turkish data are important because they kept the original *t-* at the begining of the word (see.: Kāšγ. *tār-*), such as the Vogulish (see: Vog. *tääär-*). In Chuvas we find a *j-* instead (*j-* development) (see: Chuv. *jar*), but in Hungarian and some of Turkish languages there is 0- (zero) development of *t-* (< V- < w- < δ < t-), (see: Hung. *er, ere-*, OldT., KB., *yd*, Yak. *yty*, Alt. *ys, ij*, tefs. XII-XIII. *ir*). The original second consonant (also *-t-*) is kept as well (see: Yak. *yty*). The immediate precursor of the *-r* consonant is an interdental voiced spirant: *-r* < *-δ < -t (see: Hung. *er-, ere-*, Kāšγ. *tār-*, Vog. *tääär-*). In other languages the original *-t* is voiced (see: OldT., KB. *yd*) or as unvoiced consonant became spiranted: *-t* > *-th* > *-s* (see: Alt. *ys*). The consonant *j-* is also a derivative of the original *t-* at the begining of word (see: Chuv. *jar*) and also at the end of the word (see: Alt. *ij*).

Obviously, the Turkish and Vogulish words are close to each other. Furthermore, they are also related. But this does not mean that Hungarian words are necessarily of Finno-Ugric origin, not to say that the TESz does not mention Turkish parallels. It is important to add that the word 'to let' was -in the thinking of our forefathers- related to that moment of birth when the new creature came out of the womb of his mother. To this root other meanings were added; such as birth, giving life, letting out, letting on the road of life. The relative root words (Hung. *ere-*, Kāšγ. *tār-*, Chuv. *jar-*, OldT., KB., *yd-*, Yak. *yty-*, Alt. *ys-, ij-*, tefs. XII-XIII. *ir-*, Vog. *tääär-*) are obviously similar, making it unlikely that the Hungarian word would be an ancient Finno-Ugrian heritage.

In the following section I am going to present bird names on the base of Kāšγari's book: Hung. *bagoly* 'owl', *fácán* 'pheasant', *fogoly* 'partridge', *holló* 'eagle', *héja* 'hawk', *karvaly* 'sparrow-hawk', *liba* 'goose', *ölyv* 'hawk, buzzard', *sas* 'eagle', *sólyom* 'falcon', *szarka* 'magpie', *turul* 'eagle', *tyúk* 'hen', *varjú* 'crow'. The origin of these bird names are multiple; part of them are onomatopoetic words; part of them received their names after their color, in the third group we find birds named after a special characteristics, while bird names in the fourth group are related to the sharp-sightedness or sharp talons of a bird, that is they are birds of prey. These groups were created on the base of Hungarian bird names and their parallels from Mahmud al-Kāšγari's dictionary. Please note, that in some cases we can only find the relative root word in the Hungarian language. Nevertheless, it has no consequence for the results concerning the relationship between Hungarian and Turkish languages.

2.1. Onomatopoetic words in bird names.

See: Hung. *gá-gá* 'sound of goose', Kāšγ. *kaṇ* 'goose says, sound of goose', Kāšγ. *kūz* 'goose'; Hung. *károg* 'croak', *kár-kár* 'sound of crow', Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow'; Hung. *huhog* 'to hoot, to whoo', Kāšγ. *ūhī*

² The dictionary entries of TESz (Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian) are translated from Hungarian into English by Czeglédi Katalin.

³ The '<' sign introduces new word structures resulting from our investigations.

'owl'.

2.1.1. Hung. *gá-gá* onomatopoetic word, Kāšγ. *kūz* 'goose'.

Although we cannot find a parallel word to the Turk. *kūz* 'goose' in the Hungarian language, we know an onomatopoetic word (Hung. *gá-gá*) which served as basis also for the Turk. word *kūz*. This word is in relationship with: Chuv. *xur* 'goose', MK. *kaz*, Kirg., Kaz, Nog., Osm., Kum., Tat., Bashk. *kaz*, Uyg., Azerb., Turkm., K.kalp. *gaz*, Uzb. *goz*, Alt., Oyr., Tuv. *kas*, Hak. *xas*, Yak. *xaas* 'goose', Pers. *kaz* 'goose' Mong. *xur* 'heath/black cock, black grouse (hen)'. (YEGOROV 1964)⁴

The structure of these words is as follows: Chuv. *xu-*: absolute root of the word + *-r*: affix, MK. *ka-* + *-z*, Kirg., Kaz., Nog., Osm., Kum., Tat., Bashk. *ka-* + *-z*, Uyg., Azerb., Turkm., K.kalp. *ga-* + *-z*, Uzb. *go-* + *-z*, Alt., Ojr., Tuv. *ka-* + *-s*, Hak. *xa-* + *-s*, Yak. *xaas-* + *-s*', Pers. *ka-* + *-z*, Mong. *xu-* + *-r*.

The Rus. *gus'*, the Germ. *gans* and the Eng. *goose* (SIS) are also related to them. < Rus. *gu-* + *-s'*, Germ. *gan-* + *-s*, Eng. *goo-* + *-se*.

The bird name originates in the imitation of the bird's sound. That is, the word's basis is an onomatopoetic word. Hungarian language has a parallel to it: the Hung. *gá-gá*. Similar onomatopoetic words of the same word family include: Hung. *kong*, and Hung. *kat-kat*. They are in relationship with the Kāšγ. *kaŋ* 'voice of goose'. It is to be noted that the root of the word Hung. *gúnár* (< *gúná-* + *-r*) 'male of goose' belongs to this group in spite of being considered of Middle-German origin by TESz. In my opinion the origination of this word from Middle-German isn't justified.

Relationship of this word with Turkish, Slavic, German and English parallels are remarkable. However, we cannot suppose that this word got adopted from Slavic, German or English into the 11th century-Turkish language of Kāšγari. It also contradicts the Persian and Mongolian data. It could only originate in one of the common ancestors between the Turkish and Hungarian languages.⁵

⁴ It is translated from Russian into English by Czegelei Katalin.

⁵ Onomatopoetic words serve frequently as basic for an insect's name; see: Hung. *szúnyog*, Kāšγ. *siŋāk* 'fly', Kāšγ. *siŋak* 'mosquitos'. < *si-* + *-ŋāk*, *si-* + *-ŋak*. We have to decide, that the ending *-k* is affix Acc. or belong to the root of word. That is the question: Why is used Plural form by Russian translater? The same is the form Singular Nominativ. Meaning 'fly' is known in Chuvash and other Turkish languages, see: Chuv. *šäna* 'fly', MK. *sänäk* 'fly, mosquito', Zamahš. *singek*, Chag. *siŋek*, Osm., Gag., Turkm. *sinek* 'fly', Uzb. *suna*, Kirg., Kaz., K.kalp. *sono*, Yellow Uyg. *sona* 'hornet, horse-fly, gadfly', Nog. *sona* 'wasp', Mong. *sono* 'horse-fly, gadfly', (YEGOROV 1964) < Chuv. *šä-* + *-na*, MK. *sä-* + *-näk*, Zamahš. *si-* + *-ngek*, Chag. *si-* + *-nek*, Osm., Gag., Turkm. *si-* + *-nek*, Uzb. *su-* + *-na*, Kirg., Kaz., K.kalp. *so-* + *-no*, Yellow Uyg. *so-* + *-na*, Nog. *so-* + *-na*, Mong. *so-* + *-no*.

Hung. *szúnyog* 'small, slim insect with filmly wing, its female is blood-sucking; may-fly' is related to them. Hung. *szúnyog* is from Old Turkish by its origin in opinion of TESz, see: Kāšγ. *singäk* (at inhabitants of town) 'fly', (at nomadics) mosquito', Chag. *singäk* 'fly', Osm., Turkm., Gag. *sinek* 'mosquito', Hak. *sēk* 'fly', Chuv. *šäna* 'fly', Mong. *šimayul*, *šimuyul* 'fly, mosquito'. Cher. *šäŋä*, *šiŋä* are from Chuvash. (TESz) < Kāšγ. *si-* + *-ngäk*, Chag. *si-* + *-ngäk*, Osm., Turkm., Gag. *si-* + *-nek*, Hak. *sē-* + *-k*, Chuv. *šä-* + *-na*, Mong. *šimayu-* + *-l*, *šimuyu-* + *-l*.

This insect was named by its sucking, stinging mouthpart (see: Hung. *szeg* 'nail, pin'), as a basic of its was onomatopoetic word related to words Hung. *zeng*, *zengő* 'sing, singing'.

There is interesting, that Kāšγ. *siŋak* 'mosquito in language of settled down inhabitants'. Nomadics name fly with this word. < *si-*: absolute root of word + *-ŋak*: affix.

Words with the meaning 'bird' originating in the same onomatopoetic word as the Kāšγ. *kūz* 'goose' or Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow' are as follows: Chuv. *kajäk* 'bird', Yen., Uyg., Kirg. *kuš*, Bashk., Tat. *koš*, Azerb., Turkm. *guš*, Kaz., K.kalp., Nog. *kus* 'bird' (YEGOROV 1964) < Chuv. *ka-*: absolute root of word + *-jäk*: affix, Yen., Uyg., Kirg. *ku-* + *-š*, Bashk., Tat. *ko-* + *-š*, Azerb., Turkm. *gu-* + *-š*, Kaz., K.kalp., Nog. *ku-* + *-s*.

2.1.2. The Hung. *károg*, *kár-kár* 'to croak' and the Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow'⁶.

The words Kāšγ. *kuzgun* 'raven' and Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow' are different because at the root of Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow' we find an onomatopoetic word. They seem to be different variants of the same word. In spite of the formal similarities, the two names are not the same. Our forefathers named the crow with an onomatopoetic word and the predatory bird raven with a derivative from the word 'to scrape, hollow'.

The crow got its name from its characteristic voice. This is imitated by the word Hung. *károg* referring to the characteristic hoarse, screaming voices of crow and raven. The word Hung. *károg* served also as basis for the root of Rus. *karkat'* 'to croak'. (TESz) In view of the bird's black feathers, it could also be a derivative of the word 'black' (see: Osm. *kara* 'black'), but most data support the onomatopoetic origin. The possible structure of Kāšγ. *kargā* is: *kar-*: relativ root of word (verb) + *-gan*: affix of Present Participle, but the nasal has disappeared from the end of the word. In this case the word for crow means „one that croaches”.

On the basis of their phonetics Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow' and Hung. *varjú* 'crow' are clearly two different words. The *v*-consonant at the begining of Hung. *varjú* has developed from an original *t*-, and that's why this word cannot be related to the word *kargā*. According to the TESz the Hung. *varjú* is an Uralic inheritance. However, the comparative words mentioned in the TESZ dictionary are not always correct. The words with *k*- at the begining, e.g. Selk. *kuerè*, *kuereä* 'crow' are erratically mentioned because they are not related to the Hung. *varjú* but the Kāšγ. *kargā*.

Interestingly, the same onomatopoetic word served as root for both the Chuv. *kărak* 'turkeycock' and the Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow'.

Although not mentioned in Kāšγari, the Hung. bird name *haris* is also derived from the onomatopoetic word Hung. *károg*. The word structure of Hung. *haris* is: <*hari-*: relative root + *-s*: affix. A similar word structure can be observed in the Chuv. *karăš* (<*kară-*: relative root + *-š*: affix). The words Chuv. *karăš*, Mar. *karš*, Md. *kersi*, Man. *xars*, Hung. *haris* belong together by Yegorov. He refered to Räsänen, who said that the Chuv. word is a loanword from Mari. According to Yegorov the onomatopoetic word imitating the bird's *kar-kar-kar* sound became the root of the name *haris* (YEGOROV 1964). We can add that the Hung. *haris* is in closer contact with the preceding form of the Chuv. *karăš* < *karyš*. However, in TESz the followings are written about the etymology of *haris*: „Hung. *haris* 'quail; a

This word is known in other Turkish languages too, see at Yegorov. This word is related to Hung. *dongó* 'blow-fly', which is at Hung. *dong* 'buzz' entry in TESz. By this Hung. *dong*, *dúg*, *dunog* 'something or somebody speak with blunt, bass voice, buzz, make a rumbling noise', *dongó* 'insect making rumbling noise'. Onomatopoetic word. (TESz)

The Russian *muxa* is a variant of Kāšγ. *siŋak* and its relationships. The consonant at the begining was the origin *t*- and *m*- is its development as *d*-, *s*- and *š*-.

⁶ The words Engl. *croak* and *crow* are connected with Hungarian *károg* and Kāšγ. *kargā* too.

bird bigger than quail but smaller than pigeon with harsh, jeering sound, a migratory bird; jay'. This name has an onomatopoetic origin. It is either a Hungarian development, e.g.: Hung. *harsog* 'to blare' or it is of Finno-Ugrian origin" (TESz). I believe the authors are mistaken about the origin of the word because not all the related bird names were examined and that is why they omitted the Turkish parallels, which are in fact crucial.

2.1.3. Hung. *huhog* 'to hoot', Kāšγ. ūhī 'owl'.

The word structure is as follows: Hung. *hu-*: absolute root of word + *-hog*: affix, Kāšγ. ū-: absolute root of word + *-hī*: affix. This name originates in an onomatopoetic word.

According to the TESz, the „Hung. *huhog*, *huhog*, *huhong* 'somebody says wrong about a person, prophesies wrong, the common call of the bird (owl), (wind) howl, somebody breathes (onto his hand because of the cold) etc.' They are onomatopoetic word family. Phonetic-form of their elements and meanings in the overwhelming majority of the cases represent the sound of owl or similar sounds of natural or human origin. Related onomatopoetic words are: *buhu* 'owl' and *uhu* See the Rus. *uxat'*, *uxnut'* 'to crack', and Eng. *hoot* etc." (TESz)

Now, let's compare the word structure of these words: Hung. *hu-*: absolute root of word + *-hog*: affix, *hu-*: absolute root of word + *-hong*: affix, *bu-*: absolute root of word + *-hu*: affix, *u-*: absolute root of word + *-hu*: affix, Rus. *uxa-*: relative root of word + *-t'*: affix Infinitive, Eng. *hoo-*: relative root of word + *-t*: affix.

We can see that the original consonant at the begining of the word and affix was *t*-, developments of *t*- are in variants of above-mentioned words. It is important to consider in which cases can the consonant *h*- be a development from *t*- or *k*-.

Hung. *huhog*, Kāšγ. ūhī and root of Hung. *bagoly* see: *bago-* are variants of each other. Hung. *bagoly* by TESz: „a kind of predatory night bird, harbinger of death, night bird, student, old man, stupid". Unknown origin" (TESz). Structure: <*bago-*: root of word + *-ly*: affix. The root (Hung. *bago-*) is a variant of the Hung. *huhog* and it is related to Kāšγ. ūhī 'owl'.

It is known from the traditions⁷ that the owl was Lilidu's bird and Lilidu was Adam's first wife. The owl was the bird of the Sumerian goddess Istar (Akkadian name: Inana). The owl is the symbol of knowledge, erudition and science.

In Slavic traditions the owl was requalified to an evil sorceress (see: Rus. *baba jaga*), with a house standing on chicken's foot. Lilidu was thus destorted for negative figure. People were terrified by her; Lilidu, disguised as owl, was believed to carry away new-born children. As a protection, owl feathers were placed over the cradle.

Similarly to many other nations, Hungarian people attribute symbolical value to bird's feathers. In addition to flowers, people used to pin feathers on their hat. Behind it we can find the same idea as observed in the case of many Native American tribes, namely that feathers symbolize spirituality.

⁷ Tatár Eszter, a young Hungarian poet and researcher of ancient history of Hungarian people introduced me to some traditions in connection with birds and birdnames.

The eagle – previously it used to be the snake – is the symbol of someone who can see beyond the earthly aspects of life, that is, begins to fly. In addition, the eagle symbolizes the evolution of the scorpion spirit.

2.2. Birds named after their colour.

2.2.1. Hung. *fogoly* 'partridge', Kāšγ. *tutug* 'partridge'.

Word structure: Hung. *fogo-*: root word + *-ly*: affix, Kāšγ. *tu-*: root word + *-tug*: affix. Interestingly, the name of this bird is somewhat diverse in the Turkish languages. See: Chuv. *xir čäxxi* 'hen of the field', *värman čäxxi* 'hen of the wood', Osm. *keklik* 'partridge' (< *kek-*: root word + *-lik*: affix 'supplied with something, belonging to something/somebody, being close to something/somebody'. In the Mongolian language this bird is called *jatuu [itayu]* 'partridge' (KARA 1998) < *ja-* + *-tuu* [*i-* + *-tayu*].

According to the TESz, the Hung. *fogoly* is a „bird living in groups, hunted for its tasty meat. The word *fogoly* is a derivative, its basis being an ancient inheritance from the Uralic ages; see: Osty. *penk* 'hazel-grouse', MdE. *povo, pov* MdM. *povné*, Fi. *pyy* 'ua.', Est. *püü* 'partridge-bird', Lp. *baggoi* 'hazel-grouse', Sam. Selk. *pēge* 'hazel-grouse'" (TESz). < Hung. *fogo-*: root of word + *-ly*: affix.

It is unlikely that the Hungarian word *fogoly* originates from Uralic languages. Rather, it is the Hung. *páva* 'home poultry with splendid feathers' whose name might show Uralic language parallels. The *fogoly* bird was either named after its color or after its tasty meat. This is justified by the following data: Chuv. *tutäx* 'to become rusty, rust, yellowish, reddish brown', Alt., Hak. *tatta*, Oyr. *tata*, Tat., Bashk. *tutyg*, Kaz. *tottan, tottal, tot bas*, Kirg. *dat bas*, Nog. *totlyg*, K.kalp. *totla, tot bas*, Uyg. *datlaš*, Kum. *tot bas*, Tuv. *dadar* 'to become brown', Tuv. *dattyg*, Hak. *tattyg* 'yellowish, reddish brown'. Their basis is the Turk. *dat, tat* 'rust' (YEGOROV 1964). It is important to note that the basis of the word is the Turk. *dat, tat* 'rust' with an affix meaning 'supplied with something, belonged to something/somebody, being close to something/somebody', and therefore, the bird name means 'rusty, supplied with rust', which is an indication of the bird's color. This is clearly demonstrated by the structure of words; e.g.: Tuv. *dattyg*, Hak. *tattyg*, Nog. *totlyg*; Tuv. *dat-*: root of word + *-tyg*: affix, Hak. *tat-* + *-tyg*, Nog. *tot-* + *-lyg*. In other cases the end consonant of the root word may have disappeared, and only the consonant at the beginning of the affix remained; e.g.: Kāšγ. *tu-* + *-tug*, Hung. *fogo-* + *-ly*.

Affixes in the above mentioned words are variants of each other (*-tyg*, *-lyg*). The affix Mong. *-tayu* has a more complete form than the Turkish affixes, because the end consonant is followed by a vowel in it. The end consonant is missing in the following cases: Alt., Hak. *tat-* + *-ta*, K.kalp. *tot-* + *-la*, Mong. *ja-* + *-tuu*. The long vowel in the Mongolian word is a reminder of the original *-k*. As a result of further evolution, the vowel can be omitted and only the first consonant of the affix remains. This happened with the word Hung. *fogoly* (*fogo-* + *-ly*).

It is important to consider the root word of Hung. *fogoly* and its parallels in other languages. The structure of the Hungarian word (*fogo-*: root word + *-ly*: affix) is similar to the structures of the Turkish and Mongolian words; Kāšγ. *tu-*: root of word + *-tug*: affix, Mong. *ja-* + *-tuu* [*i-* + *-tayu*]. The root word variants (Hung. *fogo-*, Kāšγ. *tu-*, Mong. *ja-, i-*) are the result of different phonetical developments.

The Hung. *fogo-*, the Kāšγ. *tu-* and the Mong. *ja-, i-* are related in the following way: the original

consonant at the begining of word was *t*- (data preserved by Kāšyari). Developments of *t*- are *f*- (< ϕ - *th*- < *t*-) in the Hungarian word, *j*- (< 1. *d'*- < *t*-, 2. *δ*- < *t*-) or zero - (zero < *V- < *w- < *δ- < *t*-) in the Mongolian word.

The first consonant of the Hungarian word is followed by a Triftong -VgV-. The trifftong -VgV- is the more complete form which got reduced to a monoftong in Turkish languages. The affix -*ly* (-*l'*) is the only remaining part in the Hungarian word, but more complete forms remaind in the Turkish and Mongolian parallels; e.g.: Turk. -tVx, -tVg, Mong. -*tuu*, [-*tayu*].

The question is whether the relation of the bird name 'partridge' to the Chuv. *tutăx* and its Turkish parallels concerns also the meaning ('to become into rusty, rust, yellowish, reddish brown') or only the root word.

The following Turkish parallel words are unambigously related to yellow, brown and red colors; e.g. Chuv. *tut* 'freckle, spot', Bashk. *tut* 'rust, spot on the face', K.kalp., Nog., Kum. *tot*, Kirg. *dat*, Oyr., Hak. *tat* 'rust'. (YEGOROV 1964) < Chuv. *tu*-: absolute root of word + -*t*: affix, Bashk. *tu-* + -*t*, K.kalp., Nog., Kumük *to-* + -*t*, Kirg. *da-* + -*t*, Oyr., Hak. *ta-* + -*t*.

It is possible that the name is derived from the delicious taste of the bird's meat. The following examples support this view: Chuv. *tută* 'taste, tastly', tefs. XII-XIII., Polov. *tatyg*, Gag. *dat*, Osm., Tat. *tat*, Uzb. *did*, Azerb. *dad*, Kirg. *tatyk*, Hak. *tatyg*, Kaz. *tatym*, Karach. *tatuu*, Kum. *tatyv* 'taste'. (YEGOROV 19654) < Chuv. *tu*-: absolute root of word + -*tă*: affix. We can add that the Hung. *íz* 'taste' and root word Hung. *édes* 'sweet' (< *éde*-: root + -*s*: affix) are also related to this group.

Taken together, the word with meaning 'yellowish, rusty-brown, spotty, similar to freckle by its form and color, spotty' served as basis for this bird name. The meanings 'taste' and 'sweet' could also contribute to the name. The connections clearly lead to Turkish languages and therefore, in our view, the Finno-Ugrian origin in the case of the Hungarian word *fogoly* is not justified.

Although the 'peafowl, peacock' differs from 'partridge', their Hungarian names are related concerning phonetics and structure: Hung. *páva* 'peacock' and the root word *fogoly* (*fogo*-).

It is interesting to recall that the Hungarian king Hunyadi Mátyás kept *pava* 'peafowl, peacock' birds in his royal court and it was his favourite bird. Furthermore, the feather of peacock with the eye-motif was the symbol of nobility. It was also the head-dress of Krisna in India.

2.2.2. Hung. *fehér* 'white', Kāšy. *uruŋ kuš* 'white falcon'.

Word structure: Hung. *fehér* < *fehé*-: absolute root word + -*r*: affix, Kāšy. *uruŋ* 'white' < *u*-: absolute root word + -*ruŋ*: affix.

This bird name means precisely 'white bird'. The first part of Kāšy. *uruŋ* is related to the Hung. *fehér* 'white', the latter being of uncertain origin according to the TESz. There is a word variant *fejér* 'white', structured as: *fejé*-: absolute root word + -*r*: affix. The word *fehér* is also in relation with Hung. *sárga* 'yellow'. Hung. *sárga*, *sári* 'yellow' and *fehér*, *fejér* 'white' are not only related concerning the meaning but also by their phonetics and word structure, because they have a common etymology. Similar examples: Chuv. *šură*, *šur* 'white', *sară* 'yellow'. Words in other languages with 'white and yellow' meanings:

OldT., Tuv., Hak., Shor, Osm., Alt. *saryg*, *sary*, Kirg., Kaz., K.kalp., Nog., Azerb., Osm., Türk., Tat. *sary*, Uyg. *serik*, Uzb. *sarik*, Bashk. *hary*, Oyr. *sar* 'yellow, light brown, blond', see: Mong. *šar*, Bury. Mong. *šara* 'yellow, light brown, blond'. In old times it meant both 'yellow' and 'white' in some Turkish languages, and so in Bulgarian and Khasar languages. The name *Sarkel* was translated by the Greek as 'white house'. The name of this fortified place was *Belaja Veža* 'white house, white tent, white nomadic tent, white tower' in Russian alamanacs. The word Man. *sajr* 'white' could be a loanword from Bulgarian; the Man. *saragury* has the same meaning as *belaja ugra*⁸ 'white Ugrian'. The Nen. *seser*, *sera*, *ser*, *siri* means 'white' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *šu-*: absolute root of word + *-rā*: affix, *šu-* + *-r*, *sa-* + *-rā*, OldT., Tuv., Hak., Shor, Osm., Alt. *sa-* + *-ryg*, *sa-* + *-ry*, Kirg., Kaz., K.kalp., Nog., Azerb., Osm., Turk., Tat. *sa-* + *-ry*, Uyg. *se-* + *-rik*, Uzb. *sa-* + *-rik*, Bashk. *ha-* + *-ry*, Oyr. *sa-* + *-r*, Mong. *ša-* + *-r*, Bury. Mong. *ša-* + *-ra*, Man. *saj-* + *-r*, Nen. *se-* + *-ra*, *se-* + *-r*, *si-* + *-ri*.

According to the TESz the Hung. *sárga* 'pale, bloodless (skin colour, complexion), (straw-yellow) blond, the color of ripe lemon and straw, horse with short, brown, brownish or scarlet hair but not black mane and tail, intense envy, suspicious, not good, (person, institution) betraying labour movement, person belonging to the yellow race, gold money, yellow part of the egg, pale complexion, yellow horse'. It is a loanword from Old Turkish of the Chuvash type. See: Turk, Uyg. *sariy* 'yellow, pale', Osm., Azerb., Tat., Kaz., Kirg., Nog. *sari*, Turk. *sarı*, Uzb. *sarik*, Alt., Hak. *sarıy* 'yellow, blond', Chuv. *šură* 'white', *sară* 'yellow', Mong. *šara*, *šira* 'yellow', Manch. *šara-* 'become white'. See: Hung. *sár*, *sárog*, *sárig* 'yellow' (TESz). < Hung. *sá-*: absolute root of word + *-rga*: affix, *sá-* + *-r*, *sá-* + *-rig*, Turk, Uyg. *sa-* + *-riy*, Osm., Azerb., Tat., Kaz., Kirg., Nog. *sa-* + *-ri*, Turk. *sā-* + *-ri*, Uzb. *sa-* + *-rik*, Alt., Hak. *sa-* + *-riy*, Chuv. *šu-* + *-rā*, *sa-* + *-rā*, Mong. *ša-* + *-ra*, *ši-* + *-ra*, Manch. *ša-* + *-ra-*. It is not justified, that the Hungarian word *sárga* is a loanword from Turkish, but there is certainly a relation between the Hungarian and the Turkish words.

It is important to consider, that the Hung. *fehér*, *fejér* 'white' and the Osm. *beyaz* (*bejaz*) (< *beya-*: absolute root word + *-z*: affix) 'white', and furthermore the Eng. *white* (< *whi-*: absolute root of word + *-te*: affix) are related to each other. The *f*-, *b*- and *w*- consonants at the beginning of the words are developments from the original *t*- (*t-* > 1. *th-* > *φ-* > 1.1. *f-* 1.2. **p-* > *b-*, 2. *δ-* > *w-*). The *b*- consonant developed either through voicing the *p*- or in another way from the original *t*: *t-* > *δ-* > *w-* > *b-*. Consonants at the end of words (-*r*, -*z*) are also developments from *t*- (see: Eng. *white*): *t-* > *δ-* > 1. *-r*, 2. *-z*.

2.3. Birds named after their special characteristics.

2.3.1. Hung. *tyúk*, Kāšγ. *takuk* 'hen', Kāšγ. *arkak takāgū* 'cock', it means 'man hen'.

The hen's special characteristic is that she lays the eggs. Parallels of Hung. *tyúk* can be found in Turkish and Mongolian languages; Oyr. *taka*, *taxia* 'hen', East-Mong. *tak'iya*, *tak'iâ*, *tak'ya*, Hung. *tyúk*, dial. *tik* and Hung. *tojó* 'hen'. Hung. *tojik* 'lay (eggs)' as verb belongs to them. According to the TESz, the Hung. *tyúk* is 'home poultry, female of chicken'. It is loanword from Old Turkish (TESz). However, the

⁸ This name is interesting, because the Russian language uses the word in its feminine form (*ugra*). In addition, Kāšγari mentions a population called *ugrak* which speaks a language similar to his own. This means that about 1100 years A.D. people called *ugrak* who spoke a Turkish language lived in the regions of Kāšγar. The form *ugrak* is related to the words *ugra*, *ugry*, *ugor* - one of names of Hungarian people.

Hung. *tyúk* is not necessarily a loanword. Hungarian, Mongolian and Turkish parallels lead to their common root, the Scythian and Hunnish people, see: Chuv. čăxă, čăx 'hen', OldT. *takug*, MK. *takyk*, Uyg. *toxu*, Zamahš. *taki'a*, Ibn. Muxanna *dakuk* (Mong.), Uzb., Turkm. *tovuk*, Kirg. *took*, Bashk., Kaz., K.kalp. *tauyk*, Tat., Nog. *tavyk*, Osm., Kum. *tavuk*, Oyr. *takaa*, Karach. *tauk*, Tuv. *dagaa*, Azerb. *tojug* 'hen', see: Mong. *taxia(n)*, Bury.Mong. *taxjaa* 'hen', ere *taxjaa* 'cock' (YEGOROV 1964). It is remarkable that the Bury.Mong. ere *taxjaa* 'cock', Kāšγ. *arkak takāgū* 'cock', word for word means 'man hen'. One possible explanation for the origin of these words is that the people couldn't feel the essence of the word *taxjaa*, *takāgū*, and so could it happen that the cock was named 'man hen, man egg layer'.

The words Hung. *toj*, *tojik*, *tojó* are variants of Hung. *tyúk*, they are related to each other also by their structure, see: affixes -*j*, -*jó* and -*jik* are variants of each other. On one side the word preserved the meaning of the verb (see: *tojik*) and on the other side preserved the meaning of the noun (see: *tojó* < *tojV_k*). The origin of the final long vowel of Hung. *tojó* is from -*V_k* (vocal + -*k*). It is also supported by words Hung. *tojik* and Turkish words with endings -*V_k*, -*Vg* and Azerb. *tojug*. Both are related to womenly, motherly, egg laying character. We can write the etymology of the words Hung. *tojó* and *tyúk* only together. It is interesting that the Rus. *petux* (*pe* + *tux*) 'cock' by its structure is a compound word and members of it are in co-ordinate relation. The second part of the compound *tux* is related to Hung. *tyúk* and its Turkish and Mongolian parrallels, the first part of the compound *pe-* refers to a male characteristic, namely: Hung. *bök* 'poke', *dug* 'insert sg into sg', etc.

Traditionally, the cock is a symbol of the Saviour - Jesus -, and this symbol is originated from the East.

2.3.2. Hung. *fácán* 'pheasant', Kāšγ. *jazin* 'pheasant'.

The Hung. *fácán* and *pácán* are variants. According to the TESz the Hung. *fácán* is a borrowing, it is named after a river running in the South Caucasus and this word was born in the Greek language. This bird lived in the South Caucasus (TESz). Kāšγari's word *jazin* 'pheasant' isn't mentioned by TESz.

I am certain that the words Osm. *sülin* "pheasant" and Rus. *fazan* 'pheasant' are parallels. By their phonetics the consonants at the begining of the words are developments from an original *t-* (*t->th>1. φ->1.1. f-, 1.2. p-* 2. *s-*). The consonant *j-* (see: Kāšγ. *jazin*) is derived from *t-* by means of voicing and palatalizing: *t->d'->j-*. The second consonants (-*l*, -*z*-) are also derivations from the original -*t-*, see: -*t->δ->1. -z- 2. -l-*. The consonant -*c-* could be from -**s-* by making affricative, but it is more probable that, in Hungarian it is pronounced -*c-* instead of -*z-*, see Hung. *fűzfa, ficfa* 'willow-wood'.

Word Chuv. *xir čaxxi* 'pheasant' word for word 'hen of field' doesn't belong to Hung. *fácán*, Kāšγ. *jazin*, Osm. *sülin*, Rus. *fazan* 'pheasant'.

2.3.3. Hung. *úr* 'Sir, master, God', Kāšγ. *sigiržik* 'hazel-grouse'.

Word structures: Hung. *ú-*: absolute root word + -*r*: affix, Kāšγ. *sigir-*: relative root word (< *sigi-*: absolute root word + -*r*: affix) + -*žik*: affix. The Hung. *úr* belongs to the root of Kāšγari *sigiržik* (see: *sigir-*) and Eng. *Sir*.

However, the Hungarian word for hazel-grouse is *császármadár* (see: *császár* 'emperor' + *madár* 'bird')

and this word is not related to the data of Kāšyari, although Kāšy. *sigiržik* has parallels in the Hungarian language. The name of this bird is related to its appearance. It is 'crested bird, bigger than pheasant, wooden bird, kind of grouses' (MÉK). In the interpretation of this name our starting point is that the ruler –be it God, Hung. *császár*, úr, *király*, or Turk. *tengri*, etc.- is always on the top. It is probable that the bird has been named after the male's crest. The relative root of Kāšy. *sigiržik* -*sigir-* is related to Hung. úr, Chuv. *tură* 'God', Yen.. *teŋri*, KB. *taŋri* 'sky', Azerb. *tori* 'God, sky', Chag. *tengra*, Uyg. *teŋri*, PK. *tanry*, Kirg. *teŋri* 'God', K.kalp. *tangri*, Osm. *tanrı*, Yak. *tangara*, Bashk. *tenre* 'God, sky', Bashk., Tat. *tere*, Chuv. *tură*, *turăš* 'icon, shape, form, features', Bury. Mong. *tengeri*, Kalm. *tenger* 'sky', Shum. *dingir* 'sky', Pers. *tou* 'shape, form' (YEGOROV 1964). Their word structure is similar, see: Kāšy. *sigi-*: absolute root of word + -r: affix, Hung. ú- + -r, Chuv. tu- + -ră, Yen. teŋ- + -ri, KB. taŋ- + -ri, Azerb. to- + -ri, Chag. teng- + -ra, Uyg. teŋ- + -ri, PK. tan- + -ry, Kirg. teŋ- + -ri, K.kalp. tang- + -ri, Osm. tan- + -ry, Yak. *tanga-* + -ra, Bashk. *ten-* + -re, Bashk., Tat. *te-* + -re, Chuv. tu- + -ră, *tură-*: relative root of word (< *tu-*: absolute root of word + -ră: affix) + -š: affix, Bury. Mong. *tenge-* + -ri, Kalm. *tenge-* + -r, Shum. *dingi-* + -r, Pers. *tou-* + -r.

The phonetic structure of the above words is as follows: the consonants at the beginning of the words are: s- (Kāšy. *sigiržik*), 0- (zero) (Hung. úr) and t- in the above Turkish, Mongolian, Persian, Shumerian words meaning 'ruler'. The t- consonant is the original state and the -s and 0- are developments of it, see: t- > th- > s-; t- > δ- > w- > V- > 0-. The long vowel of Hung. úr is the reminiscence of the absolute root word and it is a derivative of several sounds. The affix is always -r or at it begins with an -r and it is a development of the original -t (-r < -δ < -t).

The affix -čik of the Rus. *r'abčik* 'hazel-grouse' (< *r'ab-*: relative root of word + -čik: affix) and the affix -žik of Kāšy. *sigiržik* are variants of each other.

2.3.4. Hung. *szarka* 'magpie', Kāšy. *sagirğan* 'magpie'.

Structure of Kāšy. *sagirğan*: *sagir-*: relative root word + -ğan: affix of Present Participle. The bird called Hung. *szarka* has two characteristics. One: this bird often leaves the straight road, that is this bird often steals something. The other: this bird has a characteristic voice. People say somebody steals as a magpie, or somebody chatters as a magpie. These two characteristics could give the grounds for naming. By TESz Hung. *szarka* 'bird belonging to the family of crows, with black and white feathers and long tail, etc'. It is from Slavic languages, see: Bolg. *svráka*, Serb.-Cro. *svarka*, Slov. *sráka*, Slovak. *straka*, Rus. *soroka* 'magpie' (TESz).

The Kāšyari dictionary can be of much use for defining the word structure. See: Kāšyari *sagir-*: relative root word + -ğan: affix in Present Participle. The Hungarian and Slavic words are variants of Kāšyari's word, it means they are developments of Kāšy. *sagirğan* 'magpie'. The nasal -n fell out everywhere. The first vowel is a development from a triphthong that we can still see at Kāšyari, see: Hung. -a-, Rus. -o-, Kāšy. -agi-. There is also diphthong variant of it: Serb.-Cro. -va-, sometimes only a -v- remained: Bolg. *svráka*, often the -v- falls out, see: Slov. *sráka*. We can see that the more complete forms are not in the Slavic languages but in the language of Kāšyari in the 11th century. The Hung. *szarka* has variants, see Hung. *varga(betű)* 'roundabout way' and *orv*, see Hung. *orvhálász* '(fish) poacher', Hung. *orvlövész* 'sniper'. The Hung. *szarka*, *varga* and *orv* are different developments of the word. We have no reason to originate the Hung. *szarka* from Slavic languages.

2.4. Birds named after their sharp sight and sharp talons.

Birds of prey are generally sharp-sighted and have sharp and powerful beaks and talons. In mythology and folklore these birds are often related to the divine. In the exploration of the history and development of the name of these birds my research work on toponyms was of a great help. For example the river looks sharp at the branching, similarly to the sharp edge of a hill, and of a scissors (see: Hung. *olló*); a pleat of a pleated skirt (see: Hung. *hol*, *hól*) looks like a branching river; and the nail (Hung. *szeg*) and pin (Hung. *tű*) are also very sharp.

2.4.1. Hung. *holló* 'raven', Kāšγ. *aqilla* 'eagle'.

Word structure: Hung. *hol-*: relative root word + *-ló*: affix, Kāšγ. *aqil-*: relative root word (< *aqi-*: absolute root word 'branch' + *-l*: affix) + *-la*: affix.

In spite of their different meaning ('raven' vs. 'eagle'), the names Hung. *holló* and Kāšγ. *aqilla* are parallel words. Furthermore, the Hungarian word is connected with Kāšγ. *aqilla* from another aspect as well. Namely, the relative root word *aqil-* and the Hung. word *él* 'edge', 'leading position', 'live' are related. The affix *-la* occurs in several other Hungarian words, e.g.: Hung. *szöllő*, *szőlő* 'grape' (< *szöl-*, *sző-*: relative roots + *-ló*: affix). We have to return in our thinking to our ancestors in order to find the answer.

Our forefathers had seen that the branching water had a sharp form. The branches of the tree and several other natural forms come into being in the same way. That's why the sharp things are named with these words meaning sharp. So, the absolute root *aqi-* of the word Kāšγ. *aqilla* and Hung. *ág* 'branch', *ék* 'wedge', *eke* 'plough' are relatives. The relative root *aqil-* of the word Kāšγ. *aqilla* came into being in following way: the absolute root *aqi-* got an affix *-l* 'it is beside something, it is belonging to something, to somebody'. Consequently, the relative form *aqil-* received a meaning 'belonging to a branch, wedge, or plough', see Hung. *ágas*. The relative root word *aqil-* with the affix *-la* means the same: 'belonging to a branch'. So the bird's name *aqilla* means 'it possesses a branchy, it has a branchy'. The raven has sharp eyes, sharp beak and sharp talons. The Kāšγ. *aqil-* and the Hung. *él* are connected with the Mongolian *aghola* 'hill, mount', the East-Mongolian *óla*, the Kalmukish *úla*, the Manchurian *alin*, and Oyratish *úla* 'hill, mount' too. It seems that the English *talon* also belongs to them.

Concerning their phonetics, the first sound of Kāšγ. *aqilla* and Hung. *holló* was originally *t-* (see English *talon*). In the course of use, the *t-* became first a **th-* (unvoiced spirant) and later a *h-* (see Hung. *holló*). This sound at the beginning of the word Kāšγ. *aqilla* fell out in the changing process: *t-* > **th-* > *h-* > 0-, or *t-* > *δ-* (voiced spirant) > *w-* > *V-* (vowel) > 0-.

It is important to consider the meaning: 'the sharp edge of something is always on the top, that is at the leading position'. That's why the number 'one', see: Hung. *első* 'first' (< *el-* 'one' + *-ső*: affix), the Osmanli Turk *ilk* 'first' (< *il-* 'one' + *-k*: affix), and the Korean *il* 'one' are relatives.

The raven was the sacred animal of the Hunyadi family, a noble family, out of which one of the greatest Hungarian kings, king Mathias Hunyadi arose. He was also named *Corvin* Mathias (corvus being the Latin name of raven; *corvin*, *corvinus* means 'raven, ravenly'). It was also the fortune-teller bird of Apollo. Concerning its etymology, the root word *corv-* of the Latin *corvus* belongs to Kāšγ. *kuzgun* 'raven' but not to Hung. *holló* and Kāšγ. *aqilla*.

The people of the Kushan Empire - they were white Hunns or kingly Scythians - had lion and raven in their coat-of-arms. It means that the lion and raven were their tribal symbols.

2.4.2. Hung. *héja* 'goshawk, hawk', *ölyv* 'buzzard, hawk', Kāšγ. *taŋla kuž* 'hawk'.

On the base of the Russian translation, the bird names related to Hung. *héja* 'goshawk, hawk' and *ölyv* 'buzzard, hawk' could mean different birds in Kāšγari. Both birds are characterized by their sharp talons, beaks and eyes. For this reason, words denoting sticking objects, curved, sharp things could have served as basis of denomination. The name Kāšγ. *taŋla kuž* is an adjectival construction in which the second part means 'bird', while the first part is related to the words: Chuv. *tumxax*, *tumxa* 'hill, hillock, sandhill', Uzb. *tungak* 'log', *dung* 'ill, hillock, mound', Bashk. *tüngek*, Tat. *tümgék*, Alt. *töngösök* 'log', *töngösök* 'hill, hillock', Tuv. *töngelik* 'sandhil, hillock', Turkm. *tümmek*, *tömmuk* 'hill, hillock', *toŋŋe* 'log' (YEGOROV 1964) and it is also related to Hung. *düne* 'hill, hillock, mound'. They are also equivalents concerning their word structures, see: Kāšγ. *taŋ-*: root word + *-la*: affix 'supplied with something', Alt. *töngö-* + *-š*, *töngö-* + *-šök*, Tuv. *tönge-* + *-lik*, Turkm. *tüm-* + *-mek*, *töm-* + *-muk*, *toŋ-* + *-ŋe*. The Turkm. *toŋŋe* is of key importance because it helps us to understand the structure of the following words: Chuv. *tum-*: root word + *-xax*: affix, *tum-* + *-xa*, Uzb. *tun-* + *-gak*, *dun-* + *-g*, Bashk. *tün-* + *-gek*, Tat. *tüm-* + *-gek*. In these cases the antecedent of the first consonant (*x*, *g*) of the affixes was always *ŋ*. The Hung. *düne*, *domb*, *tönkö* 'hill, hillock, sandhill, log' are variants of these words. In the first part of the above bird name we find a variant of the Hung. *él* 'edge', which can refer to the talons, beaks or the sharp sightedness of the bird.

This word has many relatives, see: Chuv. *sělę⁹* 'oat', Uyg., Kirg., Kum. *sulu*, Uzb. *suli*, Kaz., K.kalp. *suly*, Oyr., Hak. *sula*, Tat. *soly*, Bashk. *hölö* 'oat', see: Kalm. *sul'* 'oat' (YEGOROV 1964). The word Bashk. *hölö* is related to the root word Hung. *holló*, and also related to the word Hung. *ölyv*.

According to the TESz the Hung. *ölyv* 'bird of prey belonging to the family of eagles, bigger than Hung. *holló*, hawk, goshawk, kite'. Probably it originated from Old Turkish but we couldn't find its Turkish adequate neither in literary remains, nor in present day Turkish. The parallel Mongolian words are: Mid.Mong. *hele'e*, *heli'e*, Lit.Mong. *eliye* (< *elige), Bury. *ilē*, Oyrát *elē* 'bird of prey belonging to the family of eagles' (TESz). < Hung. *ö-* + *-lyv*. We cannot agree with the statement of the TESz, but its data are relevant. We can see that these bird names are the result of similar thinking. By comparing many parallels we can distinguish between words which begin with a *t*- sound or one of its developments and words beginning with *k*- or one of its developments.

The Hung *héja* begins with the same consonant (*h*-) as the Hung. *holló*. Concerning the Hung. *héja* the TESz writes the followings: 'common name of falcon-like birds, bird of prey.' Probably it is a derivate word: the basic word is an imitation of the squawking sound of predatory birds; also used as animal (bird) repeller (TESz). Kāšγ. *taŋla* and Hung. *héja*, *ölyv* are related to each other by their etymology and in the light of the Mongolian parallels. Consonants at the begining of words are usually *t*- or one of its developments [*h*- or *0*- (zero)].

Furthermore, the Hung. *héja* and *ölyv* are not only related to each other but also to the Rus. *sokol* 'falcon' and Hung. *sólyom*.

⁹ See: Hung. verb *szel-* 'to slice, to cut'.

It is important to note that the second part of Kāšγ. *tanla kuž* (*kuž*) means 'bird'. The name of Kāšγ. *tanla kuž* means 'hawk bird' or 'buzzard bird', or we have to interpret the first part of name as an attribute which means 'with talon, bill; sharp, hilly, catching up etc.'. This construction is characteristic to Turkish languages, e.g.: Chuv. *věšen kaják* 'flying bird', *sătkän*¹⁰ *kaják* 'bird of prey, robber bird', *jurlakan kaják* 'singing bird', etc.

The second part of Kāšγ. *tanla kuž* (see: *kuž* 'bird') is found in various Turkish languages, e.g.: Chuv. *kaják* 'bird', *kaják-kěšek* 'birds' in collective meaning 'poultries', 'wild', *kaják xur* 'wild goose', *kaják kăvakal* 'wild duck', *tisker kaják* 'wild animal', OldT. *kajik*, KB., Zol. bl. *kedik* 'deer, horny', Uyg. *kijik* 'horny, chamois, gazelle, hilly-goat', tefs. XIV-XV., Kar., Oyr. *kijik*, Chag. *kiik*, Bashk. *keek* 'wild animal, bird of prey', Hak. *kiik* 'wild goat', Tat. *kiek* 'wild (animal), wild birds', Alt. *kijik* 'wild animal', see: Yen., Uyg., Kirg. *kuš*, Bashk., Tat. *koš*, Azerb., Turkm. *guš*, Kaz., K.kalp., Nog. *kus* 'bird' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *ka-*: absolute root of word + *-ják*: affix, *ka-* + *-ják*, *kě-* + *-šěk*, OldT. *ka-* + *-jik*, KB., Zol. bl. *ke-* + *-dik*, Uyg. *ki-* + *-jik*, tefs. XIV-XV., Kar., Oyr. *ki-* + *-jik*, Chag. *ki-* + *-ik*, Bashk. *ke-* + *-ek*, Hak. *ki-* + *-ik*, Tat. *ki-* + *-ek*, Alt. *ki-* + *-jik*, Yen., Uyg., Kirg. *ku-* + *-š*, Bashk., Tat. *ko-* + *-š*, Azerb., Turkm. *gu-* + *-š*, Kaz., K.kalp., Nog. *ku-* + *-s*.

Other words which are possibly also related to Kāšγ. **kuž** 'bird': Rus. *gus* 'goose', Chuv. *xur* 'goose', MK. *kaz*, Kirg., Kaz., Nog., Osm., Kum., Tat., Bashk. *kaz*, Uyg., Azerb., Turkm., K.kalp. *gaz*, Uzb. *goz*, Alt., Oyr., Tuv. *kas*, Hak. *xas*, Yak. *xaas* 'goose', see: Persian *kaz* 'goose, black cock, capercailzie' (YEGOROV 1964). < Rus. *gu-*: absolute root of word + *-s*: affix, Chuv. *xu-* + *-r*, MK. *ka-* + *-z*, Kirg., Kaz., Nog., Osm., Kum., Tat., Bashk. *ka-* + *-z*, Uyg., Azerb., Turkm., K.kalp. *ga-* + *-z*, Uzb. *go-* + *-z*, Alt., Oyr., Tuv. *ka-* + *-s*, Hak. *xa-* + *-s*, Yak. *xaa-* + *-s*, Persian *ka-* + *-z*.

This means that we find an onomatopoetic word at the root of the words which mean 'bird'. The absolute root word can be related to the onomatopoetic word which served as basis for the word meaning 'goose', e.g.: Kāšγ. *kaŋ* 'voice of goose', Kāšγ. *kāz* 'goose', Kāšγ. *kāg kūg* 'voice of goose'.

The affixes are developments of an original *t-*, see: *-š* (< -č < -t' < -t), *-s* (< -th < -t), *-z*, *-r* (< -δ < -t), *-d* (< -t), *-j* was developed through *-δ* or *-d'* and could also be left out.

We have to add that Turkish languages also know a word which begins with *k-* for hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard: Chuv. *xălat* 'hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard', Uzb. *kalxat* 'hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard', Shor *kylady* 'hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard', Turkm. *kuladu*, Mong. *kuldu* 'hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard'. (YEGOROV 1964). The word Rus. *kulada* 'the same' is a borrowing from Turkish languages.

2.4.3. Hung. *turul* 'eagle', Kāšγ. *tugril* 'bird of prey who kills 1000 ducks but he eats only one of them'; Kāšγ. *tugrīl* 'eagle'.

Word structure: Hung. *turu-* (< *tu-*: absolute root + *-ru-*: affix) relative root + *-l*: affix; Kāšγ. *tugri-*, *tugrī-*: (< *tug-*: absolute root + *-ri*, *-rī*: affix) relative root + *-l*: affix.

The Hung. *turul* was the totem bird of Árpád's tribe. The *turul* is a she-animal similar to an eagle or a falcon and appears frequently in ancient Hungarian legends. See: Old Turk *toyrlı* 'hunting falcon',

¹⁰ See: Chuv. *săt* 'swallowing, swallow' (YEGOROV 1964) + *-kăñ*: affix Present Participle. This word is related to the root *jot-* of Hung. *jottányi* 'a mouthful quantity'.

Chagatay *toyril*, Osmanli Turk *toğrul* 'falcon', Persian *toğri-* 'falcon' (TESz). < Hung. *turu-*: relative root (< *tu-*: absolute root + *-ru-*: affix) + *-l*: affix, Old Turk *toγri-* (< *toγ-* + *-ri-*) + *-l*, Chagatay *toγri-* (< *toγ-* + *-ri-*) + *-l*, Osmanli Turk *toğru-* (< *toğ-* + *-ru-*) + *-l*, Persian *toğ-* + *-ri-*.

The meaning of the absolute root word is 'sharp as a needle, pin, hill, mount etc.', see Hung. *tű* 'needle', Osmanli Turk *dağ* 'hill'. The meaning of the relative root is 'hilly'. The relative root of the word is connected with the word meaning 'God'.

Concerning the word structure, the Hung. *turul*, Russian *or'ol* and Hungarian *holló* are the similar. Phonetically, they are variants of each other. Concerning their meaning, they aren't the same birds but each of them is a bird of prey.

The name *turul* is not only used as a bird's name but also as a personal name¹¹, see Kāšγ. *Tugril bek* 'reigning of the people' called Seldchuk.

Traditionally, the *turul* was the soul bird of the Hungarians but following Christianisation the pigeon replaced it. The white pigeon is a symbol of Virgin Maria and of peace. The *turul* was the favourite bird of king Attila. Another possible equivalent of the *turul* is the Hung. *Kerecsen sólyom* 'gerfalcon'. The *turul* is also the symbolic bird of the progeny of Hung. Ügyek (*Üd'ek*: father of Almoš). Emese (*Emeše*: mother of Almoš) is from the progeny called hind, Hung. *szarvas*. In their child, Almoš, both the *turul* 'eagle' and the *szarvas* 'hind' progenies unified. Árpád (son of Álmos) led this progeny, people of the *turul* 'eagle' and *szarvas* 'hind', into the Carpathian basin.

The symbol of the Hungarian National Defence is the flying *turul* bird with a sword in his claws. *Szarvas* 'hind' and *turul* 'eagle' are honoured symbols of the Hungarian nation.

2.4.3. Hung. *sólyom* 'falcon', Kāšγ. *žavlī* 'falcon'.

Word structure: Hung. *só-*: absolute root word + *-lyom*: affix, Kāšγ. *žav-*: absolute root word + *-lī*: affix.

According to the TESz, the Hung. *sólyom* is 'bird of prey bigger than crow, can be trained for hunting; name of horse colour'. This word is of uncertain origin. See: Kāšγ. *čaβli*, Chag., Osm. *čavlī* 'young falcon or hawk or sparrow-hawk' (TESz). < Hung. *só-*: absolute root word + *-lyom*: affix, Kāšγ. *čaβ-* + *-lī*, Chag., Osm. *čav-* + *-lī*. However, the word structure in the dictionary entry is probably wrong because the affix can't be *-m*. The absolute root word is related to Hung. *szeg* 'nail, pin' and its relatives as root words Chuv. and Rus. *sokol* < *soko-*: root word + *-l*: affix. It means that Rus. *sokol'* is related to Hung. *sólyom* and its Turkish adequats.

The original consonant at the begining of the word was *t*-, which is preserved in Hung. *turul* and its Turkish parallels. There are developments of *t*-, see: *ž-* (*t-* > *dž-* > *ž-*), *ś-* (*t-* > *th'-* > *ś-*), *s-* (*t-* > *th-* > *s-*), *-*, *š-* (*t-* > *t'-* > *-* > *š-*). Consonants at the begining of affix are *-r*, *-l*, *-ly* as developments of original *-t* (*t* > *-δ* > *1*, *-r*, 2. *-l* and *-t* > *-δ'* > *-l'*, *ly*).

¹¹ There are also personal names in Hungarian, see: *Holló, Sas, Varjú, Szarka, Sólyom, Karvaly* etc. as surnames.

2.4.4. Hung. *sólyom* 'falcon', Kāšγ. žagṛī 'falcon', Kāšγ. suŋkur 'name of bird of prey'.

Word structure: Hung. só-: absolute root word + -lyom: affix, Kāšγ. žag-: absolute root word + -rī: affix; Kāšγ. suŋku-: absolute root word + -r: affix. It is important to note that the affixes with -l, -ly or consonants at the begining of affixes also have an -r variant with the same meaning (falcon).

These birds could have been named after their sharp talons, hilly and curve beak and sharp-sightedness. The absolute root of the bird name is related to Hungarian and Turkish words, see: Hung. *szeg* 'nail, pin', Chuv. *săñă* 'lance, pike, sting, tongue of snake, edge of blade', OldT. (Orh.Yen.) *sünüg*, Zamahš., Chag. *süngü*, AFT. *sünü*, Turkm., Kaz. *süngi*, Nog. *sun'gi*, Kum. *s'ung'u*, Tat. *söngē*, Bashk. *hongo*, Yak. *ünü* 'lance, pike, sting', Osm., Karach. *süngü* 'bayonet', Azerb. *sančag* 'pin, decorative pin, hairpin', see: OldT. *San* 'stab, run through with the sword, prick, sting, cut', Chuv. *sun ăka* 'harpoon', *seněk* 'fork' (YEGOROV 1964).

The root word Chuv. *sun ăka* 'harpoon' see: *sun-*, the word Chuv. *seněk* 'fork' and their Turkish parallels are related to Kāšγ. *suŋku-*: absolute root word. In these case the affixes added to the root are related: -r (see: Kāšγ. *suŋkur*), -ri (see: Kāšγ. žagṛī), -lyom (see: Hung. *sólyom*), Kāšγ. žavlī -lī (see: Kāšγ. žavlī), -l' (see: Russ. *sokol'*).

The bird names Hung. *sólyom* 'falcon', Kāšγ. žagṛī 'falcon', Kāšγ. suŋkur 'name of bird of prey' are connected with the relative root word Hung. *turul* (see: *turu-* relative root word).

The absolute root words are related to words referring to curved and sharp talons, a characteristic of birds of prey, see: Chuv. *śak* 'hang, hang up', Azerb. ček, Turkm. ček 'hang', Azerb. čekil 'hang on' (YEGOROV 1964). < Azerb. čeki-: absolute root word + -l: denominal verbum affix.

2.4.5. Hung. *sas* (pronunciation: šaš) 'eagle', Kāšγ. *sas* 'eagle'.

Word structure: Hung. *sa-* absolute root word + -s: affix, Kāšγ. *sa-*: absolute root word + -s: affix. According to the TESz, the Hung. *sas* 'a predatory bird sort, column, engraved beam, rafter, eye bolt, cotter pin, hook, nail, cleaving, engraving'. The origin of the word is uncertain. Maybe it is an inheritance from Finno-Ugrian ages, see: Zury. *śuž* 'owl having ears', Lp. *cisku* 'falcon', *cicka* 'sparrow-hawk' (TESz). < Hung. *sa-* + -s, Zury. *śu-* + -ż, Lp. *ci-* + -sku, *ci-* + -cka. The Finno-Ugrian origin isn't justified, but the data belong to Hung. *sas* (šaš), Kāšγ. *sas* 'eagle'. The abovementioned -l- consonant has a parallel (-š-), both are developments of original -t-. This t- consonant in the word of Kāšγari (see: Kāšγ. *aqilla*) has fallen out (*t-* > δ- > w- > V- > 0-), and in the word Hung. *sas* (šaš) a *t-* > č- > š- change occurred.

We can see that the name *sas* has various meanings, see: Hung. *sas*(szeg) 'split pin', Osm. śeše 'box, bottle, etc.' Therefore, the word Hung. *sas* cannot be of Finno-Ugrian origin.

The words which appear in geographical names in the Volga and Ural region are variants of each other; e.g.: *Sos*, *Sis*, *Sys*, *ssas*, *Sas*, *Sus*, *Sösö*. The form *Sos* used by Russians has a basic word from Man. *sos* 'river, stream'. The Komi *Sos'jaju*, Rus. *Sos'ja* ← *Soseju* help us to understand: the Rus. *Sos'ja* belonged to *Sos'ja* and the Komi *Sos'jaju* and the Rus. *Soseju* is borrowed from Komi *Sos'jaju*. Toponyms used by Komi people haven't got words from Komi language as their basic words. The toponym Komi *Sos'jaju* is a compound word of three words and only the last part of it (see: Komi *ju* 'river') is from Komi language.

The second part of it (see: *ja* 'river') is used by Hanti and Manshi languages. The adequate of *ja* is *-e-* in Rus. *Soseju*, see Hanti, Manshi *je* also 'river'. The first part of the toponym is connected with the word Man. *sos* 'river, stream'. To understand the name *Sos* we have so much words. Toponym *Sos* is related to other toponyms, see: *Sis* and *Sys* (relative root of *Sysna*). See: Chuv. *sysna* 'pig' is named by its thin, slim, thorny, prickly bristle and the stream as source river or branching river, branching water is named by its thin, branching form.

The first part of word Hung. *sasszeg* (*sas*) having not the consonant *s* but *š* is also belonged to them, because Hung. the *sasszeg* (<*sas* 'split' + *szeg* 'pin') signifies a pin with two branches. This word is related to Hung. *sas*: bird name. The form¹² Chuv. *ssas* in toponym has double *ss* as a sign of an unvoiced pronunciation. This word means 'marsh, bog'. The meaning 'marsh, bog' refers to the frequent occurrence of marshes near river branches, streams and watercourses.

There are variants of the word 'branching' without initial consonant in common words and toponyms, e.g.:

Asylykül s. TB.26.: Bashk. Asylykül / Karatabyn küle / Jer Upkan / Jer Batkan / Ajyrkül Rus. Asylykul' Davl. lake.

< Bashk. Asylykül < Asyly < Asy ← 1. Bashk. asy 'bitter, salted'

2. asa 'branch' + -ly: affix + kül ○○ bask. kül 'lake'.

Bashk. Karatabyn < Kara ← Bashk. kara 'black' + tabyn + küle ← Bashk. kül 'lake'

+ -e: possessive ending.

Jer + Upkan

Jer + Batkan

Ajyrkül < Ajyr ← Bashk. auyr, ajyr 'branching of the river, affluent, stream' + kül 'lake'

Rus. Asylykul' ← Bashk. Asylykül.

The meaning 'branching' is confirmed also by the toponym variant *Ajyrkül*.

2.4.6. Hung. *karvaly* 'sparrow-hawk', Kāšγ. *karvī* 'curved, bent, slanting'.

Word structure: Hung. *karva-*: (<*ka-*: absolute root of word + *-rva-*: affix) relative root of word + *-ly*: affix, Kāšγ. *ka-*: absolute root of word + *-rvī*: affix). The relative root (*karva-*) of word Hung. *karvaly* is related to word Kāšγ. *karvī* 'curved, bent, slanting'. In this case we find the bird name in the Hungarian language and in Kāšγari we only find word which served as basis for the Hungarian bird name (see: Kāšγ. *karvī* 'curved, bent, slanting').

It is important to consider that –according to the thinking of our forefathers- at (river) branches not only hilly, pointed, peaked forms occurred but also curved, bent, slanting forms. Accordingly, the

12 Jamanssas s. Ašm.IV.185.: Chuv. Jamanssas Rus. Jamansas Ster.u., name of settlement, NAP:-, Ar.:-. < Chuv. Jamanssas < Jaman + ssas ← Tat. saz 'marsh, bog', Rus. Jamansas ← Chuv. Jamanssas.

relative root (see: Hung. *karva*-) and word Kāšγ. *karvī* 'curved, bent, slanting' have many variants, e.g.: Chuv. *kukär* 'curved, bent, slanting', Tat. *kekre*, Bashk. *kekere*, *küñgyr*, Misher Tat. *kyñyr*, Karach., Kum. *kyngyr*, Uyg., Uzb. *kingir*, Alt. *kyjyr* 'curved, bent, slanting', Alt. *kojryk*, *kojruk* 'curved', see: Mari *kagy*r 'curved, bent, slanting', *kagy*r-*mygyr* (see: Chuv. *kukär-makär* 'curved, bent, slanting'), Udm. *kongro* 'hook, angle', Fi. *koukero* 'curved, bent, slanting' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *kukă-*: absolute root of word + -r: affix, Tat. *kek-* + -re, Bashk. *keke-* + -re, *küñgy-* + -r, Misher Tat. *kyñy-* + -r, Karach., Kum. *kyngy-* + -r, Uyg., Uzb. *kingi-* + -r, Alt. *kyjy-* + -r, Alt. *koj-* + -ryk, *koj-* + -ruk, Mari *kagy-* + -r, Udm. *kong-* + -ro, Fi. *kouke-* + -ro.

It is related to the Hung. *görbe*; TESz: 'humpbacked, curvebacked person, hump, hunch, hunk, different from straight, etc'. The Hung. *görbe* is a loanword from South Slavic languages, see: Bolg. *gъrba* 'hump', Mac. *grba* 'same', etc (TESz). In my opinion the Slavic origin of Hungarian word *görbe* isn't justified. On the contrary, the Slavic words are loanwords. Their structure: Hung. *gō-*: absolute root of word + -rbe: affix, Bolg. *gъb-* + -rba, Mac. *g-* + -rba.

The word Hung. *kunkor* is related to them, it is found in TESz at dictionary entry Hung. *kunkorodik* 'curl up'. See the variant Hung. *kunkorog* 'curl up'. The authors of the dictionary entry were mistaken because they didn't take the Turkish data into consideration.

Other members of word family include the Hung. *kerek* 'forest, wood; whirlwind; circle, ring, round (disc, cylinder, roll) shape, similar to circle, etc'. According to the TESz, the word Hung. *kerek* is a derivative from the Hung. verbs *kerül*, *kering*, *kerít* with *ker-* as basis and -k as affix (TESz). This point of view is not justified. In my opinion, the word structure of Hung. *kerek* is: *ke-*: absolute root word + -rek: affix. A variant of the absolute root word is related to other absolute root words with affixes, see: Kāšγ. *kuñur* 'to uproot', Kāšγ. *kajlik* 'one-legged person, to go turning side'. < Kāšγ. *kaj-*: root word + -lik: affix. The absolute root word means 'root, origin', see: Kāšγ. *kuk* 'root, origin'.

The Hung. *kerék* 'object turning or rolling, turning around a central axis, usually part of a bigger mechanism, wheel shaped instrument of torture, round form, round path, etc'. according to the TESz, it is the result of word split, segregated from the Hung. *kerek* 'circle' (TESz). < Hung. *ke-*: absolute root word + -rék: affix.

Other variants of the word include: Hung. *karika* 'ring, circle', Hung. *korong* 'round forest, a kind of wheel as a component of water-mill; round sheet or plate, dial, potter's wheel, etc'. It is a loanword from Slavic languages, see: OldCh.Sl.: *krog*¹³, Bolg. *krv* 'roll, circle', Serb.-Cro. *krûg* 'roll, circle, disc, curb of well, reel', Slov. *króg* 'roll, circle', *krógi* (Plural) rings as sport instrument', Slovak. *kruh* 'roll, circle, roll-shaped object', Rus. *krug* 'roll, roll-shaped area, ring' (TESz). The author of entry was mistaken, because the Hung. word couldn't be a loanword from Slavic languages. It is related to Turkish languages. These Slavic words are loanwords from Scythian, Hunnish and Old Hungarian languages.

Another member of the word family is the Hung. *kör* 'circle, closed, curved line, etc'. According to the TESz, this word is the result of back-formation, see Hung. words: *körül*, *köröskörül*, *körülötte* (TESz). This statement isn't justified. Word structure: *kö-*: absolute root word + -r: affix. The words Hung. *körül*, *köröskörül*, *körülötte* have *kör* as basic word with affixes.

The Hung. *kereng*, *kering* is also related to them. Word structure: *ke-*: absolute root word + -rēng: affix,

¹³ The vowel -o- is nasally pronounced.

ke- + *-ring*.

Another related word is the Hung. *horog* 'hook, crook, (between the hills) deeproad, pass'. According to the TESz it is of unknown origin (TESz). < *ho-*: absolute root word + *-rog*: affix. It is important to consider that the consonant *h*- at the beginning of word is development from original *k*.

Relatives of the abovementioned words include: Rus. *krivoj* 'curve', Germ. *kurve* 'curve', Eng. *curve*, relative root of Eng. *circle* (< *circ-* + *-le*), see also words Engl. *Church*, Germ. *Kirsh* etc. See: Kāšγ. *karmālā-* 'to steal, to rob' (< *karmā-*: absolute root word + *-mā*: affix) relative root word + *-lā*: affix.

Although the relative root word in Chuvash does not mean 'clow, talon, nail', several words show that it belongs to this word family; see: Chuv. *karmak* 'branching, hook, crook', Uyg., Tuv., Kaz., Tat. *karmak*, Uzb. *karmok*, Hak. *xarmax*, Azerb. *garmag* 'branching, hook, crook of angler', Alt. *karma* 'to hang up, to take off, to snatch away, to take away, to tear away, to catch' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *kar-*: absolute root word + *-mak*: affix, Uyg., Tuv., Kaz., Tat. *kar-* + *-mak*, Uzb. *kar-* + *-mok*, Hak. *xar-* + *-max*, Azerb. *gar-* + *-mag*, Alt. *kar-* + *ma*.

Here belong the following words with several affixes: Chuv. *karmaš*, *karmašlan* 'to climb on with hand', Chag. *karmaš* 'to connect, to join, to cling on, join battle, to fall out, to attack, to fight, to struggle', *karmašyb* 'catching with five nails', Kirg. *karmaš* 'catching each other, to attack, to fight', Alt. *karman* 'catching with hands, to cling on' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *karma-*: (< *kar-*: absolute root word + *-ma*: affix) relative root word + *-š*: affix, *karmaš-*: relative root word + *-lan*: affix.

The Hung. *karom* is found under dictionary entry Hung. *karmol* in TESz: Hung *karmol* 'to hurt with nail, to scratch, to hollow, to bite, etc.', Hung. *karom* 'sharp, hilly, strong, hooked, curved claw, suitable for attack, climbing up and long nail of people'. The members of the word family are Hungarian developments (TESz). < *karmo-*: < *karmo-*: relative root word + *-l*: affix.

Here belongs the Hung. *köröm* 'nail'. In the TESz it is of unknown origin. Word structure: Hung. *körö-*: root word + *-m*: affix. See Hung. *körmöl* 'to hurt with nail, to write mechanically'. Word structure: *körmö-*: relative root word + *-l*: affix.

The root words (*kar-*, *kör-*, *körö-*) are related to Hung. *horog* 'hook' and the root of Hung. *horgászik* 'to fish with hook' (root: *horgá-*), Rus. *kr'učok* 'hook'. The Russian word is a loanword.

The words Kāšγ. *karmālā-*, Hung. *karmol*, *körmöl* are in relation with each other. We have to add that the root words *kar-*, *kör-*, *xar-* all belong to Hung *horog*, which is clearly a derived word; see: *ho-*: absolute root word + *-rog*: affix.

The Hung. *horog* is also related to Chuv. *xurčāka* 'sparrow-hawk', Zamahš., Tat., Kirg. *karcýga*, Bashk. *karsyga*, Kaz., K.kalp. *karšyga*, Oyr. *karčaga*, Hak., Tuv. *xartyga*, Uzb. *karčagaj* 'sparrow-hawk', Alt. *karcýga* 'falcon, hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard', Mong. *xarcgaj*, *xarcaga*, Kalm. *xarcx* 'sparrow-hawk' (YEGOROV 1964). Structure of them is the same as in Hung. *karvaly* and they are phonetical variants, see: Hung. *karva-*: relative root word + *-ly*: affix, Chuv. *xur-* + *-čāka*, Zamahš., Tat., Kirg. *kar-* + *-čyga*, Bashk. *kar-* + *-syga*, Kaz., K.kalp. *kar-* + *-šyga*, Oyr. *kar-* + *-čaga*, Hak., Tuv. *xar-* + *-tyga*, Uzb. *kar-* + *-čagaj*, Alt. *kar-* + *-čyga*, Mong. *xar-* + *-cgaj*, *xar-* + *-caga*, Kalm. *xar-* + *-cx*¹⁴.

¹⁴ See: Hung. *karcol* 'scratch' verb.

The Rus. *koršun* 'hawk, goshawk, kite, buzzard' is a variant of the Hung. bird name *karvaly*, but it is used for naming another bird of prey in Russian. However, there are words which do not designate birds but nevertheless belong to this word family; e.g.: Chuv. *xurāš*, *xuršā* 'steel', Tat. *koryč*, Bashk. *koros*, Kaz. *kuryš* 'steel'. The meaning 'steel' can be secondary and their first meaning would be 'edge', see: MK. *kurč* 'edge'. *kurč temür* 'steel' ('edge iron'), Kirg., Alt. *kurč* 'edge', Mong., Kalm. *xurc* 'edge', Bury. Mong. *xurca*, *xursa* 'edge'. OldRus. *krvii* 'smith' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *xură*: relative root word + -ś: affix, *xur-* + -śā, Tat. *kory-* + -č, Bashk. *koro-* + -s, Kaz. *kury-* + -ś, MK. *kur-* + -, Kirg., Alt. *kur-* + -, Mong., Kalm. *xur-* + -c, Bury. Mong. *xur-* + -ca, *xur-* + -sa, OldRus. *krv-* + -ii. The affix of Old Russian word is affix of profession, that's why it isn't connected with affixes of Turkish and Mongolian words. See also Rus. *kuznec* 'smith'.

2.4.7. Hung. *horh*, *horho* 'canal washed by water, deep way', *kapar* 'to scratch, scrape', Kāšγ. *kuzgun* 'eagle'.

Word structure: Hung. *ho-*: absolute root word + -rh: affix, *ho-* + -rho, Kāšγ. *kuz-*: (< *ku-*: absolute root word + -z: affix) relative root word + -gun: affix Present Participle. Although the word of Kāšγari *kuzgun* 'eagle' is not connected with the relevant Hungarian bird name, it served as basis for the bird name and thereby strengthens the theory of its Turkish origin. See Hung. *horh*, *horho* 'canal washed by water, deep way', the words Hung. *horhol*, *horol*, *horzsol*, *korzsol* 'to scratch, scrape'.

According to the TESz, the root of these words is *hor-* an old onomatopoetic word from Finno-Ugrian ages, see: Zury. *kuravni* 'to rake together, to scrape out, to scratch out', *kuran* 'rake', Voty. *kurjal* 'to scrape down, off, to scratch down, off', Fi. *karvia* 'to scratch, to scrape, to rake, to file, to polish, burnish' (TESz). We cannot agree with the word structure as presented in the TESz. The right word structure is: Hung. *horho-*: relative root word (< *ho-*: absolute root word + -rho: affix) + -l: affix.

The basis of the Hungarian words is the 'arched, curved shaped nail, talon', which allows scratching, scraping thereby creating a depression, a pit, a ditch, which may contain water. This origin survived in toponyms, see: Hung. *Hortifenék* 'settlement' see: *Hortobágy* 'river on the North part of Hortobágy region'. These are compound words; see *Horti* + *fenék*, *Horto* + *bágy*. The river *Hortobágy* in Transsylvania is the 'left-side affluent of the river called Szeben' (KISS 1980). < *Horti* (< *Hor-* + -ti) + *fenék*, *Horto* (< *Hor-* + -to) + *bágy*.

In this case the bird name Kāšγari *kuzgun* is related to Hungarian language not through the Hungarian onomatopoetic word but through meaning, namely that the eagle has the capacity for scratching, scraping. Hungarian word *holló* isn't related to the word Kāšγari *kuzgun* by its etymology because of their different structure and phonetics, see: Hung. *holló* (< *hol-*: relative root word + -ló: affix). The relative root of this word is in relationship with the Hung. *él* 'edge, to live' and parallels of it but the relative root of this word *hol-* isn't related to Turkish words which initiate with *k-* (see: Kāšγ. *kuzgun*). It is important to note that the consonant *h-* at the begining of Hung. *holló* is development of original *t-* (*t->th->h-*). Comparing my results to that of TESz we can see the differences but the data in TESz are related to a variant of Kāšγ. *kuzgun*, see: Hung. *holló* 'bird, having bright and black feathers, bigger than crow'. It is an old onomatopoetic word from Uralic ages. See: Vog. *kola:x*, Osty. *kōlek* 'eagle', Sam. Yur. *xulli*, Yen. *kuđuke*, *kuruke*, Tavgi Sam. *kula*, Selk. *kulé*, *kulli*, Kam. *kūli*, see: Persian *kalāy*, *kulay* 'sowing rook', Fi.

kaarne 'eagle' (TESz).

Although the eagle and the raven are clearly different birds, Hung. *holló* 'raven' and Kāšγ. *aqilla* 'eagle' are related by their etymology, as demonstrated earlier. Similarly, the Hungarian language has different words for *holló* 'raven' and *varjú* 'crow'. Kāšγari doesn't name the *holló varjú*, he has another word to name the *holló*. However, these two names are mixed in several languages. It can be explained in the following way: the Hung. *károg* (onomatopoetic word) and Hung. *horh* are phonetically close to each (not the Hungarian words, but their Turkish parallels). In addition, the raven and the crow are very similar to each other. The raven (*holló*) received its name on the base of its predatory characteristics, while the crow (*varjú*) was named on the base of its sound. Those languages, which do not feel this difference either mix the two birds or add the word 'edge' before the name for crow when referring to the raven. See: Chuv. *ula kurak* 'crow, rook', word for word 'edge crow, edge rook'. The first part of Chuv. *ula kurak* is related to Hung. *él*, the second part is related with Kāšγ. *kuzgun* 'eagle' and Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow, rook', also Rus. *grač* 'sowing rook'. By Yegorov Chuv. *ula* 'edge', OldT., Uyg., Kirg., Kaz., Osm., Tuv., Hak., Alt., Tat. *ala*, Azerb. *ala-bula*, *alača*, Azb. *ola*, Azerb., Turkm. *ala* 'edge', 'pied, colourful, spotted', Zamahš. *ala karka*, Tat. *ala karga*, Chuv. *ula kurak* 'crow', Chuv. *ulatakka* 'woodpecker, pecker', Mong. *alag* 'edge, pied, colourful, having different colour'¹⁵ (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *u-*: absolute root word + *-la*: affix, OldT., Uyg., Kirg., kaz., Osm., Tuv., Hak., Alt., Tat. *a- + -la*, Azerb. *a- + la*, *bu- + -la*, Uzb. *o- + -la*, Azerb., Turkm. *a- + -la*, Mong. *a- + -lag*.

The second part of Chuvash *ula kurak* is in Yegorov, see: Chuv. *kurak* 'crow'¹⁶, *xura kurak* 'crow', *ula kurak* 'crow', Kirg., Kaz. *ala karga*, Turkm. *ala garga*, *garga*, Bashk., Tat., K.kalp., Nog., Uyg., Uzb., Kum., Karaim *karga*, Osm., Azerb. *garga* 'crow', Bashk., Tat., K.kalp., Nog. *kara karga*, Uzb. *kara korga*, Azerb., Turkm. *gara garga*, Osm. *ekin gargazy*, Kirg. *čar garga*, Kaz. *kuzgyn karga* 'crow', Osm. *aladža karga* '(jack) daw'. It is an onomatopoetic word (YEGOROV 1964).

The word for word meaning of Osm. *ekin gargazy* is 'rook of sowing'. It is interesting that the first part (*kuzgyn*) of Kaz. *kuzgyn karga* is related to Kāšγ. *kuzgun* 'eagle'. It is also justified by the word structure, see: verb + affix in Present Participle.

It is interesting to consider that there is a change of meaning when translating from Turkish into Russian. For example, in one case the Turkish word is translated into Russian as Rus. *gra* (< see: Chuv. *kurak*), in other case as Rus. *vorona* (see: Hung. *varjú*) and in still another case as Rus. *galka*¹⁷. It occurs because the Russian does not always feel the difference in meaning. If we look at the word Rus. *ind'uk* 'turkeycock', it appears that the Russian named the bird with words of Turkish origin, which are related or to Hung. *hór-*, *kar-* (see: *karcol*, *karmol*) or to onomatopoetic words see: Hung. *károg*, *kár-kár*. This difference did not feel ambiguous for the Russians.

The Hung. *hór-*, *kar-* and their language parallels as related to the following root words and relative root words: Chuv. *xălat* 'hawk, goshawk, buzzard', Uzb. *kalxat* 'hawk, goshawk, buzzard', Shor *kylady* 'hawk, goshawk, buzzard', Turkm. *kuladu*, Mong. *kuldu* 'buzzard' (YEGOROV 1964). < Chuv. *xăla-*:

¹⁵ The meaning 'colourful' didn't take part at naming of *holló* and *varjú*.

¹⁶ See: Rus. *gra*, it is clearly connected with Turkish words.

¹⁷ It is variant of words, see: Chuv. *kurak* etc. The foregoings of consonants *-l-* and *-r-* are the same, see: *-r-*, *-l-* < *-δ-* < *-t-*.

relative root word + -t: *affix*, Uzb. *kalxa-* + -t, Shor *kyla-* + -dy, Turkm. *kula-* + -du, Mong. *kul-* + -du. The second consonant of the root words and the initial consonant of the affixes are originally *t*- and its developments.

3. Based on our comparison of Hungarian and Turkish bird names it can be stated that the two languages are clearly connected to each other. The basis of this connection is the similar way of thinking of Hungarian and Turkish people.

It can happen that a bird name in Kāšyari does not have a Hungarian etymological adequate but in this case we can trace it among Hungarian common words which served as basis in the naming (see: Hung. *gá-gá*: onomatopoetic word, Kāšγ. *kūz* 'goose'; Hung. *károg* 'croak', *kár-kár* 'sound of crow', Kāšγ. *kargā* 'crow'; Hung. *horh*, *horho* 'canal washed by water, deep way', *kapar* 'scratch, scrape', Kāšγ. *kuzgun* 'eagle').

It can also happen, although we only know one example, that a Hungarian bird name does not have an etymological adequate at Kāšyari. In this case the word which gave the basis of the bird name is indeed found (see: Hung. *karvaly*, Kāšγ. *karvī* 'curved, leaning to one side'). There are many examples for etymological adequates among bird names between the Hungarian and Turkish languages, which signify the same bird in both languages (e.g.: Hung. *buhu*, *uhu* 'owl', Kāšγ. *ūhī* 'owl'; Hung. *turul*, Kāšγ. *tugril*; Hung. *sólyom*, Kāšγ. *žavlı* 'falcon', Kāšγ. *žagrī* 'falcon').

There is a third case, namely that a Hungarian bird name has a Turkish etymological adequate, but they designate different, though much alike, birds (see: Hung. *holló* 'raven', Kāšγ. *aqilla* 'eagle'; Hung. *turul*, Kāšγ. *tugril* 'eagle'; Hung. *sas* (*śas*), Kāšγ. *sas* 'eagle'). We can further amplify our data by studying the bird names directly, in Turkish-speaking countries and by taking into account the bird's natural range.

There are many legends and traditions related to birds. The most important birds for the Hungarian and Turkish folk traditions are the Hung. *bagoly*, *holló* and *turul*. A separate investigation could focus upon birds appearing on coat of arms, flags, or as national symbols. The bird names described in the present article clearly demonstrate their Scythian-Hunnish origin. These names moved westwards and went into Latin and English, as well as into Slavic languages which preserved them as loanwords.

Finally, a very important consideration: the Academic Grammar of Hungarian language used until nowadays is written on the base of Finno-Ugrian theory, and consequently this Grammar doesn't apply well. It has lot of problems, mistakes, defects, exceptions and it lacks a good working system. The Grammar of Toponyms in Volga Ural regions written by me has a good working system and it hasn't got exceptions. We can use it for the Hungarian, Turkish and Mongolian languages. The reason for its wide relevance is that the waters (sources, rivers, lakes, marches) were named by ancient people called Scythians and Hunnish. It means the oldest toponyms in the Volga-Ural regions are from Scythian and Hunnish languages. The study of bird names in Hungarian and the language of Kāšyari on the base of my Grammar was successful in many respects (system, method, etymology, word relations, affixes and languages, folk traditions); in addition, it confirmed that the Hungarian, Turkish and Mongolian languages have common Scythian and Hunnish roots.

List of abbreviations

Acc	Accusativ
Alt	Altaic
Azerb	Azerbaijan
Bashk	Bashkirian
Bolg	Bolgarian
Bury Mong	Buryat Mongolian
Chag	Chagatay
Cher	Cheremish
Chuv	Chuvash
dial	dialect
East Mong	East Mongolian
Eng	English
Est	Estonian
Fi	Finnish
Gag	Gagauz
Germ	German
Hak	Hakas
Hung	Hungarian
Kalm	Kalmuk
Kam	Kamas
Karach	Karachay
Kāšγ	Kāšγari
Kaz	Kazakh
KB	Kutadgu Bilig
Kirg	Kirgizian
K. kalp	Karakalpakish
Kum	Kumükish
Lp	Lapp
Lit Mong	Literary Mongolian
Mac	Macedonian
Man	Manshi
Manch	Manchurian
Mar	Mari
Md	Mordvin
MdE	Erza Mordvin
MdM	Moksha Mordvin
Mid Mong	Middle-Mongolian
MK	Mahmud al-Kāšγari
Mong	Mongolian
Nen	Nenec

Nog	Nogayish
OldChSl	Old Church Slavic
OldRus	Old Russian
OldT	Old Turkish
Oyr	Oyratish
OrhYen	Orhon Yeniseyish
Osm	Osmanli
Osty	Ostyakish
Pers	Persian
PK	Perevod Korana (XIV. G)
Polov	Polovec
Rus	Russian
s	settlement
Sam	Samoyedish
SamSelk	Samoyedish Selkup
SamYur	Samoyedish Yurak
Serb-Cro	Serbo-Croatian
Selk	Selkup
Shum	Shumerian
Slovak	Slovakian
Slov	Slovenian
Tat	Tatar
Turk	Turkish
Tuv	Tuvanian
Turkm	Turkmenian
Tavg	Tavgi Samoyedish
Udm	Udmurtian
Uyg	Uygurian
Uzb	Uzbek
Vog	Vogulish
Voty	Votyakish
Yak	Yakutian
YellowUyg	Yellow Uygurian
Yen	Yeniseyish
Zamahš	Zamahšari
Zurj	Zuryenish

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MOLNÁR, Zsolt

Cognitive Science – The Science of Cognition and Action

The sources of cognitive science

Cognitive science is not an old discipline. Its development started in the second part of the twentieth century, directly from several sources, indirectly from the emergence of handling data and information by machines. Basically the latter, the advent of machine tools for data and information has ignited the research of cognition, on the level as it is known today.

Cognitive science directly originates from four or five scientific disciplines.

One of its basic sources is **computer science**, the machine science of cognitions, the revolutionary development of tools, supporting human mindwork. The fast, parallel growth of communication tools is connected to this.

The other source is **neuroscience**, which provided models, schemes for computer science and tried to apply its results.

The third wellspring is **psychology**, mainly that part which researches human cognition, its formation, processing and use. This area of research focuses on cognition in the human mind.

The fourth source is **linguistics**. This area examines the role of language in cognition and action. Language is basically a tool in the cognition-action processes, which was formed externally, but later was internalized, an essential material of cognition-action processes. Linguistics in the 1980s started to be based on cognitive science; it examines the role of language in cognition-action processes more deeply since then.

There is one area, which is basically all of the above; it is the foundation of the science of cognition and this is **cybernetics**. It studies systems, organizations, networks and their interaction, cooperation with the environment. When Wiener coined the term in 1948, he took the Greek word kubernetes, 'governor' as bases. Cybernetics is the science of government. This is the common area, essential element in all of the disciplines mentioned above. It deals with the most basic issues of systems, their operations and management. We consider system, organization and network theories as part of cybernetics too. It is the discipline – its viewpoints, concepts, theories – which stands as grounding area behind all of the other four sciences.

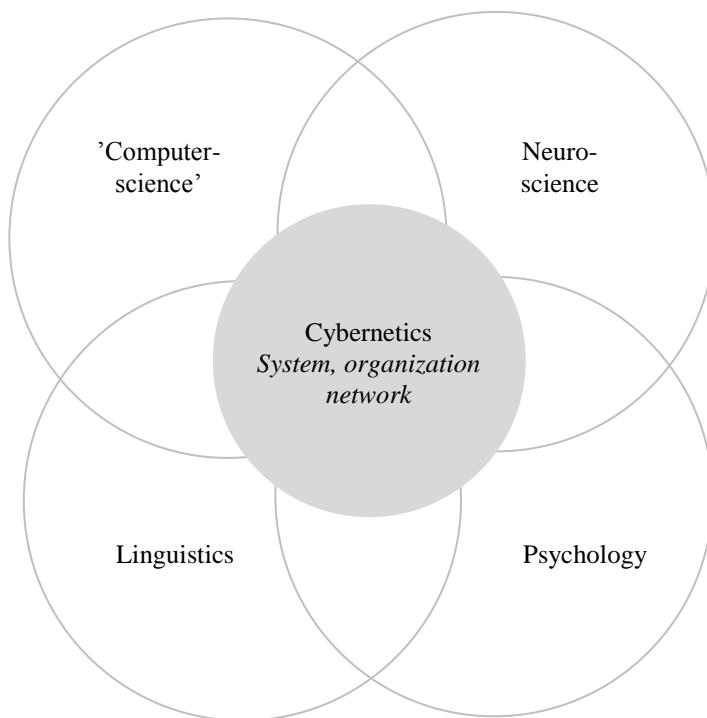


Figure 1: The sources of cognitive science

Note: Philosophy has an important role – as in case of other sciences – in formation of cognitive science, but because it is the base of all sciences, it is not mentioned separately.

The role of the disciplines in cognitive science

Cybernetics, the science of governance, provides the base, core of cognitive science; it includes system theory, organization science and network science, too. They establish the solid theoretical basis for system description, handling and management of organizations and networks. Cognition is the result and tool of the system in its adaptation to the environment, and/or management of oneself or of the environment.

Neuroscience examines the nervous system responsible for directing the living organism. The basic function of the nervous system for the living organism is to ensure its survival, adaptation to the environment, therefore cognition and action, as well as management of these processes.

Psychology examines the role of the human mind in cognition and action, and in the management and organization of the execution of these processes.

The task of cognitive linguistics is to examine, define and describe the role of the language system, the highest level cognitive system, in cognition and action.

The role of computer science is to facilitate the cognition, action and management processes by suitable tools. Its most important part is artificial intelligence. Computer science is the encouraging source, ideal model for the other fields, by transporting ideas, creating experimental opportunities. The artificial models are simpler, can be easier controlled, the experiments can be easier executed. Computer science is the source of inspiration and testing ground too. In addition it takes over approaches, many methods from the neuroscience of living systems, from psychology and linguistics.

Other related fields

Beside the above mentioned fields, many other disciplines connect to cognitive science; they take part in its development, or depend on it, are built on it or are connected to its application.

In addition, every scientific field is affected in some way or other by the development of cognitive science; each uses its principles, laws, rules, patterns. All are in close contact with cognitive science. Examples include:

- Research of nervous systems in general; the study of animal behaviour contributes to the development of cognitive science.
- Not only the results of neuroscience and psychology of the individual human mind are incorporated into cognitive science, but the study of the higher level human systems, including groups, organizations, social units, nations, and ultimately mankind's cognitive processes as well. The cognitive processes of business, office, public and community organizations could be mentioned here too, from the lowest level to the higher groups, departments, covering the whole organization. Molnár (1996) studied organizations from this viewpoint.
- Cognitive science is also closely linked to pedagogy. First, pedagogy takes part in cognitive science in the field of learning, on the other hand the principles of pedagogy and pedagogical methods need to be adapted to the results explored by cognitive science. It is under development.
- The application of cognitive science deeply affects many other areas like anthropology, cultural studies, sociology, etc.
- Cognitive science strongly influences applied management and organization sciences. This field is basically based on cybernetics. The principles, methods, and systems of the science of leadership and management are based on general cybernetic principles, are applied in business, government, and other social fields.

Emergence of cognitive science

Cognitive science was established in several waves.

The first period, starting at the end of World War II, began on the field of general cybernetics – see Wiener's (1948) works – but its completion is still not achieved. The most significant event of this period

was the symposium on information theory held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1956. On the second day, 11th of September, computer scientists Allan Newell and Herbert Simon presented their paper 'The Logic Theory Machine: A Complex Information Processing System'; psychologist George Miller 'The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information'; and linguist Noam Chomsky 'Three Models for the Description of Language'. (See Miller, 2003.) The first wave lasted until the seventies and eighties of the 20th century. Actually, this can not be considered a unified phase, nor the following. Each sub-area developed in isolation from each other and they are developing so even today. Common language, viewpoints and approaches are still in the formation phase.

In the second wave, approximately from the 1980s onwards, a change in approach occurred simultaneously in several areas. Most of these changes relate to re-strengthening of neural network theory. The momentum of this area was high in the late 40s, but it has slowed in the 60s, but later was re-invigorated. The new neural networks - in contrast with the previous ones - were already multi-layered. In computer science the research and construction of neural networks was revived again. In psychology people began to apply more widely the cognitive science point of view in the area of sensation, perception, attention, concept creation and handling, and memory. In linguistics the so-called cognitive linguistics was launched, which intended to break up with the formal linguistics hallmarked by Chomsky, and the content, semantic issues began to be addressed. Today in these fields researchers are listening to each other, but they are still working largely independent. In linguistics the creation of a unified cognitive base is still going on, and hopefully it will be concluded soon.

The need for a unified view is present in cognitive science since its inception - see Wiener (1948), Shannon (1948) - but have not yet been sufficiently fulfilled. A third wave has appeared somewhat accentuated after the turning of millennium. It is not widespread yet; currently there are several independent research teams, loosely organized groups that are working on this field. Our initiative to create the unified basis for cognitive science falls in this third group, see Molnár - Czeglédi (2012). In this work we created the foundations for a uniform system of cognitive science. On this base we are elaborating certain fields - such as linguistics, pedagogy, organization theory, etc. - based on the coherent framework of cognitive science.

ESSENCE AND FOUNDATIONS OF COGNITIVE SCIENCE

Knowledge, cognition, action, network, knowledge

Cognitive science is the science of cognitions.

Cognition (as object) is the result of the cognition process and the starting point of the process of action; it is an intermediate product, linking the two processes together.

Cognition and action are the interaction, cooperation, adaptation and government processes between the system, organization, network and the environment. The cognition (as object) is the element, subject, and product of these processes.

Cognition (as object) is a special substance; it is the state of the internal network connecting the sensors and effectors of a system in a given moment, the operation of the whole network or some part of it. Cognition is the operation of the network. Cognition changes over time: the state of the network lasts for some time and then dies, and then, if necessary, revives again. Not the nodes of the network are primary, but the links between them and their system – how they work – are essential.

Action is the change, the transition between states of the network, in which cognition (as object) is the starting state and the end result.

The change of cognitions are the changes in relations between the nodes; the learning in the system is the change of the network.

Knowledge is the use, implementation and manifestation of cognition (as object) in the activities, especially activities impacting the outside world.

The intermediary role of the body

The results of changes in states of the network are in direct connection with the body, which directly affects the outer world through the effectors. The sequence of effects is the following: the state of the internal network impacts the body, the movement and other actuator organs, which in turn impact the environment.

On the other side, ie. the sensory, perceptual, cognitive side, different stimuli reach the body from the outer world, from which the sensory organs prepare different internal signals, signal-units, which result in different abstract, complex internal network-states. These are the cognitions which are than used in activities.

The cybernetic levels

There are at least three main cybernetic levels between the incoming stimuli from the outside world and action, adaptation or domination: the first is the level of reflexes, the direct, rigid link; the second is the level of the connections by natural internal network states, the conceptions; the third is the language layer, supporting the former. Each has its advantages and disadvantages.

The direct, rigid connection allows for quick response for stimuli from the environment, but learning is not possible, or it is very restricted.

The connection by natural networks, conceptions results in a full, organic, learning system. Activities connect to the incoming stimuli indirectly through the internal planning processes, networks. Past experiences are retained and influence the responses, actions. With this system planning, forecasting, and learning are possible. Its advantages include: planning and learning abilities, completeness, and accuracy. Among its disadvantages we encounter: operations of large networks require long, chain-like connections, they are resource intensive, relatively little cognition-units could be handled at the same time, and connecting cognition-units is relatively difficult.

With language systems the cognition process on the one hand can be extended to the outside world, where the elements could be linked together much more easily and more elements could be handled at

the same time. On the other hand, with the internalization of language, connecting internal cognition units become easier, more flexible, and less resources are needed, because lesser size is needed for representation. Disadvantages of the language system are fragmentation and partiality. Language elements do not name reality with the same level of detail, wholeness, organic way as natural concepts.

In practice the combination of all the cybernetic methods are needed, because they complement each other. The reflex or reflex-like connections provide the rapid responses. The natural concepts grant the full range planning, forecasting, thinking, and remembering. Language offers the fast, easy, flexible, creative level for connecting. In practice these processes cooperate with each other; compound, collaboration systems are implemented. One measure of cooperation is the quality of the relationship between language and concepts. It is better when the relationship between conceptual content and linguistics form is strong and tight.

The birth of concepts

Cognition (object) is the link between cognition (process) and action, and its basic unit is the concept.

Concepts are created from the outside world. Signals are formed in sensory organs because of outside stimuli. These carry the features of the object phenomena of the external world, but they are not identical with them, they are only footprints. These footprints bear the marks of the outside world objects, events.

From sensory organs the signals go to the processing fields, where they are extracted. From here the sign goes to the higher level fields, where the higher level frames, abstracts are created.

This process extracts the essence, than steps into higher levels, where more substantial extracts and compositions are formed.

Concept is an extract, is born from the experiences, contains the essence-concentrate, it is a state of the network forming due to impacts and stimuli of the outside world. Its duty is to grab the objects and events of the external world. It can be on different levels of abstraction.

The linguistic sign related to the concept names the concept.

Criteria of concepts

The concept is the unit of cognition, responsible for grasping the outside world in the mind. There are several criteria for this, the most important factors are accuracy, efficiency, and effectiveness.

In everyday life we think that accuracy has priority among them, but this is not true. Many believe that there exists or should exist a perfectly precise definition for concepts, but this is not possible; concepts are nor born in such a way. The concept is only the sign or indicator of the outside world and is not identical with it. The concept is only an abstract, extracted image (image widely defined) of the objects, events of the outside world; it narrows down the reality, which necessarily involves the loss of detail. In other words, concept is not the same as the outside world. Concepts are for use, the mind works with them, recalls, turns, builds them, and initiates actions and controls with them, etc. This requires sufficiently descriptive, captivating, flexibly linked concepts, which are sufficient in number,

but not too much. The number of concepts can not be infinite; the given concept should grab the outside world with proper width and depth. Width and depth are conflicting preferences.

Concepts are thus neither fully accurate – but approximate – nor totally deep, nor completely comprehensive. They are good compromises of these criteria.

Specifying concepts

The concept is an extract of the experiences, grasping by language could be solved by naming its features, attributes. The peculiarities – in extreme cases – can be exclusive, but this is rare. Rather they are made up from the set of properties according to the principle of family resemblance.

There are better or worse examples, instances between the members of the concept. The domains of certain concepts may overlap each other, could have common members and elements.

The relationship between the name of the concept and the content of the concept, as an experiential image, is a complex issue. Basically it is good if there is a close relationship between the meaning of the term and the form of the concept. A large body of research evidence proves this.

Use of concepts: knowledge

Knowledge is the use of cognition (object) – the concept and its name – in the action. Cognition (object) emerges, than triggers action, controls execution. Action is appropriate when suitable cognition unit, concept and its name, starts to operate because of incoming stimuli and earlier states, and which initiates appropriate actions, which are carried out correctly.

This is a complex activity system; different cognitions revive, join each other, are detailed, launch sequence of activities, form complex systems, networks in which the concepts, linguistic names are displayed as intermediate state. In knowledge it is not enough that the unique concepts are proper, but the suitability of their complex system is required. Knowledge is appropriate when cognition units are able to join together in space and time, and the process, the activity can be carried out properly.

We can act in a particular area, if we not only have properly structured cognitions about it, but we can apply, use them according to the situation, that is, we can execute different activities with them.

In the processes, activities, reflex level ensures speed, natural concepts provide planning, organic connection and wholeness, while language elements grant flexible linkage, connections, and creation.

The system of concepts

The concepts are the basic units of cognitions, their system are the main part of cognitive science. The formation, issues, systems of concepts are essential objects of analysis of cognitive linguistics.

The system of concepts can be clearly, consistently investigated by system, organization and network theory. We have elaborated the foundation of it in our book *Cognition Science – Ismerettudomány* (Molnár-Czeglédi 2012). In it we show the essence and course of formation of concepts from experiences,

the relationship between concepts and domains, the connection possibilities of concepts, the concept-building possibilities, and use of concepts, the emergence of the concepts in action.

The domain-concept-name unit

The connections between the factors of the cognition process – domain, concept and linguistic element – are strong. The linguistic operations are closely related to the operation of the sensory and motor fields of the brain. During use of the language the linguistic (formal) and the associated sensory and motor areas of the brain work simultaneously, see Bergen, Chang, Narayan (2004). According to the research of Pulvermüller et al (2001) and Hauk et al (2004), processing of movement verbs of the given body part correlates with the operation of the relevant brain field. Tettamanti et al (2005) also found this. Results of Richardson et al (2003) and Glen Berg and Kaschak (2002) show that phrases capturing movements and motor tasks are strongly cross-linked, in case of discrepancy fault is detected. All these results show that the concept 'grasping' domain (experiential content) and linguistic name form a closely linked unit. On this basis, Bergen and Chang (2005), Chang, Feldman, Narayan (2004), developed their construction-based theory of cognition units, called 'Embodied Construction Grammar'.

A natural concept is born from the domain, there is an organic link, relationship between them. The linguistic name is created from the concept. Links between names and concepts are strong in a lot of languages. There are languages where this link is weak. According to experiments, it is better when the connection between conceptual and linguistic layers is strong. In case of connection, similarity between linguistic form and conceptual content, both the naming and understanding, are faster, better and more efficient. This is reflected in the results of the investigations. Connection, similarity greatly facilitates action planning and implementation, shorten response time, speed up response. If there are many common elements in the concept and its name, than understanding, language use and action are much easier, faster because the internal associations occur sooner. The operation of the 'mirror cells' and the stimulus-response experiments show when there is relationship, similarity, matching between the object of cognition and the object of action, then internal processes are more agile, action is faster. The linguistic sign, which somehow reminds the characteristics of the concept, is formed faster. The same is true for understanding; creating internal image from the linguistic sign and than connecting it to the concept, is faster if form-content relationship exists between the linguistic element and the concept. See Proctor and Reeve eds. (1990), and Hommel and Prinz eds. (1997).

The tightness of the relationship between conceptual content and linguistic form is illustrated in the following train of thought about the relationship between content and form in the traffic sign system:

The traffic rules are displayed by traffic signs. They show that, e.g. pedestrians are to be expected, there are workers on the road, it is forbidden to overtake a car, etc. Obviously, these rules could be signed differently, e.g. with serial numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on. If we would like to create a new rule, we have to assign a new number to the issued rule, it is easy. Do you imagine what this system would cause?! It would be very difficult to connect the numbers to the content, to remember the number of the rules, in real life, during driving, where we must quickly decide how to act, this system would cause fatal situations. Much more easy to decide what to do by remembering the images of the walker, the worker, the wagon etc. The language is similar too. If there is connection between the sign and the

signed, then use is faster, safer, more effective. Note: Obviously, there are different degrees of similarity, e.g. the relationship is stronger in the above cases, than between the crossed-arrow and the rule in case of the 'Do not turn to the left' table. But the link is unambiguous even in the latter case. The relationship between the sign and the rule of the 'Red light stopping' table is more abstract. The sign here contains the crossing motion and the red colour of awareness. This train of thought also shows that it is useful that the relation between the content and form – concept and name – is tighter, than not.

Summary

The essence of cognitive processes ensure the system's adaptation to or impact on the environment, through receiving, processing the impacts of the outside world and through the elaboration and execution of the appropriate actions.

Systems are created for this purpose, there are at least three:

1. Reflexes: quick, sure.
2. Concepts: whole, organic.
3. Language: flexible and creative.

Cognitive science is the science of controlling, governing/managing systems.

Cognitive science deals with the units of cognition, namely with concepts, their formation and use. Knowledge is the use of concepts.

Note: There exist other cybernetic levels, one of them is the emotional control system. Emotions – according to their complexity, finesse, tasks, operation – stand between the reflexes and the planning system; their task is the rough classification of incoming stimuli and based on this the rough determination of internal states and reactions. Emotions form a rough but learning, evolving control system.

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ТАМБОВЦЕВ, Юрий Алексеевич

Насколько русские близки другим народам по их антропологическим характеристикам?

Статья исследует типологические расстояния между русскими и другими этническими группами, например, русскими и украинцами, русскими и белорусами, русскими и литовцами и т.д. Кроме того, в качестве эталона близости были взяты некоторые финно-угорские народы. Расстояния между этническими группами эстонцев (выру и хаапсалу), манси и некоторыми другими этносами сравнивались с расстояниями между русскими некоторыми другими народностями. Расстояния основаны на дактолоскопических характеристиках (fingerprints). Эти антропологические характеристики обычно достаточно хорошо отражают геном человека. Предполагается, что в зависимости от величины этих типологических расстояний можно говорить о большей или меньшей типологической схожести этнических популяций. Так, например, маленькое дактолоскопическое расстояние между русскими Старой Руссы (Новгородская область) и украинцами Иршавы (Закарпатская область Украины) ТМВ= 11.60, что может говорить об их антропологической близости. В то же время, большое типологическое расстояние между выру (южными эстонцами) и русскими Старой Руссы (ТМВ=121,79) говорит об их разном генотипе. Большие этно-типологические расстояния между сосьвинскими, вагильскими и ивдельскими манси тоже показывают их различное этническое происхождение, хотя манси и считаются одним народом. Этно-типологическое различие вызвало наличие различных диалектов. Та же тенденция прослеживается и для двух этнических групп эстонцев: выро (южные) и хаапсала (северные). Две разные этнические группы ненцев вызывают два различных диалекта. Следовательно, этнический субстрат вызывает диалектные различия.

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

* * *

Некоторые данные по генотипу этнических групп, в частности, дерматографические характеристики, проливают дополнительный свет на контакты народов в процессе их исторического развития. Методы идентификации как отдельных личностей, так и этнических групп на основе дактолоскопических характеристик всегда широко использовались в судебной медицине (Чистикова и др. 2009). Эти показатели легко перенести в этнографию для определения антропологического сходства, применив разработанный нами метод определения расстояний на

базе критерия "Хи-квадрат". В связи с этим, целью нашей работы является проверка, насколько генотип влияет на наличие различных этнических групп в том или ином случае. Другими словами, насколько антропологические различия могут быть связаны с разделением народа на этнические группы, т.е. популяции.

Русские относятся к славянским народам. Они входят вместе с белорусами и украинцами в восточнославянскую подгруппу славянских народов. Русские (как белорусы и украинцы) произошли от древнерусской народности в 9 - 13 веках, которая сложилась на основе восточнославянских племен и создания древнерусского государства вокруг Киева. Нужно помнить, что древнерусская народность являлась частью восточных славян, которые в 6 - 8 веках заселили огромную территорию в Восточной Европе от озера Ильмень на севере до Причерноморских степей на юге. Их земли простирались на восток до Волги, а с запада ограничивались Карпатскими горами. Можно достаточно говорить о таких союзах племен как поляне, ильменские словене, древляне, дреговичи и полочане. Поляне были наиболее многочисленны. Они проживали по берегам Днепра, недалеко от устья Десны. Ильменские словене обитали на озере Ильмень и реке Волхов, полочане обитали на реке Полота. Название "поляне" означает "живущие в полях", "древляне" - Живущие в лесах", "дреговичи" "живущие в болотах" ("дрягва" - болото).

По мнению М.В. Панова в 10 - 11 веках и позднее в Древней Руси был один древнерусский народ. До 13 века на всей территории Древней Руси существовал один восточнославянский (древнерусский) язык, хотя и расчлененный диалектно. В дальнейшем он распался на три отдельных народа: русских (великоруссов), украинцев и белорусов. Формирование русской народности происходило во времена татаро-монгольского ига и в ходе создания Русского государства вокруг Москвы в 14-15 вв. В это государство вошли северные и северо-восточные древнерусские земли. Наименование "русский" восходит к названию одного из славянских племён - родиев, россов или русов (БСЭ, Т. 22, 1975: 404). На наш взгляд, пальцевые узоры, т.е. дактилоскопические характеристики, до сих пор характеризуют этнографические группы. Если этнические контакты были близкие и интенсивные, то дактилоскопические характеристики этих народов будут похожи. Можно говорить о том, что како-либо народ имеет субстрат в виде другого народа. Этническая близость прослеживается и в языках.

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 языкоznании эти два процессы 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 или популяции, что выражается в наличие различных

диалектов на этих языках. Изучение некоторых дактелоскопических 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 (fingerprints), 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 фено-типологические расстояния в отношении близости некоторых финно-угорских и самодийских языков подкрепляются данными по схожести их дактелоскопических характеристик. Наше фено-типологическое расстояние между литературным эстонским языком и водским языком подтверждается и антропологическими данными, которые выражены через дактелоскопическое расстояние. Это подтверждает выводы предыдущих исследований Так, Ю. Ауль на основании кранеологических характеристик делает вывод о том, что эстонцы по своему антропологическому типу ближе к водам, нежели к вепсам или карелам (Ауль 1964: 98).

Г.Л. Хить указывает на то, что дактелоскопические 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 дактелоскопические характеристики внутри какого-либо этноса более компактны, чем аналогичные характеристики между различными этносами.

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

Интересно проследить, насколько русские, манси, эстонцы и финны близки другим народам не только по языку, но и по их антропологическим характеристикам. Известно, что мансийский язык имеет множество диалектов. В основу литературного мансийского языка положен его северный диалект (Тамбовцев 1977). На этом диалекте говорят сосьвинские 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. Далее, мы проанализируем расстояния по их дактелоскопическим характеристикам и сравним эти расстояния между русскими и другими народами.

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

Таб. 1

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы украинцев.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — украинцы Иршавы (Закарп.)	11.60
2.	Русские — украинцы Сколе (Львовск.)	13.57
3.	Русские — украинцы Глобина (Полт.)	13.63
	Среднее	12.93

Таб. 2

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы белорусов (восточные славяне).

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — белорусы Богушевска	22.05
2.	Русские — белорусы Червня	27.17
	Среднее	24.61

Таб. 3

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы латышей (балтийский народ).

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — латыши кулдиги (западн.)	18.34
2.	Русские — латыши резекне (восточн.)	29.12
	Среднее	23.73

Таб. 4

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы литовцев (балтийский народ).

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — литовцы Аникшчяя (восто)	15.74
3.	Русские — литовцы жемайты (западн.)	18.73
	Среднее	17.24

Таб. 5

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы индоевропейских народов. Германская группа. Шведы.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — шведы Аландских острово	91.67
2.	Русские — шведы Нярпес (Финляндия)	105.92
3.	Русские — шведы Уусимаа (Финляндия)	228.79
	Среднее	

Таб. 6.

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы индоевропейских народов. Иранская группа.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — осетины (туалыцы)	47.53
2.	Русские — осетины (иронцы)	68.87
3.	Русские — ирани (иранцы прикаспия)	89.29
4.	Русские — белуджи (прикаспийские)	95.78
5.	Русские — талыши (прикаспий)	98.49
6.	Русские — осетины (дигорцы)	122.91

7.	Русские — курды (иранские)	129.93
8.	Русские — таджики (муминабадские)	134.12
	Среднее	

Таб. 7

Расстояния по некоторым дактолоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы финно-угорских народов. Прибалтийско-финская группа.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — хаапсалу (северные эстон.)	32.18
2.	Русские — финны (улиторнио)	39.46
3.	Русские — финны (хаяхо)	39.66
4.	Русские — финны (кокемяки)	51.04
5.	Русские — финны (курикки)	52.33
6.	Русские — финны (салла)	56.25
7.	Русские — финны (кесялахти)	88.45
8.	Русские — финны (киурувеси)	91.76
9.	Русские — вепсы (прионежские)	95.36
10.	Русские — карелы (ливвики)	108.45
11.	Русские — финны (кеуруу)	120.66
12.	Русские — выру (южные эстонцы)	121.79
13.	Русские — финны (мюньяяки-варсикайс)	137.24
14.	Русские — финны (аскола)	138.14
	Среднее	

Таб. 8

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы финно-угорских народов. Волжская группа.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — мари горные (космодем.)	32.04
2.	Русские — мордва-мокша	74.60
3.	Русские — мари луговые (звениговск.)	119.65
4.	Русские — мордва-эрзя	215.42
	Среднее	

Таб. 9

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим (дактелоскопическим) характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы финно-угорских народов. Пермская финская группа.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — коми-пермяки (чердынск.)	191.63
2.	Русские — коми-зыряне (ижемские)	192.84
3.	Русские — коми-пермяки (зюздинск.)	194.44
4.	Русские — коми-зыряне (удорские)	209.04
	Среднее	

Таб. 10

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные тюркские народы.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — карачаевцы (Кавказ)	25.92
2.	Русские — кумыки	52.93

3.	Русские — ногайцы	67.89
4.	Русские — теленгеты (Алтай)	69.91
5.	Русские — татары казанские	83.66
6.	Русские — азери (закаталы)	106.91
7.	Русские — чуваши	127.89
8.	Русские — туркмены (ашхабадские)	128.95
9.	Русские — киргизы (горные)	130.93
10.	Русские — балкарцы (Кавказ)	132.34
11.	Русские — каракалпаки (чимбайские)	169.20
12.	Русские — казахи (Сарыагач)	175.01
13.	Русские — кумандинцы (север.Алтай)	176.36
14.	Русские — узбеки (сарты)	180.05
	Среднее	

Таб. 11

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область. Различные этнические группы монгольских народов.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — монголы (дарьганга)	76.166
2.	Русские — монголы (халха)	336.22
	Среднее	

Таб. 12

Расстояния по некоторым дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ. Мужские группы. Выру (южные эстонцы) - (105 человек).

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Выру — финны кесялахти	3.28
2.	Выру — финны асколи	3.89
3.	Выру — вепсы шелтозерские	7.67

4.	Выру — русские архангельской обл.	10.91
5.	Выру — карелы ливвики (олонецкие)	13.60
6.	Выру — финны кеуруу	14.17
7.	Выру — финны киурувеси	29.54
8.	Выру — финны мюнямяки	32.71
9.	Выру — финны улиторнио	33.47
10.	Выру — финны хаухо	38.81
11.	Выру — северные эстонцы (хаапсала)	44.01
12.	Выру — коми-зыряне мезенские	50.22
13.	Выру — финны курикки	55.09
14.	Выру — финны кокемяки	62.35
15.	Выру — мордва мокша	62.76
16.	Выру — коми-пермяки язвинские	80.69
17.	Выру — финны ристини	85.93
18.	Выру — мари горные	93.07
19.	Выру — мордва эрзя	96.18
20.	Выру — коми-зыряне ловозера	107.58
21.	Выру — венгры	116.36
22.	Выру — финны салла	173.83
23.	Выру — манси вагильские	176.67
24.	Выру — коми-пермяки зюздинские	187.19
25.	Выру — ненцы североямальские	204.56
26.	Выру — манси ивдельские	254.81
27.	Выру — селькупы тымские	294.00
28.	Выру — манси ляпинские	397.76
29.	Выру — саамы Финляндии	438.45
30.	Выру — манси сосьвинские	470.69
31.	Выру — ханты ваховские	648.35
32.	Выру — энцы	961.16
33.	Выру — нганасаны	1025.17

Как известно, все познается в сравнении. Для того, чтобы понять, насколько расстояния между русскими и другими этническими велики или малы, нужно проанализировать расстояния между некоторыми другими народами. Это послужит определенным эталоном. Для этого, можно взять эстонцев-выру, финнов или манси. Наименьшее расстояние между эстонцами-выру и другими финно-угорскими народами составило 3.28. Наибольшую схожесть с эстонцами-выру показали финны кесялахти (3.28). На втором месте по схожести стоят финны аскола (3.89). В общем существует тенденция того, что эстонцы-выру довольно близки многим этническим группам финнов. Северные эстонцы (хаапсалу) отстоят от южных эстонцев (выру) на расстояние 44.01, что говорит о довольно слабой схожести этих двух этнических групп по антропологическим данным.

По географическому положению ближе всех к эстонцам-выру стоят латыши. Проанализируем их сходство с эстонцами-выру. Кулдиги (западные латыши) - 78.55. Резекне (восточные латыши) – 182.19.

Литовцы-жемайты Тельшяя (западные литовцы) – 167.74. Русские Старой Руссы (Новгородская область) – 121.79. В то же время, русские архангельской области имеют большую близость по дактелоскопическим характеристикам (10.91) к эстонцам-выру, чем русские Старой Руссы, латыши или литовцы. Это может говорить о древних этнических контактах выру и русских Севера. Достаточно далеко от выру находятся самодийские народы (энцы – 961.16) и нганасаны (1025.17).

Таб. 13

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

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е.народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
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 Мюняяки	46,37
14.	Эстонцы хаапсалу – финны Асколы	49,90
15.	Эстонцы хаапсалу – финны Саллы	54,80
16.	Эстонцы хаапсалу – венгры мукачевские	60,15
17.	Эстонцы хаапсалу – манси вагильские (западные)	74,65
18.	Эстонцы хаапсалу – ненцы североямальские	84,85
19.	Эстонцы Хаапсалу – коми-пермяки 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

Таб. 14

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

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е.народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Манси сосьвинские – манси ляпинские	13,43
2.	Манси сосьвинские – ненцы южноямальские (устье Оби)	17,67
3.	Манси сосьвинские – селькупы тымские	49,47
4.	Манси сосьвинские – ханты березовские	61,28
5.	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

Таб.3 показывает, что сосьвинские манси по своему генотипу ближе всего к ляпинским манси (13,43). Достаточно неожиданно сосьвинские манси показывают свою близость к южноямальским ненцам (17,67) и к тымским селькупам (49,47), но не к другим группам манси. Сосьвинские манси достаточно далеко отстоят от ивдельских манси (64,11) или вагильских манси (160,14). Разница по этническому происхождению может объяснить и разницу в мансиjsких диалектах. По генотипу сосьвинские манси также далеко отстоят и от венгров (278,25). Вероятно, на близость по генотипу сосьвинских манси к таким группам самодийцев как тымские селькупы и лесные (южноямальские) ненцы повлияло то, что они имели интенсивные контакты с этими этносами в процессе своего исторического развития.

Таб. 15

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

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
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 (звениловские)	33,40
5.	Манси вагильские – мордва мокша	34,35
6.	Манси вагильские – финны курикки	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 южноямальские	92,07
17.	Манси вагильские — финны мюньямки (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 ристини	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. 16

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

	Различные народы и народности	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Манси ивдельские – селькупы тымские	5,20
2.	Манси ивдельские – ненцы южноямальские	21,27
3.	Манси ивдельские – ненцы севороямальские	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 сосьвинские	64,11
8.	Манси ивдельские – финны кокемяки	81,18
9.	Манси ивдельские – ханты березовские	83,39
10.	Манси ивдельские – финны курикки	90,57
11.	Манси ивдельские – финны салла (с.Похъямаа. Юго-зап.)	90,62
12.	Манси ивдельские – мордва мокша	99,51
13.	Манси ивдельские – венгры мukачевские	101,50
14.	Манси ивдельские – финны хаухо	100,92
15.	Манси ивдельские – финны улиторио	109,97
16.	Манси ивдельские – ханты ваховские	128,12
17.	Манси ивдельские – коми-пермяки зюздинские	140,08
18.	Манси ивдельские – финны киурувеси	151,47
19.	Манси ивдельские – финны мюнямяки. Варсинайс-Суоми	200,68
20.	Манси ивдельские – финны кесялахти	204,03
21.	Манси ивдельские – финны кеуруу	207,47
22.	Манси ивдельские – коми-пермяки (язвинские)	222,76
23.	Манси ивдельские – мордва эрзя	239,75
24.	Манси ивдельские – финны аскола	254,81
25.	Манси ивдельские – коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	281,88
26.	Манси ивдельские – энцы	293,400
27.	Манси ивдельские – нганасаны	332,89
28.	Манси ивдельские – финны рститины	439,70

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

Генотип северных эстонцев (хаапсалу), который проявляется через их дактелоскопические 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.

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

Таб. 17

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

	Различные народы и народности	ТМВ
1.	Ненцы южноямальские – селькупы тымские	16,48
2.	Ненцы южноямальские – манси сосьвинские	17,67
3.	Ненцы южноямальские – манси ивдельские	21,27
4.	Ненцы южноямальские – мари луговые	25,12
5.	Ненцы южноямальские – кумандинцы (Северный Алтай)	27,69
6.	Ненцы южноямальские – ханты березовские (Полноват)	34,16
7.	Ненцы южноямальские – ненцы североямальские	46,27
8.	Ненцы южноямальские – саамы (лопари) Финляндии	49,65
9.	Ненцы южноямальские – ханты ваховские (Сургут)	80,87
10.	Ненцы южноямальские – манси вагильские (западные)	92,07
11.	Ненцы южноямальские – мари горные	121,27
12.	Ненцы южноямальские – финны салла	170,20

13.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны кокемяки	171,17
14.	Ненцы южноямальские — энцы	171,88
15.	Ненцы южноямальские — мордва мокша	177,71
16.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны курикки	181,42
17.	Ненцы южноямальские — венгры (Мукачево)	192,62
18.	Ненцы южноямальские — эстонцы хаапсалу (северные)	201,59
19.	Ненцы южноямальские — нганасаны	202,13
20.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны улиторнио	209,19
21.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны хаухо	233,56
22.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны киурувеси	265,57
23.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны кеуруу	321,09
24.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны кесялахти	322,71
25.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны мюнямяки варсинайс	328,25
26.	Ненцы южноямальские — карелы ливвиковские	329,16
27.	Ненцы южноямальские — коми-пермяки язвинские (Пермская)	351,77
28.	Ненцы южноямальские — вепсы шелтозерские (Прионежские)	366,07
29.	Ненцы южноямальские — мордва эрзя	367,33
30.	Ненцы южноямальские — эстонцы выру (южные)	389,52
31.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны аскола	390,62
32.	Ненцы южноямальские — коми-зыряне мезенские (удорские)	424,86
33.	Ненцы южноямальские — финны ристини	601,48

Таб. 12 - 17 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.6), которые проживают в устье Оби и южнее, ближе всего стоят к тымским селькупам (16,48) и сосьвинским манси (17,67).

Таб. 18

Упорядоченный ряд средних расстояний по 9 основным дактелоскопическим характеристикам на основе коэффициента ТМВ между русскими и некоторыми другими этническими группами. Мужские группы. Русские Старой Руссы. Новгородская область.

	Различные этнические популяции (т.е. народы и народности)	Расстояние ТМВ
1.	Русские — украинцы	12.93
2.	Русские — литовцы	17.24
3.	Русские — латыши	23.73
4.	Русские — белорусы	24.61
5.	Русские — прибалтийско-финские	83.77
6.	Русские — иранские народы	98.37
7.	Русские — волжские народности	110.43
8.	Русские — тюркские народности	116.28
9.	Русские — шведы	142.13
10.	Русские — пермские народности	196.99
11.	Русские — монгольские народности	206.19

Выводы:

1. Упорядоченный ряд средних расстояний показывает, что по дактелоскопическим характеристикам (пальцевым узорам) к русским Старой Руссы (Новгородская область) ближе всего расположены украинцы ($\text{ТМВ}=11.60$). Менее всего, похожи на русских — монгольские народности ($\text{ТМВ}=206.19$).
2. Также близки русским литовцы ($\text{ТМВ}=17.24$) и латыши, что может говорить о былом балто-славянском единстве.
3. Достаточно непохожи на пальцевые узоры русских, дактелоскопические характеристики шведов (142.13). Это может говорить против происхождения русских от норманов, т.е. варягов.
4. Вероятность происхождения русских от иранских народов тоже мала ($\text{ТМВ}=98.37$).
5. Тюркские народы и народности не оказали сильного влияния на русских ($\text{ТМВ}=116.28$). При этом даже казанские татары находятся от русских на большом расстоянии ($\text{ТМВ}=83.66$), хотя следовало ожидать, что татаро-монгольское иго окажет большое влияние на генотип русских.

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TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri: How Much Are the Russians Close to Other Peoples by Their Anthropological Characteristics?

The article deals with the typological distances between different ethnic groups of Russians. For comparison we also measured the ethno-typological distances between some other peoples, e.g. Finno-Ugric peoples: Vyrus (South Estonian), North Estonian (Haapsalu), Mansi and some other ethnic groups. The distances are based on the finger prints, that is, dactyloscopic (fingerprints) characteristics which usually reflect the human genome well enough. The smaller the distances, the more similar the groups. The great values of ethno-typological distances between Russians and Swedes or Mansi Sosva, Mansi Vagil and Ivdel Mansi may speak for their different origin. On the contrary, small values of the dactyloscopic distances may speak for their close ethnic contacts. 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, Vyrus, Haapsalu Estonians, Sosva, Vagil and Ivdel Mansi, South Jamal (Forest) Nenets.



POLITICS

DAR, Firdous Ahmad & WANI, Mohd Younus

NGOs in Central Asia: a Case Study of Aga Khan in Tajikistan

Abstract

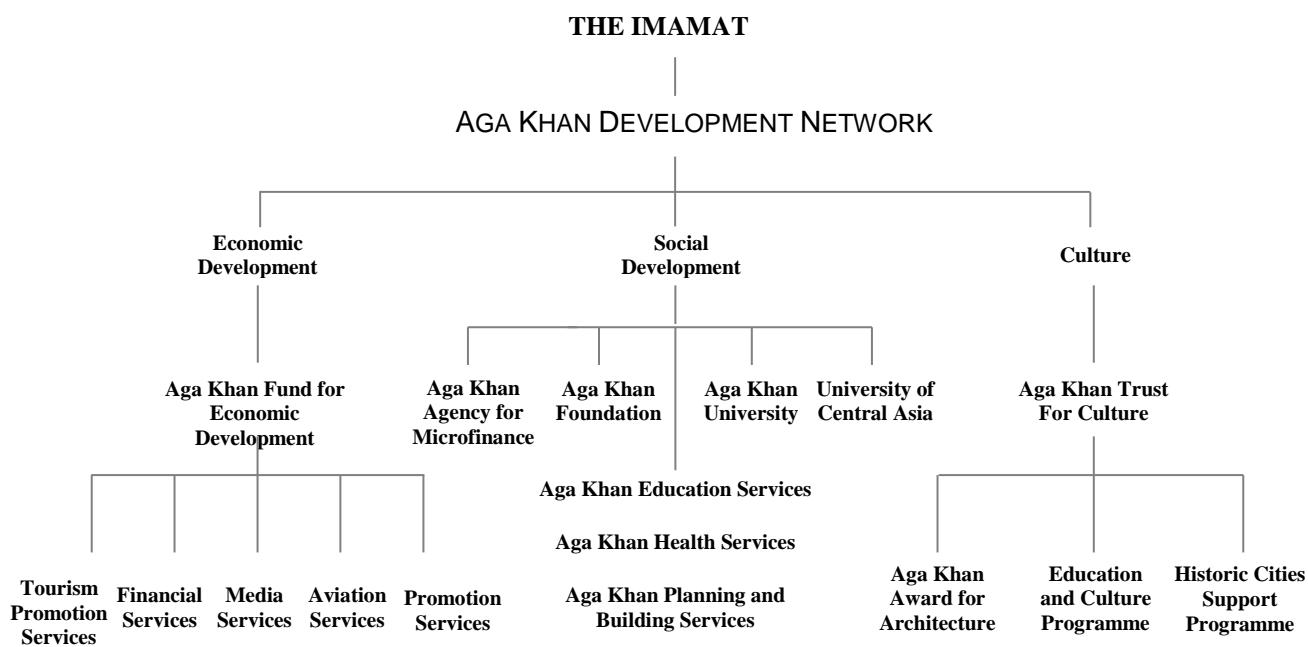
The emergence of NGOs in Central Asia, if argued plainly, is deeply embedded in the past layers that brought up local agencies and communities, which with the passage of time became bedrocks for the development of civil society. The various locally based agencies Aksakal and Avlod were invoked in both settled and nomadic regions to redress the various issues successfully. Tajikistan in pre-Soviet Central Asia was such a region that soaked with traditional agencies. The Ashar, Hashar, Mohalla, Avlod etc. were to facilitate the needs of the locals and foster their welfare without any break. The prevalence of traditional forms of associations in both nomadic and settled areas of Central Asia not only guaranteed a sort of progressive interaction among the respective people but also proved helpful to the emergence of new forms of NGOs. They were so deeply rooted in the region that even donors needed their coordination; it was widely felt that they (Aksakal) can make or break any donor project. The Russians, once landed in Central Asia, tried to control their prevalence and they therefore, took a couple of steps into background. By the time of independence, they re-emerged partly due to revivalism and partly due to the mushroom growth of foreign NGOs (Aga Khan, ICRC, MSF, etc).

Aga Khan is one of the leading NGOs in Tajikistan that speaks benevolence, assistance and showers other facilities very lucidly. This paper first presents their structure and activities then it assesses them in a broader context.

Key Words: - Central Asia, Tajikistan, acculturation, Avlod, Ashar, Hashar Mohalla.

The Aga Khan organization

The Aga Khan Development Network is a group of private, international, non-denominational agencies working to improve living conditions and opportunities for people in some of the poorest parts of the developing world. Aga Khan has wide connections and its work range can be seen from the following chart:



Aga Khan had such a foundation that shared solid and healthy background right from its inception.¹

The organizations' Network has individual mandates that range from the fields of health and education to architecture, rural development and promotion of private-sector enterprises. Together they collaborate in working towards a common goal to build institutions and run programmes that can respond to the challenges of social, economic and cultural change on ongoing basis.

¹ It was founded in 1967 in Switzerland. AKF was initially involved in managing the "Social Development Properties it owns" such as hospitals, health centers, schools and social and cultural centre, many of which were located in regions of South Asia and East Africa with significant Ismail populations. In 1981, however, AKF began to shift its focus away from property management towards the funding of development activities. This shift was accomplished through the appointment, by AKF Board of Directors, of a General Manager and Program Officer in the early 1980s (both of whom worked with the Ford Foundation) who then drafted a "Programme Strategy" for Aga Khan Foundation which laid out key areas of interest in primary education, rural development and management of renewable natural resources. In 1996, AKF had expanded into a framework of branches and independent affiliates in eleven countries in addition to its headquarters in Geneva. "The developed country offices" in Canada, United States and the United Kingdom were focused on fund raising and development education, while "developing country" offices in Africa, South Asia and Central Asia were concentrating on supporting and maintaining the activities of grantees. The Geneva office was responsible for coordinating all the activities and funds and for setting overall strategies; Al-Nor Abraham, NGOs and Organizational Change: Discourse, Reporting and learning, U.K, 1998, PP. 192-193.

The Aga Khan Development Network has reached to the needs of people in Tajikistan. It has fed people in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO) and Rasht Valley. Examples of joint projects include: AKFED (Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development) with Pamir Energy and INDIGO (mobile services), the disaster prevention and relief work of FOCUS – AKES (Aga Khan Education Services) and AKHS (Aga Khan Fund Health Services), the work of AKAM (Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance) and FMFB² in microfinance, the University of Central Asia, and the regional programmes of the Humanities and Music. The latest addition to these programmes is a civil society programme like the establishment of MSDSP.³

Economic development

The Aga Khan Foundation for Economic Development (AKFED) works to strengthen the role of the private sector in developing countries by promoting entrepreneurial activity and supporting private sector initiatives. Aga Khan positioned itself strongly in Tajikistan to promote industrial development, for it formed the Pamir Energy Company in 2002 in partnership with the International Finance Corporation (IFC).⁴

AKFED also plays a catalytic role in mobilizing investment in developing or transitional economies. It makes investments in industrial production, infrastructure, tourism development, aviation, and media. It has assisted Tajikistan in the rehabilitation of its economy which got shattered after the civil war.⁵ Aga Khan's community-based rural development programmes in Tajikistan link elements such as rural savings and credit, natural resource management, infrastructure, increased agricultural productivity, human skills development, health, education, sanitation, and clean-water systems.

Against the drastic reduction of production in *Gorno-Badakhshan*, 'The Pamir Relief and Development Programme' was set up in 1992, under the aegis of the Aga Khan Foundation. The principal aim of this project was to provide food (flour, oil, milk-powder, sugar, and to some extent soap and tea). The shipment arrived in August 1993.

² Operating under the Aga Khan Agency for Micro-Finance since 2002, the First Micro-Finance Bank (FMFB) now operates in 15 countries. The FMFB was established in Tajikistan in 2003 and, according to AKDN information, provides 'various forms of credit and deposit services, (to be) broadened to include transfers, payment services, micro-insurance, low-income housing finance and micro leasing'. The FMFB's main shareholders in Tajikistan are the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a World Bank subsidiary. The FMFB currently has four branches in Tajikistan, including one in Garm; www.akdn.org/microfinance; p. 3.

³ MSDSP is a local NGO that was founded by the Aga Khan Development network. It deals with community development in Mountain-Badakhshan, the Rasht Valley and Kulyab. <http://www2.sub.unihamburg.de/opus/volltexte/2009/4242/pdf/DissWiegmannGAug09finalpdf>, p. 28.

⁴ It followed rehabilitation efforts; over 85% of the population of GBAO has access to electricity. Provides employment opportunities to over 600 local residents; Khorog Serena Inn, Six-room Inn, Tajikistan's first hotel built on international standards of quality; Dushanbe Serena Hotel, which comprised about 85 rooms, 10 service apartments and accommodated 200 people as employees for the hotel's operation. This whole economic exercise was undertaken at the behest of Tourism Promotion Services (TPS). It sponsored the economic activity of Tajikistan and financed at the hour of need; Aga Khan Development Network, <http://www.untj.org/principals/minutes/AKDN>, p. 5.

⁵ <http://78.136.16.169/pdfs/AKDN-overview-english-A4.pdf>, p. 4.

Up to 1997 'The Pamir Relief and Development Programme' was confined to *Gorny-Badakhshan*, but thereafter it was extended westward including the *Garm* Valley. Consequently, it was renamed to 'Mountain Society Development Support Programme.' The programme serves as an institutional framework to move from relief to agricultural and infrastructural development. By providing training, technical assets, granting micro-credit, the programme aims to assist farmers to cope with the collapse of the Soviet state farming system and promote self-reliance and diversification due to the economic blockade during the civil war and its immediate aftermath.

Since 1998, the main community mobilization channels of (MSDSP) have been the village organization⁶. Therefore, MSDSP initiated a village organizations development programme in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast in 1998, extending it to the Karategin Valley in 2000. MSDSP's commitment to developing Village Organizations (VOs) was based on the assumption that the rural economic development is the best catalyst and sustained through village level institutions that will be autonomous and transparent. It also ensured democratic norms of behaviour and growth of civil society in the respective regions. With the financial and material support of MSDSP, VOs distributed vegetable seeds, tree seedlings, chickens and goats. Several VOs carried out micro-credit programmes for women, based on revolving fund, to promote small income generation programmes.⁷ MSDSP offered them funds and materials for roads, water, and electricity links.

Another priority of this programme is to counter the shortage of land. For achieving this goal it opened new cultivable areas, started the "food for work programme", new canals are being dug to irrigate the newly cleared land, and it is calculated that in the Rushan district alone up to 2000 hectares of land could be opened up. It aimed at increasing the production in order to achieve sustainable, long-term regional self-sufficiency and produce surpluses which can be sold in the market-place and this provide cash income for the rural population and will increase the circulation of money. The main actor in the process of agriculture transformation is the MSDSP. Within the ranks of the organization itself, its programme is regarded as the motor of development in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.⁸

Each village organization has a number of committees that work or advise on specific issues such as finance and accounting, animal husbandry, and irrigation.⁹ Their purpose was to identify needs and resources for local socio-economic institutions that contributed to the raising of living standards and improving the quality of life in the village or its neighbourhood.

⁶ In Tajikistan, the village organisations (VOs) were created along the lines of traditional village groups and integrated traditional concepts of self-help, volunteerism and community mobilization. Freizer maintains that because of such embeddedness in local communities, local people maintain a strong sense of ownership over them. Having gained the trust and respect of local residents, the VOs are capable of effectively allocating and sharing local resources, and facilitating social cohesion. Similarly, Earle argues that the use of local social structures can have a positive impact on levels of community mobilisation. Tajikistan local self-governance: a potential bridge between government and civil society, Sabine Freize, <http://cimera.ch/files/reports/SR4/4pp17-25.pdf>, p. 23.

⁷ Sabine Freizer, Tajikistan Local Self-Governance: A Potential Bridge Between Government and Civil Society, Tajikistan at a Cross Road: the Politics of Decentralization, journal by London School of Economics, pp. 20, 22; <http://www.cimera.org/fil>

⁸ Hiltrud Herbers, Transformation in the Tajik Pamirs, *Gornyi-Badakhshan*: An example of successful restructuring? *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 20 (3), pp. 7-8.

⁹ Bruno De Cornier, Islamic faith-based development organizations in former Soviet Muslim environments: the Mountain Societies Development Support Programme in the Rasht Valley, Tajikistan. *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 27, no. 2, 2008, p. 171.

Until 2004, the village organization served as a channel for micro-credit lending. However, this activity was taken over by the First Micro-Finance Bank which is connected to the Aga Khan Fund for Development.

Aga Khan Foundation has been active in “NGO Enhancement” activities,¹⁰ which include the provision of managerial and financial training to NGOs, as well as setting up and supporting a series of NGO support organizations. These support organizations provide technical expertise, managerial training and applied research skills to other NGOs in their home countries.¹¹

The MSDSP was examined as an example of communal civil society, that is, a form of civil society that builds upon and utilizes traditional networks and informal authorities as they exist in the given context, rather than pushing for international neo-liberal forms and standards of civil society which take the forms of NGOs. Even though this approach has its critics, a communal form of civil society is often considered contextually and culturally more adjusted to the extent that neo-liberal civil society organizations and institutional donors increasingly use similar approaches. This is in line with some of the expertise that was dealt by men of letters.¹²

But this has left the expert opinions to assert that religion has a role to shape the social fabric. This, however, raises the question whether the Aga Khan Foundation, the initiator of MSDSP, is an Islamic faith based development organization and if so, to what extent.

First, although the Aga Khan Foundation considers itself to be non-confessional and uses a secular and international development discourse, it is directly linked to the religious leadership of a confessional ministry in Tajikistan, the Imamate of the Ismaili Shiites. Second, when the Aga Khan Foundation and its affiliates initially came to Tajikistan, it was because of the presence of co-religionaries in the country, the Ismaili population of the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast as a religious solidarity move with the latter and their precarious situation. Third, The Aga Khan Foundation’s action is inspired and legitimated by Islamic religion or at least certain social and philanthropic tenants thereof. However, it belongs to the category of faith based organizations that separate development and relief from religious agendas, use international development discourse and openly cooperate with western donors such as the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), CIDA and DEZA-DDC.¹³ The presence of Aga Khan Foundation and its affiliates in Tajikistan has strengthened the identification with the transnational Ismaili Imamate among local communities that were already of *Ismaili* tradition, and created contacts between expatriate *Ismaili* cadres from the West and the Islamic world. There are no indications or anecdotal evidence that attempts are made to propagate Ismailism among the non-Ismaili

¹⁰ Stephen E. Anderson, Improving schools through teacher development: case studies of the Aga Khan Foundation projects in East Africa, Netherland, 2002, p. 31.

¹¹ Adrian Karatnycky, Alexander. J. Motyl, Amanda Schenitzer, *Nations in Transit, 2002: Civil Society, Democracy, and the Markets in East, USA*, 2002, p. 377.

¹² Oliver Roy is convinced that building civil society is going to be more meaningful, if it is predicated on the social fabric as it exists rather than on window-dressing civil society based on abstract, perceptual models derived from elsewhere of what civil society culture ought to be; Marlies Glasius, David Lewis and Hakan Seckinelgin, *Exploring Civil Society Internationally: Political and Cultural Contacts*, USA, 2004, pp. 131-132.

¹³ Adrian Karatnycky, Alexander. J. Motyl, Amanda Schenitzer, *Nations in Transit, 2002: Civil Society, Democracy, and the Markets in East, USA* 2002, P. 372.

in Tajikistan. Fourth, with the official development assistance of Iran and the Islamic Bank, the Aga Khan Foundation is one of the major development and relief actors of Islamic background in Tajikistan albeit a non-governmental organization rather than governmental or intergovernmental agency like the former two. Finally, the Aga Khan Foundation is part of a broader global structure under the Ismaili Imamate, the Aga Khan Development Network.¹⁴

Social development

The Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance (AKAM) seeks to alleviate economic and social exclusion, diminish the vulnerability of poor population, and reduce poverty. AKAM operates in urban and rural areas and offers a number of services including micro-finance, savings services, housing credits, and education loan. The Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance operates the First Micro-Finance Bank Tajikistan (FMFB-T), in concert with equity partners, KfW and IFC. FMFB-T is one of the largest micro finance institutions in Tajikistan employing over 350 people; there are approximately 11,500 borrowers for a total portfolio of USD 21 million across 36 branches and district offices across the country.

Key strategic directions for future operations in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast include; lending, savings, migration and remittances, house improvements, as well as the development of existing services.

The education strategy of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)

In Central Asia, Aga Khan Education Services (AKES) was faced with highly literate, educated societies, but political and other misfortunes have temporarily disabled a sophisticated educational system¹⁵. Enabling them to adjust to the region's future needs is a key premise of AKES's approach in Tajikistan.

AKES proved almost successful in Tajikistan through establishment of private Aga Khan (AK) schools in partnerships with government schools to strengthen the professional development base. It began to operate the Aga Khan Lycée (AKL), the only private school in Khorog, established in 1998 as a private entity to educate the new buds.¹⁶ Aga Khan Foundation has been running a number of education programs, including (1) textbook rental scheme in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO) wherein the rental money collected is kept in schools and used for school maintenance/repairs, as well as purchasing new textbooks, (2) implementing such projects as "Human Being Study," (3) retraining of teachers, (4) working with school communities. The Foundation works primarily in GBAO, though it provides some support to other regions of Tajikistan.

¹⁴ Bruno De Cordier, Islamic faith-based development organizations in former Soviet Muslim environments: the Mountain Societies Development Support Programme in the Rasht valley, Tajikistan, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. , 2008, p. 5.

¹⁵ The end of intra-Union transfers in the Soviet Union, along with the disruption of trade and exchange regimes of the command economy, placed enormous strains on education budgets. Structural adjustment reforms and austerity measures have eroded funding for education. This was especially profound in Tajikistan. Jude Howell, Jenny Pearce, Civil society and development: a critical exploration, U.K. 2001, p. 195.

¹⁶ Aga Khan Development Network, <http://www.untj.org/principals/minutes/AKDN>, p. 2.

Aga Khan has maintained name and fame for literary campaign and special focus sprang up to the educational needs of rural communities in mountainous, coastal and other resource-poor areas. It has signed agreements with Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Canada, the European Union, India, Ivory Coast, Central Asian republics, Russia, Pakistan, Kenya, Tanzania, Mali, Mozambique, the United Kingdom, and United Nations. Individual agencies also work closely with local, state, national government.¹⁷ Aga Khan Development Network's education activities run more than 300 schools and advanced educational programmes at pre-primary, secondary, and post-graduate levels. Girls in geographically remote areas get special attention.

In addition, the Aga Khan Foundation has founded the University of Central Asia in the city of Khurog with multi-dimensional focus.¹⁸ The supporting agencies, like World Bank (WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations International Child Emergency Fund (UNICEF), OPEC and OSI that have taken the responsibility of publishing new textbooks, introducing international bidding procedures and encourage an open market in textbook publishing.

According to World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) data an estimated 20% of schools were destroyed and looted during the civil war. More than 130 school buildings require and need re-equipping; construction of schools with good class room facilities is needed to accommodate 20,000 pupils.

The combined public and private spending on education in the Central Asian countries varies from as low as 4.1% in Tajikistan to 8.7% of GDP in the Kyrgyz Republic. The general situation is characterized by lack of school buildings, furniture, outmoded equipment, low salaries for teaching and support staff, lack of educational material for teachers and textbooks for students. These problems are common across all the countries, but the situation is particularly critical in Tajikistan where teachers are paid USD 10 a month and professors receive only USD 7 a month. In Tajikistan only 30% of students have complete text books.¹⁹

Since 1997, the Aga Khan Foundation has been involved in assisting the provincial Department of Education to enhance and upgrade teachers' knowledge and skills, strengthen educational management, increase the involvement of parents and community in education, establish an education revolving fund, and reconstruct the Institute for the Improvement of Teacher Qualifications in Khorog. Aga Khan Foundation has annually been offering scholarships to a number of students from Khorog State University, to pursue Bachelor degrees in Moscow and Bishkek. Together with Aga Khan University (AKU), the Aga Khan Foundation has been involved in the training of education personnel of Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Province (MBAP) through visiting teachers. Since 1996, the

¹⁷ www.agkhanschools.org/brochures/akes/pdf, p. 3.

¹⁸ The university is a private, autonomous, not-for-profit, international institution of higher education focusing on interdisciplinary teaching and research in development issues affecting mountain societies across Central Asia. It serves people in the mountainous parts of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, China, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Iran, and countries in South Asia. It runs a text book rental scheme in Tajikistan with the support of World Bank (WB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations International Child Emergency Fund (UNICEF), OPEC, and OSI. <http://www.ucentralasia.org/> http://www.soros.org/initiatives/esp/articles_publications/publications/development_20020401/education_development.pdf, p. 10.

¹⁹ Bolorma Shagadar, Human capital in Central Asia: trends and challenges in education, *Central Asian Survey*, (December) Vol. 25(4), 2006, pp. 521-522.

Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS) initiated a major educational project in Tajikistan which aims the balanced development of citizens through the teaching of ethics and knowledge.

The program utilizes the existing educational facilities for implementing its program. The curriculum package includes textbooks, activity books, and guides for teachers and parents. The IIS has also provided scholarships to prepare the foundational skills of a great number of Central Asian students in humanities and Islamic studies. The students can then receive graduate degrees in various western universities.

The Aga Khan Education Fund has enabled the strengthening of national human resources in English and market economies. Institutions of higher education in Tajikistan have been provided with instructions and materials to enable them to increase their capacity. In the next phase of economic programme, the Aga Khan Education Services (AKES) is organizing education in microeconomics and practical business skills through courses using the case study methodology. In case of the English language programme, the materials provided to the participating institutions have been supplemented by modern, computer-based language laboratories supplied by AKES and installed in five institutions. The Tajik Pedagogical University Dushanbe, Kolub State University, and Khurog State University. Courses for selected faculties were especially designed at Durham University for instructors of the English Language and at the London School of Economics, for teachers of Economics. Bridging cultural, linguistic and pedagogical divides, the International Academic Partnership (IAP) between AKES, Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, the Schule Schloss Salem in Salem, Germany and AKU-IED permits an innovative variety of mutually enriching exchanges amongst these institutions. Exchanges of teachers, enhanced library systems and teaching of science and mathematics in the AKES school system aside, the IAP has been able to bring AKES experience into the development of a Global Economics Curriculum, an Islamic Cultural Studies Curriculum at Phillips Academy, and an African Studies Institute, as well as the launch of a Global Learning Network. The Network links classrooms across the world so that students and teachers can understand and share their own and each other's cultures.

Curriculum of education

Aga Khan in Tajikistan like in other Central Asian republics cultivated a sense to propagate education on rational lines and it strove to make Tajik stock liable to the market demands of the world. For such purpose Aga Khan introduced such changes in the educational curriculum that ensures a good prospect for the Tajik education.

The Aga Khan Lycée follows the Tajik National State Curriculum from primary to higher secondary level (Grades 1st-11th). The Lycée enriched the curriculum with additional lessons, quality resources, smaller class sizes, lessons from other curricula in the teaching of the English language, information technology, and economics. Its aim is to make the Tajik education viable both globally and locally.

The Lycée teaches curricula varying from Russia, the United Kingdom to North America. An international curriculum is used where the Tajik National State Curriculum does not exist.²⁰ The following subjects are taught:

- Tajik language and literature
- English language
- Russian language
- Mathematics
- Information Technology
- Sciences (Physics, Chemistry, and Biology)
- Social studies (Geography and History)
- Physical training
- Home economics arts

Admission is based on merit. Merit is determined by entrance examinations at Grades 1, 5, and 10. At Grade 1, the exam tests number skills, literacy and verbal reasoning and is followed by an interview. For entry into Grade 5, examination results from Grade 4 are used. At Grade 10, specific examinations are set depending on the prospective student's proposed course of study. The school fee for grade 1 - 9 is 59 Somoni and for grade 10 -11 is 62 Somoni per month. An Aga Khan Lycée employee is entitled to a 50% discount on tuition fees at Aga Khan Lycée for one child. Orphan students are entitled to a 60% discount on tuition fees. Up to 15 percent of students enrolled are eligible for fee-exemptions based on their parent's financial status. Up to 28 Grade 10 and Grade 11 students from the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast receive full bursaries to study at the Aga Khan Lycée.²¹ Aga Khan Lycée has 61 teachers, 6 management staff, 10 members of admin and 15 support staff.²²

Health services

Aga Khan Health Services has implemented a number of projects since the Aga Khan Development Network began its health activities in Tajikistan in 1997. Health Promotion Development Units (HPDO) have been established in Khorog and five other districts in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast and Charm region to provide health professionals with up-to-date knowledge in medicine. It has provided resources such as computers, books, and periodicals to allow health sector professionals to enhance their knowledge. These units also conduct courses on English and information technologies, enabling doctors to study evidence based practices written in English and perform internet searches. By

²⁰ For example, in Primary English Language and Information Technology, Tajik, Russian and English are the current mediums of instruction <http://www.agakhanschools.org/tajikistan/akl/curriculum.asp>, p. 7.

²¹ <http://www.agakhanschools.org/tajikistan/akl/admissions.asp>, p. 3.

²² <http://www.agakhanschools.org/tajikistan/akl/staff.asp>, p. 2.

the end of 2007, all six Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast HPDUs had been handed over to district health authorities as resource centres.²³

Aga Khan Health Services in Tajikistan provides technical assistance to the government and reinforces community health / primary health care approaches. It was primarily active in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast and the Khotlon Oblast and established the essential pharmaceuticals programme in 1997. Programmes like 'The Family Medicine Programme' and 'Cross-Border Programme' were launched to provide care to an additional 10% of the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast and to provide health care to Afghan Badakhshan people respectively. It has trained over 700 community health promoters who are working in almost all villages of the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast and four districts of Khotlon.²⁴

Aga Khan Health Services is working with government and civil society organizations to continue to support Community Health Promoters (CHPs) and facilitate the implementation of national reforms and explore the development of private participation to address health care needs. It is also working to promote the health status of the overall population in the country, with a focus on mothers and children under the age of five. In driving towards this aim, Aga Khan Health Services places a special focus on increasing the involvement of communities in addressing the health issues, like:

- Training over 500 Community Health Promoters in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast and four districts of the Khotlon region to educate communities about essential health issues and advocate on their behalf with local governments;
- Developing a national nursing programme in partnership with World Health Organization;
- Creating revolving funds with the aim of providing quality, affordable and accessible essential services drugs in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast;
- Rehabilitation of hospitals and extensive training of medical staff in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.²⁵

Community Health Projects works to empower community members and community-based organizations to address their own healthcare problems. It trains volunteer community health promoters (CHP) to serve as a communication and advocacy link between communities and local government. Since its inception, the project has trained over four hundred (CHP's) in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast and one hundred in the Khotlon region of Tajikistan. The project has trained members of primary health centers giving them training about safe motherhood, immunization, nutrition, prevention of HIV and integrated management of childhood disease. The growth monitoring and promotion component trains primary health care staff and mothers in communities to monitor the health and nutritional status of children under the age group of five. Since then, over eight thousand children have been reached.²⁶

²³ www.akdn.org/int/library/documents/2008/icg-Taj-24.pdf p. 9.

²⁴ Aga Khan Development Network, <http://www.undp.org/principals/minutes/AKDN>, p. 3.

²⁵ Arachu Castro, Merrill Singer. A Critical Anthropological Examination, USA, 2004, pp. 102-103.

²⁶ Salman Kashavjee, Medicines and Transitions: The political economy of health and social change in post-Soviet Badakhshan, Tajikistan, London, 1998, p. 1098.

Nursing Development Projects in partnership with the World Health Organization aim to improve the education of nurses in Tajikistan. They have developed and implemented a four year nursing curriculum in all the medical collages of Tajikistan. Teachers of these institutions are trained in an expanded form in sociology, psychology research methods, nursing management and family health.

At Khurog General Hospital, Nursing Development Projects have implemented a programme on nursing competencies in pediatrics. It also organizes training for nurses from various medical facilities in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast to come together to share knowledge and best practices with Khurog General Hospital.

From 2001 to 2004, with the support of the Swiss Agency for International Development and Cooperation (SDC), Aga Khan Health Services completed renovations at six hospitals in Ishkashim, Vanj, Murghab, Darvaz, Rushan and Khorog and provided equipment for their intensive care units and laboratories. Since 2004, Aga Khan Health Services has worked with the support of the Japanese Government to provide equipment and renovations to address diagnostic, treatment, kitchen and laundry needs in the Khurog General Hospital, Rushan and Darwaz hospitals.²⁷

Nursing Development Projects has partnered with institution such as Aga Khan University School of Nursing in Karachi Pakistan and Tajik post-graduate medical institutes in rationalizing pharmaceuticals policy and management. The project has been making essential pharmaceuticals available throughout the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.

Since its inception in the 1990s the project introduced revolving funds in 1997 in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, which requires patients to pay a small percentage towards the cost of drugs which they would otherwise receive free. This requirement will generate funds that can be used for procurement, delivery and affordable essential drugs to community.

Measures to prevent and control diphtheria in the republic of Tajikistan have been aided by cooperation between international organizations including WHO, UNICEF, the US Agency for International Development, Basic Support for Institutionalizing Child Survival, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and Medicines Sans Frontiers and Ministry of Health. This was sought on account of disruption caused by civil war and transition. The existing systems of immunization and antiepidemic measures were disrupted. Since 1993 the immunization programme has relied entirely on humanitarian assistance from the World Health Organization and UNICEF.²⁸

A new schedule was adopted in accordance with the recommendation and Tajikistan witnessed improvisation in the health sector. In October 1995, with the support of WHO and UNICEF, Tajikistan held national immunization days (NIDS) for diphtheria for the first time with a wide-spread information campaign involving newspapers, radio, and television. To organize diphtheria immunization about forty thousand immunization sites and six thousand medical staff were organized, plus eighteen thousand medical workers and others were involved in this process. This was possible only because of necessary resources diphtheria toxoid, procaine benzylpenicillin, benzathine and five-ml syringes were obtained in

²⁷ <http://www.akdn.org/tajikistan>, p. 3.

²⁸ Ismatulo Usmabov, Michael O Favorov and Terence L Chorba, Universal Immunization: The Diphtheria control strategy of choice in the Republic of Tajikistan 1993-97, University of Chicago, UAS, Vol. 181, p. 93.

October 1995 through UNICEF. By mid 1996, the World Health Organization's recommendations for preventing diphtheria were put forth in effect throughout Tajikistan (treatment of patients' immunization before outbreak, recording of contacts, laboratory, and evaluation of patients). Considering the shortages of personal, transportation and fuels and lubricants for vehicles, the Ministry of Health appealed to the permanent mission of UNICEF in the Republic of Tajikistan for support in organizing mobile teams to prevent and control diphtheria in accordance with WHO's recommendations.²⁹

Conclusions and closing remarks

The Aga Khan Foundation, an International NGO dedicated to the aid of Ismailis, (a minority Islamic sect throughout Central and South-West Asia) in the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast is noteworthy as it offered enormous support to the people who received little attention of the Tajik Government in Soviet or post-Soviet period. It has supported people in terms of social services, food, and education and, has all but replaced the Tajik Government in this remote province. This NGO also shows enough potential to rise up to the expectations of people who are politically and economically excluded. It has also to its credit the crucial role that it played in the remote region to quell the sporadic secessionist demands coming from Badakshan, alleviated the Government's limited capacity and lack of interest in aiding the Ismailis. It has also lessened the burden on state resources which is also praiseworthy.³⁰

Operating in Tajikistan since 1992, the Aga Khan Development Network draws on a strong base of experience in working with vulnerable societies. It works unanimously in all regions of the country and employs over 3,500 people through its operations. The Network brings together individual agencies that operate in a wide range of areas – from economic development to education, rural development, cultural revitalization, health care to financial services. Together these agencies collaborate towards a common goal – to build institutions and programmes that can respond to the contemporary challenges and opportunities of social, economic and cultural growth in Tajikistan.³¹

The Village Organization is at the heart of the global community-building processes of the Aga Khan Foundation, a transnational NGO focused on rural development, primarily in Ismaili Muslim communities. Aga Khan Foundation is the key rural development body within the larger transnational Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), led by the hereditary imam of the Ismaili Muslims, who constitute a major branch of Shia Islam. AKDN is remarkable in its provision for beneficiaries of a staggering array of services, including roads, bridges, schools, clinics, hospitals, universities, political councils, banking services, health educators, irrigation systems, cell phone networks, internet infrastructure, marked with a set of trademark signs and symbols. The Village Organization is a local council established by subsidiary organizations of the Aga Khan Foundation.

²⁹ Ismatulo Usmabov, Michael O Favorov and Terence L Chorba, Universal Immunization: The Diphtheria control strategy of choice in the Republic of Tajikistan 1993-9, UAS, Vol. 181, p. 90.

³⁰ Chandra Lekha Sriram & Karren Weremster, From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN-Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict, USA, 2003, p. 297.

³¹ Aga Khan Development Network, http://www.akdn.org/publications/2012_tajikistan_overview.pdf

In Central Asian within the mahallas, various social practices were followed that were linked to Islam. Traditional forms of obligatory philanthropy existed, which included charitable giving and provision of food to poorer families at community celebrations without them having to contribute in kind. Local imams and elders, known as aksakals in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan played an important role in community life. Aksakals and elders are still very much a feature of life across the region, particularly in rural areas, although the religious connection between aksakals and the mosque is no longer so explicit. They are men who are generally held in high esteem by their communities and who are chosen by their peers to fulfill particular village functions. Duties include sitting on the aksakals' court, which deals with disputes between neighbours and between and within families, including discouraging divorce. They are also responsible for mobilizing community members to participate in neighbourhood or village activities and for organizing celebrations. At times it was the responsibility of aksakals in traditional urban Uzbek mahallas to encourage richer residents to distribute some of their wealth amongst poorer residents. Aga Khan has the credit to utilize the expertise of these people to dispense welfare among the destitute.

Aga Khan is also importantly a conduit and an embodiment of the modernist discourses of progress. It both reflects and perpetuates the dominance of enlightenment rationalist ideology through that discourse of "grassroots development" which produces new social configurations, local realities, and modes of subjectivity. It serves in part to socialize local populations to norms of modernity, and to modernity as norm. Its institutions represent a historically unique fusion of liberal humanism, rational individualism, corporate capital and entrepreneurialism, disciplines of information management, and Islamic modernity. Perhaps connected to this zeal for modern liberalism and rationalism is the central role it plays in the socialization of localities and local societies to market capitalism. Participation in local capitalist systems is enthusiastically endorsed by the institution, which helps them in the transition to participation in regional and even global markets.

Therefore, Aga Khan is an NGO, branched into myriads of branches, that sets an exemplary map of philanthropic work to follow through a conduit properly designed and well built. It carries scope beyond expectations and its influence transcends all borders. The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) works towards the vision of economically dynamic, politically stable, intellectually vibrant and culturally tolerant societies. This is achieved by supporting the establishment of programmes and institutions that allow the government, private sector and civil society to play complementary roles in increasing prosperity and creativity within a pluralistic society. What is so unique about Central Asian NGOs was that local but deeply rooted community elders, *Aksakals*, in particular in rural societies were key to reach to people of all sorts. Their involvement became imperative so that the different social layers in Central Asian societies could approve and ensure these benefits and amenities. Therefore, Aga Khan can be an elite within elite that deepens more seriously to serve people without a parochial or narrow concern. Its mega appearance was not only felt via its work but donors (ADB, IMF, WB, USAID, UN Aid, Save the Children, etc) did also come in flocks to invest their arduous work earnestly and justify the resplendent character of Aga Khan. The problems of Central Asia are remarkably complex – their causes are multiple and defiantly intertwined. Progress requires a multifaceted and multi-input approach. This character was valiantly shown by Aga Khan that included in its pool all that was required to cater to the

needs of the people and government. To cap it all, Aga Khan leaves an ideal impression and sincere effort that NGOs are bound to follow.

Aga Khan has dealt not only with the traditional issues but also can lead to a smooth society in the modern world. It can be a torch bearer to show that all issues and their address cannot be handy work of governments only but local or semi-government agencies or NGOs can be more constructive in certain matters. Aga Khan has imparted a lesson that governments have to take into consideration. The NGO involvement can bring up healthy conditions for mutual progress of people and state. Therefore, plain and valuable suggestions that governments in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan are considering are that these NGOs are to be run with the state approval to look into the problems of people that falls within negligent domain. Keeping in view their past services governments in Central Asia have held that Aga Khan is more helpful in bridging the gulf between privileged and un-privileged. They are praised for the role they played in crises as they grow more mature and more judicious to help the needy. Their multifaceted role is expected to prove friendlier when the countries have become susceptible to risk and rested on explosive heap which is bound to tear peace into pieces. The role of Aga Khan then becomes unavoidable and is fully recommended to arrest such war-torn conditions.



ECONOMICS

STEINBACH, Sandro¹

**Soviet Heritage and post-Soviet Economic Integration
— Ukrainian Export Trade Patterns Reviewed —**

Statement of the Research's Nature

The author works as a researcher for the Division of International Agricultural Trade and Development at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany. His primary research interest lies in the domain of economic theory and applied economics. In particular, he is interested in trade theory and its multifarious relations with and implications for transition economies. Once a theory is empirically verified, it is able to give practical advice on the design and implementation of economic policies. In this context, traditional economic relations and post-Soviet regional integration are of high importance and are therefore the topic of investigation in this paper.

Abstract

This paper explores the effects of the Soviet economic heritage and post-Soviet regional integration on merchandise export trade in Ukraine. Notably, exports contribute considerably to the success or failure of the Ukrainian economy. To reveal the determinants of Ukraine's trade patterns and fill in some existing scholarly gaps, a case study was conducted, spanning the period 1996-2010. An augmented gravity trade model was developed and estimated, using rigorous econometric methods. The findings confirm the hypothesis that the Soviet economic heritage and post-Soviet regional integration shape Ukraine's current trade patterns. Moreover, the paper shows trade potential and underlines the critical role of trade policies and institutions.

Key words: Transition Economies, Traditional Economic Relations, Post-Soviet Economic Integration, International Trade, Gravity Model, PPML

JEL Classification: C33, F15, O57, P33

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Introduction

During the recession crisis of 1991-1999, Ukraine experienced a deeper economic slowdown than most of the other Soviet successors, losing more than 60 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP). Due to the fall in production and consumption, trade flow, once large in volume, shrank by more than 50 percent (Steinbach and Rybak, 2012). Prior to the Soviet breakup, Ukraine had a large trade surplus, but it turned negative since 2005. The reasons for this are the strong growth in imports and the inability of the export sector to keep up. It is obvious that the Ukrainian economy is in need of implementing policies that would foster export trade if the country is aiming for sustainable economic development. Thus, based on the importance of export trade for Ukraine, I approached my research with the following questions: (1) What are the determining factors of Ukraine's export trade? and (2) How does the Soviet heritage compared to the post-Soviet economic integration contribute to the patterns of trade?

Despite the vast variety of studies concerned with the transformation process in Ukraine (see, among others, Åslund, 2008; Boss and Havlik, 1994; Brenton et al. 1997; Libman and Vinokurov, 2012; Macedo et al., 2008; Sergi, 2006), little is known about the patterns of foreign trade. De Sousa and Lamotte (2007) investigated the effects of political disintegration on trade relations in post-Soviet countries. They found no evidence that the Soviet breakup led to systematic and severe trade disintegration. Thus, one can argue that the common Soviet heritage is still of particular importance for the successor. This finds also confirmation in the work of Steinbach and Rybak (2012) who found out that the high degree of integration still determines the foreign trade of Ukraine. Notably, the country was a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), which was disbanded on June 28, 1991. The council consisted of all Soviet republics, plus the communist European states, and Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam. During Soviet times, Ukrainian exports directed to COMECON countries were substantial, and I claim that trade relations with these countries still are of particular importance for the country.

Funke and Ruhwedel (2005) reveal that the Ukrainian export variety is rather small compared to Western economies and major exports focused on certain commodity groups. This factor indicates the high vulnerability to foreign markets and contributed to the dramatic decline in trade during the global financial crisis. Economic success and growth in transition economies are strongly linked to export trade and trade liberalization (Nannicini and Billmeier, 2011). Notably, Ukraine is not just lagging behind in growth, but trade liberalization is also negligible compared to other transition countries like Azerbaijan or Georgia. Other scholars analysed the regional integration attempts in the post-Soviet period (Chaplygin et al., 2006; Gawrich et al., 2010a, -b; Milthorp, 1997). On the one hand, Chaplygin et al. (2006) indicated the enormous challenges related to the integration process, on the other hand, Gawrich et al. (2010a, -b) pointed to the role of the European Union (EU) and the potential benefits of integration, but also inconsistencies in the EU policies. Admittedly, the academic community is at strife about the impacts of regional trade agreements and is questioning their role as a promoter of economic integration and welfare (see, among others, Krishna, 1998; Krugman, 1991; Viner, 1950). This is raising the question whether or not current steps towards regional integration helped to expand trade. For this research, I take the view that regional integration positively contributes to the direction and magnitude of trade and is therefore a major determinant of Ukrainian export patterns. This is due to the fact that regional integration is resulting in the harmonisation of product standards, often foreign trade schemes as well, and facilitates the access to non-domestic markets.

To answer the research questions and verify my hypotheses, I conducted a case study on Ukraine's merchandise export trade relations. The analysis covers the period 1996-2010 and I approached the problem with two different methods. The first section introduces with a brief overview of the transition process and also discusses the economic performance of Ukraine. The following section focuses on a descriptive analysis of Ukraine's export-trade patterns. The analysis helps to underpin my hypotheses and to come up with the proper instruments for the quantitative analysis. Section two deals with the applied methodology. I supplement the descriptive analysis with an empirical analysis of trade patterns. Thus, I developed an augmented trade model, building on the gravity model of international trade (Tinbergen, 1962), which allows me to quantify the impact of the Soviet heritage and post-Soviet regional integration. I also discuss the source of my data, my assumptions about the patterns of the variables and the utilised estimation procedure. Section three presents the findings of my empirical analysis and brings them into line with the academic discourse. The fourth and concluding section discusses policy recommendations which arise from my findings, reveals limitations of my results and indicates the gaps which have to be filled through further research.

1. Economic Performance and Export Trade in the post-Soviet Period

Starting in 1991, the Ukrainian government pursued policies to liberalise the price regime and to reform the market structure (Jonavicius, 2009). The aim was to tackle the spreading product shortages and maintain the former consumption level. However, the country also continued to subsidise state-run industries and the agricultural sector. The subsidisation was mainly financed by uncovered monetary emissions, letting prices soar and causing the inflation to be pushed to hyper-inflationary levels in the early 1990s. In the dumper of hyperinflation, the annual inflation rate was the highest world-wide in 1993, exceeding 4,735 percent (World Bank, 2012). This caused a huge outflow of capital and annihilated vast quantities of assets. Moreover, it initiated a persistent mass exodus of well educated and experienced labour, reducing the Ukrainian from 52 million in 1990 to almost 46 million in 2010. Solari (2000) found that this dramatically diminished the former comparative advantage of the economy.

The economic reform process rapidly decelerated and structural reform efforts were undermined by a widespread resistance within the governmental body and a significant part of the population (Kuzio, 2010). This stalled the reform process and raised the costs of maintaining subsidisation for state-owned enterprises which were exempt from the privatisation process. In the meantime, by 1999, due to the delayed reforms, an underdeveloped infrastructure and transportation system, corruption and bureaucracy, the GDP had fallen to less than 40 percent of its 1991 level.

1.1 Economic Performance

In the early 2000s, Ukraine showed strong export-based growth of 5 to 10 percent per annum. Expressed in constant 2000 US\$ prices, the economy almost doubled from US\$ 29,519 million in 1999 to US\$ 53,467 million (plus 81.1 percent) in 2008. The growth seemed to be robust, but the financial crisis and the succeeding global economic crisis hit the country in November 2008. The economic effects were devastating as foreign direct investments (FDI) decreased and capital started to flee from the country

once more. As a direct result, the GDP shrank by US\$ 5,999 million (minus 11.2 percent) during 2008-2010.

The implications of the transition process for the Ukrainian economy are illustrated in **Table 1** which shows the development of GDP per capita for the period 1988-2011. The data reveals that the economic decline was dramatic. Particularly in the 1990s, the GDP per capita decreased immensely and the economy was unable to overcome this blow until today. This is surprising insofar as most other transition countries (except Belarus) increased welfare significantly in the reviewed period. Moreover, the table indicates that the global crisis of 2009 threw back the GDP per capita to 2006 levels.

TABLE 1**Evolution of the GDP per Capita and the GDP per Capita Growth Rate for the Period 1988-2011**

Year	GDP per Capita			Year	Absolute Value (Constant 2000 US\$)	Growth Rate (Annual in Percent)
	Absolute Value (Constant 2000 US\$)	Growth Rate (Annual in Percent)	Absolute Value (Constant 2000 US\$)			
1988	1435.60	2.11	2001	701.21	10.30	
1989	1483.94	3.37	2002	745.04	6.25	
1990	1386.6	-6.56	2003	821.71	10.29	
1991	1267.33	-8.60	2004	928.16	12.95	
1992	1141.12	-9.96	2005	960.23	3.46	
1993	978.24	-14.27	2006	1037.31	8.03	
1994	757.64	-22.55	2007	1125.96	8.55	
1995	670.49	-11.50	2008	1158.11	2.86	
1996	608.82	-9.20	2009	991.1	-14.42	
1997	595.96	-2.11	2010	1035.84	4.51	
1999	589.88	-1.02	2011	1093.63	5.58	
2000	594.28	0.75				

Note. Author's Illustration, World Development Indicators (WDI) Databank (World Bank, 2012).

1.2 Ukrainian Merchandise Export Trade

Ukraine was an important industrial and agricultural component of the Soviet Union's planned economy and inherited a well-developed industrial base. The country has rich fertile farmlands and produces numerous mineral resources. This allows the Ukrainian exporters to be global players on the market for basic resources and provides the country with a strong base to produce semi-manufactured and manufactured goods.

Ukraine was highly integrated in the Soviet economy as production was extremely linked horizontally and vertically among Soviet republics and COMECON member states. Therefore, subsequent to the dissolution of the Soviet Union (SU), the restructuring and partial liberalisation of the country's industrial and agriculture sector were difficult, causing significant changes in the direction, structure and magnitude of exports. Notably, the main part of Ukraine's exports still consists of fabricated ferrous and non-ferrous metals, chemicals, machinery, fuel, transport equipment, and food products.

To reveal the preferences in the Ukrainian foreign trade, the trade intensity index was calculated for certain regions in the period 1996-2010 (see **Table 2**). Developed by Kojima (1964) and refined by Drysdale and Garnaut (1982), the index measures the uniform export share of a country in a certain country or region. Values greater than 1 indicate an intense trade relationship. The index reveals that Ukraine has intense trade relations with most countries in the world. Furthermore, there exists a strong preference towards trade with the former Soviet Union (FSU) and COMECON while it is lower for the European Union. The category COMECON includes all former members minus East Germany.

TABLE 2

Ukrainian Trade Intensity Index for Groups of Trading Partner (World, COMECON, FSU and EU27) in the Period 1996-2010

Year	Regional Country Group			
	World	COMECON	FSU	EU27
1996	4.31	18.95	30.96	2.75
1997	4.51	17.40	27.42	2.61
1998	4.24	17.30	26.24	3.14
1999	4.31	17.03	26.30	3.20
2000	4.10	18.44	28.50	3.58
2001	3.38	14.00	21.33	3.21
2002	3.42	14.11	21.48	3.19
2003	3.46	13.45	20.49	3.24
2004	3.68	11.71	17.78	2.69
2005	3.07	11.83	18.12	2.07
2006	2.90	11.41	17.29	1.91
2007	2.88	11.13	17.53	1.56
2008	2.62	9.36	14.57	1.56
2009	2.67	10.46	16.66	1.35
2010	2.28	9.04	14.25	1.44
Average	3.40	13.70	21.26	2.50

Note. Author's Calculation, Comtrade Database (United Nations, 2012).

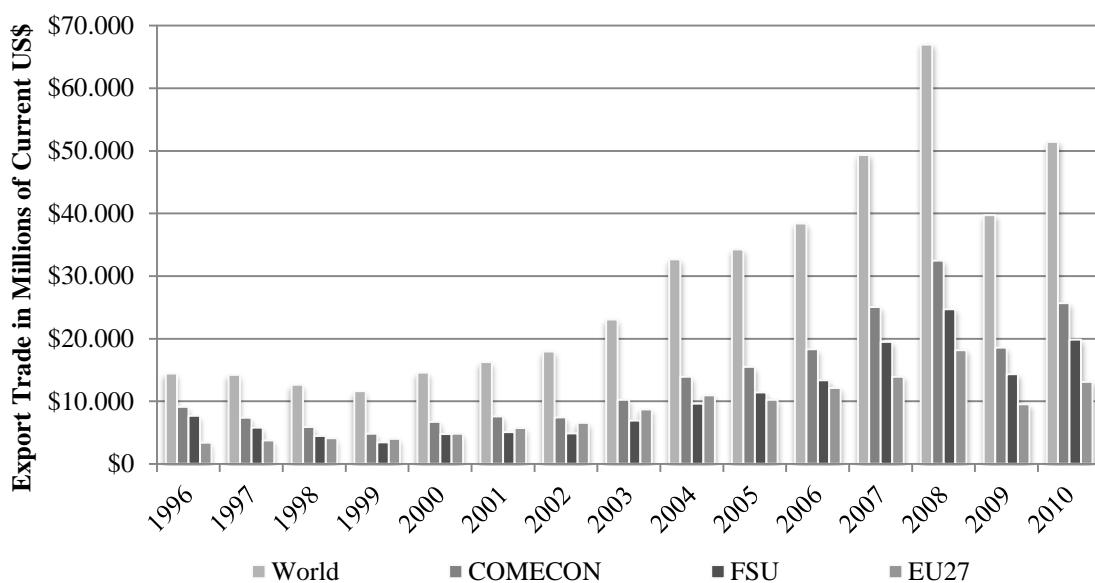
In the last 12 years, there has been a considerable increase in the openness of the Ukrainian economy and in the volume of its export trade. After the collapse of the SU in 1991, export growth exhibited strong positive dynamics and the number of Ukrainian exporting firms has risen sharply. Raw materials and semi-processed products that constituted the largest part of the Ukrainian export during the 1990s have been partially replaced by the manufactured products of higher levels of processing. In the reviewed period, the country's export trade grew by 364.3 percent, exceeding US\$ 51.43 billion in 2010. However, as Ukraine was dramatically affected by the global economic crisis, the volume of export trade decreased in 2009 and merely picked up in 2010. This had dramatic effects for the economy (Lane, 2011).

The structure of Ukrainian merchandise export trade underwent several significant changes during the reference period, both in terms of the commodities and their destinations. **Figure 1** examines the geographical export structure of Ukraine for the period 1996-2010. While the countries of FSU remained

the most important destination for the Ukrainian products between 1996 and 2010, their value share in total exports dropped from 53.1 percent to 38.5 percent.

FIGURE 1

Ukraine's Geographical Export Structure for Groups of Trading Partner (World, COMECON, FSU and EU27) for the Period 1996-2010



Note. Author's Computation and Illustration, Comtrade Database (United Nations, 2012).

With the overall expansion of trade, the volume of exports to FSU countries increased from US\$ 7.64 billion in 1996 to US\$ 19.82 billion in 2010. Not surprisingly, the EU27 emerged as an important trade partner during the reference period and the export trade volume increased from US\$ 3.36 billion in 1996 to US\$ 13.06 billion in 2010. Notably, the Russian Federation remains the most important destination for Ukraine's products, importing almost 23.8 percent of export commodities in the period of 2008-2010. In recent years, Egypt and India appeared on the scene, importing large parts of Ukraine's agricultural production.

In the 1990s, Ukraine mainly exported metals, mineral products and cereals. During the reviewed period, the share of those export commodities declined to 42.8 percent in 2010. The transport sector grew significantly, amounting recently to more than 7.2 percent of exports. Furthermore, agricultural commodities remained important as their share persisted on the same level. However, growth in agriculture export trade is still smaller than in other sectors.

The correlation between Ukraine's export and economic growth is consistent with exports playing an important part in Ukraine's takeoff, subsequent to the economic struggle in the 1990s. The observed

growth and changing export structure reflect the structural transformation of Ukraine's economy. Some sectors became more prominent than others (Lane, 2011). As already noted, the data shows that Ukraine's trade partner structure has recently become more diverse, shadowing the importance of FSU as the recipient of Ukraine's exports. Furthermore, Ukraine's exports have expanded to the emerging markets in Asia and Africa (Bojcun, 2011).

2. Methodology

To model the impact of the Soviet heritage and reveal the role of regional integration for Ukraine's export trade, I developed a trade model which is based on the gravity model of international trade (GMIT). In the following section, I clarify the analytical framework and discuss the reason for the specification of my model. Also I discuss estimation, specify the sources of my data and indicate the estimation procedure.

2.1 Gravity Model of International Trade

The gravity model is considered to be one of the most reliable models for empirical studies explaining trade flows between countries. In this model, economic entities are considered to be bodies which depend on pushing and pulling factors. Such entities might be countries, regions or greater communities like free trade blocs. The involved economies are characterised by varying parameters and interact by exchanging people, goods and information. The pioneering gravity model of Tinbergen (1962) determines trade flows, represented as the sum of imports and exports, T_{ij} , by the size of each economy, denoted by X_i for home and X_j for foreign. Furthermore, the distance, D_{ij} , negatively affects the volume of trade. In its simplest form, the stochastic version of the gravity model is used in empirical studies as follows:

$$T_{ij} = \alpha_0 X_i^{\alpha_1} X_j^{\alpha_2} D_{ij}^{\alpha_3} \eta_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where α_0 , α_1 , α_2 and α_3 are unknown parameters and η_{ij} reflects an error factor which is assumed to be statistically independent from the estimators. Due to its multiplicative form, the model can be estimated by econometric methods. This is made possible by log-linearising the equation and estimating the parameters by least squares procedures. However, recent studies questioned the log-linearization as several severe econometric issues rise with it (Santos Silva and Tenreyro, 2006).

Moreover, Anderson and van Wincoop (2003) showed that the traditional specification of the gravity model suffers from omitted variable bias. This is because the effect of relative prices is not taken into account. They proposed a country-specific fixed-effects specification of the GMIT. These effects absorb time-invariant factors which affect the patterns of trade and the model yields more consistent estimates. The major problem of the method of Anderson and van Wincoop (2003) is that zero trade events cannot be adequately modelled. Moreover, the log-linearisation of the model causes biases if heteroskedasticity is present. I will not follow Anderson and van Wincoop (2003) and will stick with the traditional gravity model. Thus, I augment the traditional gravity model and apply a superior estimation procedure.

2.2 Specification and Data

To reveal the characteristics of export trade in the countries under examination, I modified the traditional gravity model and analysed it with a panel approach. I assume that the traditional formulation needs some improvement. Thus, I included a parameter which reflects the Burenstam-Linder effect (Burenstam Linder, 1961). He supposed that 'the more similar the demand structures of two countries, the more intensive, potentially, is the trade between these two countries' (Burenstam Linder, 1961, p. 94). Various empirical studies confirmed that the effect is persistent and capable to explain North-North trade (see, for instance, McPherson et al., 2000). For this study, I follow the suggestions of Hallak (2010) and model the Burenstam-Linder effect as $(\ln X_{it} - \ln X_{jt})^2$. Moreover, to identify the effects of the Soviet heritage and post-Soviet regional integration, I introduced a dummy vector Z_{ijt} which includes these two measures. This leads to the following stochastic version of my augmented gravity model:

$$E\left(EXP_{ijt} \mid X_{it}, X_{jt}, D_{ij}, Linder_{ijt}, Z_{ijt}\right) = \alpha_0 X_{it}^{\alpha_1} X_{jt}^{\alpha_2} DW_{ij}^{\alpha_3} Linder_{ijt}^{\alpha_4} Z_{ijt}^{\alpha_5} \eta_{ij} \quad (2)$$

where Ukraine is represented by i while j stands for its trading partners and t is the time period ($t = 1996, 1997, \dots, 2010$). EXP_{ijt} denotes Ukraine's merchandise exports to each country j and is measured in current US\$. The data are from the Comtrade Database and based on the SITC Rev. 3 classification (United Nations, 2012). Notably, trade data for the period prior to 1996 are not available because the country was not reporting such data to the United Nations. EXP_{ijt} is a positive defined parameter as a negative sign would reflect an import situation. I will analyze two different cases. **Model A** will include zero trade events, while I dropped all such events from **Model B**.

The GDP of the trading partner, Y_{jt} , reflects the potential demand of foreign and Y_{it} the production possibility of home. Both variables are measured in current US\$ and I expect the signs to be positive. To derive data for each variable, I used the WDI databank (World Bank, 2012).

The endogenous distance measure, D_{ij} , is derived from the database of the *Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales* (CEPII) and measured in kilometres (Mayer and Zignago, 2011). I follow the critique of Mayer and Zignago (2011) and assume that distance is better reflected by a measure of a multi-core infrastructure. I anticipate the effect to be negative. This is because, with larger distance between trading partners, the costs to trade increase significantly.

To calculate the variable for the Burenstam-Linder effect, I derive the data for the income per capita from the WDI databank (World Bank, 2012). I expect the sign of the estimator to be negative. This would confirm Burenstam-Linder's hypothesis and reflect my assumption that export trade follows also demand-oriented growth.

The parameter Z_{ijt} includes two dummy variables for the Soviet heritage and post-Soviet regional integration. RTA_{ijt} is equal to one if the partner j has a regional trade agreement (RTA) with Ukraine, otherwise zero. The dummy variable is added to the model to see whether the membership to an RTA has a positive impact on Ukrainian merchandise export flows. RTAs are mainly constructed from the

Regional Trade Agreements Information System (RTA-IS) (WTO, 2012). The variable includes bilateral and multilateral agreements. COM_{ij} accounts for a former membership in the COMECON. It equals one if both countries were members of the COMECON and zero if that is not the case. The variable represents the impact of traditional and continuing trade relations. As the Soviet Union and its partner were highly integrated economically, the sign of this variable is expected to be positive.

2.3 Econometric Model and Estimation Procedure

One can argue that – due to the panel structure of the GMIT – a fixed effects model (FEM) or a random effects model (REM) outperform the ordinary least squares (OLS) estimates because country-specific and time-specific effects are appropriately taken into consideration. Most scholars also agree that the FEM is superior to the REM. This is because it is likely that country-specific effects and the error term are correlated, which makes the REM yield biased estimation results. Moreover, statistical test like the Hausman test mostly ends in favour of the FEM. In contrast to the REM, the FEM is not able to consider time-invariant effect, which makes it difficult to apply in the context of this study. This makes it necessary to use a different estimation procedure.

In their recent paper, Santos Silva and Tenreyro (2006) raised further concerns about biases of the traditional econometric approach. They identified three problems of the log-linearised gravity model which normally result in severely biased results. Above all, the log-model is based on the assumption that the error terms do not exhibit heteroskedasticity. Also the log-linearisation creates biases as the transformation has an effect on the nature of the estimation procedure. Lastly and most severe, the log model cannot deal with zero trade flows. Most scholars cope with the problem by dropping zero trade flows or modifying the dependent variable. Notably, this modifications lack any theoretical justification.

To avoid these problems, Santos Silva and Tenreyro (2006) proposed using levels instead of lags for the dependent variable. They suggest applying the Poisson pseudo-maximum-likelihood (PPML) estimation procedure. Among others, Siliverstovs and Schumacher (2009) confirm that PPML outperforms traditional estimation procedures. According to Santos Silva and Tenreyro (2006) and based on **Equation 2**, I developed an augmented gravity model and specified it as follows:

$$EXP_{ijt} = \ln \alpha_0 + \ln X_{it}^{\alpha_1} + \ln X_{jt}^{\alpha_2} + \ln DW_{ij}^{\alpha_3} + Linder_{ijt}^{\alpha_4} + RTA_{ijt}^{\alpha_5} + COM_{ij}^{\alpha_6} + \eta_{ijt} \quad (3)$$

This relation is estimated by the Poisson pseudo-maximum-likelihood (PPML) estimator. The form of **Equation 3** makes clear that the data does not have to be Poisson or integer to receive consistent estimators. Particularly in the presence of heteroskedasticity, the Poisson regression estimates are more efficient and consistent than the least squares regression estimates. Moreover, the PPML method provides a natural way to cope with zero trade. To obtain a robust variance estimate that adjusts for within-cluster correlation, I clustered the data by the partner country. This allows for a heteroskedasticity-robust variance estimator (Williams, 2000).

Furthermore, to check for the adequacy of the estimated model, I perform a heteroskedasticity-robust version of the Ramsey Regression Equation Specification Error (RESET) test (Ramsey, 1969). It tests for the correct specification of the conditional expectation. If the RESET test *p*-value is insignificant, the test

provides no evidence of misspecification. Moreover, I performed the LINK test to detect model specification errors. The idea behind this test is that if the model is properly specified, then it should not be possible to find any additional independent variable that is significant. The test constructs two new variables, a variable of the prediction (\hat{y}) and a variable of the square prediction (\hat{y}^2). The model is then refitted using these new variables as predictors. The former should be significant since it is the predicted value and the squared predictions should not have much explanatory power if the model is correctly specified. Lastly, I conducted the variance inflation factor (VIF) test to test for multicollinearity of the independent variables. According to a common rule of thumb, multicollinearity is high and the variable has to be excluded from the analysis if the VIF-index is larger than five.

3. Results and Discussion

The model is estimated for the period 1996-2010 and I used two different specifications. While **Model A** includes zero trade events ($N = 2,793$), **Model B** only comprises trade events above zero ($N = 2,258$). For both models, the number of actual entries is substantially lower than the number of potential entries ($N = 3,046$). This is because of lags in the WDI databank. Notably, the estimation comprises 98.5 percent of all countries and on average 99.7 percent of all export trade of Ukraine. Most entries are missing for countries with zero trade and I was able to include on average 78.6 percent of zero trade events. The collected data was inserted into processing software, and then the models were estimated by PPML. **Table 3** presents a summary report for the estimation results of **Model A** and **Model B**. The table consists of the estimated coefficients, the robust standard errors and the significant levels. All standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and each model explains more than 92 percent of variance. Moreover, all the estimated parameters are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). The estimates of the zero-trade model are almost equal to the estimates of **Model B**.

TABLE 3

PPML Estimation Results for Ukraine's Merchandise Export Trade in the Period 1996-2010

Variable	PPML	
	Model A (EXP_{ijt})	Model B ($EXP_{ijt} > 0$)
X_{it}	0.228*** (0.061)	0.235*** (0.058)
X_{jt}	0.727*** (0.030)	0.710*** (0.029)
D_{ij}	-0.815*** (0.102)	-0.785*** (0.101)
$Linder_{ijt}$	-0.107*** (0.022)	-0.106*** (0.022)
RTA_{ijt}	0.926*** (0.158)	0.936*** (0.154)
COM_{ij}	0.557** (0.177)	0.569*** (0.175)
Observations	2,793	2,258
R-squared	0.92	0.92

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note. Author's Estimations, Regression is Based on the Developed Panel Dataset.

The signs of all explanatory variables clearly depict the real situation. The production ability in home and the demand abroad positively affect the country's merchandise export trade. Moreover, the two dummy variables for the Soviet Heritage and post-Soviet economic integration have also a positive impact on trade. On the other hand, the weighted distance and the Burenstam-Linder effect have the expected negative signs. This confirms my hypotheses about the patterns of the parameters.

Table 4 presents the results of the conducted statistical tests. The RESET test confirms that the conditional expectation is correctly specified. Both p -values indicate that PPML outperforms other estimation procedures and is the right procedure for this estimation. Also the LINK test ends in favour of the specified model. The variable of the prediction is highly significant, while the variable of the square prediction is insignificant. This indicates that the model is properly specified. Moreover, the VIF-test confirmed that multicollinearity is not a problem as the value for all independent variables is below 5 (see **Appendix A**).

TABLE 4
Statistical Tests for the PPML Estimation

Test	Model A (EXP_{ijt})	Model B ($EXP_{ijt} > 0$)
RESET Test		
<i>p</i> -Values	0.76	0.38
LINK Test		
<i>Hat</i>	1.051*** (0.192)	0.845*** (0.202)
<i>Hatsq</i>	-0.001 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)
<i>Constant</i>	-0.518 (1.887)	1.568 (2.004)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note. Author's Calculation, Analysis is Based on the Results of the PPML Estimation.

The productivity effect of the home market, X_{it} , is rather small, implying that a 10 percent increase in Ukraine's GDPs will raise exports by 2.3 percent. Traditional gravity estimations indicated the effect to be around 10 percent or higher, while PPML estimations showed that the effect is much lower (Hoekman and Nicita, 2011). This shows that the domestic growth in GDP is not increasing the production ability as strongly as in other countries and thus the effect on merchandise exports is significantly smaller.

On the other hand, the growth in the demand abroad has a considerable effect on the direction and magnitude of Ukraine's export trade. My findings are confirmed by other studies which found the estimator to be roughly 0.7 (see, among others, Santos Silva and Tenreyro, 2006). This shows that – due to the reduced growth in the EU27 – the direction of Ukraine's exports will shift more and more to the emerging markets of Asia and Africa.

The estimated coefficient of D_{ij} indicates the weighted distance effect of the economies. A 10 percent increase in the distance will decrease export trade by 7.6-8.2 percent. The value of the estimator is not located within the usual negative range (Overman et al., 2003). However, Head and Mayer (2010) showed that the traditional distance measure analyzed by Overman et al. (2003) is biased. This claim is backed by Santos Silva and Tenreyro (2006) who found out that the distance effect is -7.8 percent.

Moreover, the estimate of the Burenstam-Linder effect shows that Ukraine's exports are also determined by the demand structures abroad. According to Burenstam-Linder's hypothesis, trade is decreasing with diminishing similarity of the countries' demand structures. The effect is more

pronounced than in Hallak (2010) who conducted a multi-sector analysis of the Linder effect and found that the median effect is -0.071 or -0.043. This indicates a higher importance of similar preferences for the Ukrainian economy.

The results confirm my hypothesis that exports are larger to countries which have an RTA with Ukraine. An RTA with the partner increases Ukraine's export trade by 152.4 - 154.3 percent. My results find not only confirmation in the economic theory, but are also verified by the work of Cipollina and Salvatici (2010). Their meta-analysis of 75 published papers with 1,460 estimates indicates that the average effect of a RTA is positive, with a mean coefficient of 0.61 and a median of 0.41. Notably, their conclusion is bound to FEM estimates (10 percent more trade) and REM estimates (72 percent), largely ignoring PPML estimates. Thus, my findings contradict traditional estimation and indicate that RTAs have a more severe effect than prior estimated. I assume that the difference in results can be explained by the fact that Ukraine is lagging behind in trade liberalisation and only recently entered the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Nannicini and Billmeier, 2011).

Traditional trade relation and the aftermath of the economic integration within the scope of COMECON still play a considerable role for the Ukrainian economy. My findings indicate that such trade is 74.5-77.6 percent higher than with other countries. This confirms the findings of Steinbach and Rybak (2012) and underpins them with empirical evidence. Not only was the economic integration a huge burden in the aftermath of the Soviet breakup, but rather trade with those countries has more potential for Ukraine than trade with other countries. This indicates the role of similar preferences and demand structures.

I solved **Model B** in order to determine export trade potentials. For the period 1996-2010, the predicted trade is compared with the actual trade. Among the top 5 percent of trading partners with developable trade relations are almost exclusively African and Central American countries. This indicates that the Ukrainian exporters do not focus enough on these regions and miss out on the chance to benefit from trade with these countries. Moreover, my findings prove that trade with Middle East and North Africa (MENA) countries entails huge potentials, which need to be more exploited.

Conclusion

This study aimed at revealing the characteristics of Ukraine export trade patterns in the period 1996-2010. I also intended to quantify the role of the Soviet heritage and post-Soviet regional integration on trade. A modified gravity model was developed and I estimated two models with rigorous econometric methods, using the PPML estimator and confirming the adequacy and correct specification of the model with the help of statistical tests. While **Model A** included zero trade events, I excluded such events from **Model B**. Both models have a high explanatory power ($R^2 > 0.92$) and all estimators are highly significant. The results confirm the role of traditional variables of gravity estimations and indicate that trade is also driven by similar preferences and demand structures.

My findings clearly expose the role of traditional economic relations. Ukraine's exports to COMECON countries are more than 74 percent larger than to other countries. This confirmed my hypothesis and shows that Ukraine has enormous potential in trade with these states. Notably, the effect of the post-

Soviet regional integration is more pronounced, leading to 152 percent more trade. This indicates the role of integration policies, which result in a harmonisation of product standards and trade schemes. An extension of the free access to foreign market would have huge implications for Ukraine's exporters, demonstrating a demand for further economic integration policies. Thus, my empirical findings carry some important policy implications for Ukraine. For instance, Kiev should enhance trade integration with its neighbours, not only focusing on the EU and the Russian Federation but also considering its Black Sea neighbours. Especially trade with Turkey and the Caucasus countries showed a strong growth performance in recent years. This would help to decrease Ukraine's vulnerability, caused by the struggling EU or market shocks in Russia. Thus, trade policies which ease the access to these markets would allow Ukraine's exporters to profit even more from regional trade. But not only Ukraine would profit from such policies. Also the EU would be well-advised to support the economic integration between the Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries. This is because the political and economic future of the EU is also dependent on the stability and welfare in the neighbouring countries. The partners reflect the EU's future markets and also provide the EU with a lot of necessary resources, being it oil or agricultural raw materials.

The author knows about the limitations of his research and would like to propose several aspects which need further investigation. Firstly, I assume that a more disaggregated analysis would give a better understanding of sub-sector specific characteristics and allow for sector-specific conclusions. Secondly, it would be interesting to compare the role of the Soviet heritage and post-Soviet integration in different transition countries. Thirdly, a closer look at the erosion of traditional trade relations and the role of regional integration policies in this period would allow getting a better understanding of their relation and would provide the chance to give more concrete policy recommendations.

* * *

APPENDIX A

VIF-Test for Multicollinearity of Independent Variables

Variable	Model A (EXP_{ijt})	Model B ($EXP_{ijt} > 0$)
X_{it}	1.07 (0.06)	1.06 (0.05)
X_{jt}	1.26 (0.20)	1.23 (0.19)
D_{ij}	1.68 (0.41)	1.60 (0.38)
$Linder_{ijt}$	1.34 (0.26)	1.38 (0.28)
RTA_{ijt}	1.65 (0.39)	1.62 (0.38)
COM_{ij}	2.02 (0.50)	2.07 (0.52)
Mean-VIF	1.50	1.49

Note. Author's Calculations, Analysis is Based on the Developed Panel Dataset, R-squared Values in Parenthesis

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- ✚ **Williams, R. L.**, "A Note on Robust Variance Estimation for Cluster-Correlated Data," *Biometrics*, 56, 2: 645–646, 2000.
- ✚ **World Bank**, *World Development Indicators Database*. Washington DC: World Bank, Available at «<http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do>», 2012.
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LITERATURE & ARTS

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Figures méthodologiques dans la Réalisation de la Koiné Eurasiatique Médiévale

Liminaire

Que comprenons-nous par Figure?

"...I say that words such as 'Orient' and 'Occident' correspond to no stable reality that exists as a natural fact."

E.W. Said, *Orientalism*, page 331

Une Figure éclot lorsque notre imagination créatrice, c'est-à-dire l'imagination renforcée et appuyée par la raison, engendre une forme pour faire voir un processus ou un mouvement.

Inventer¹ une Figure dépend du croisement du monde extérieur et de notre monde intérieur, un croisement du hasard, mais le chercheur est parfaitement conscient des enjeux du hasard; le hasard se traduit en Rencontre, certes subie, mais aussitôt accueillie parce que pressentie par un Acte volontaire.² Dans cette Rencontre, le chercheur se laisse toucher par l'impact de l'extérieur ou le Dehors, mesure l'épaisseur de l'expérience éprouvée, puis peu à peu l'intègre et l'assimile à travers la grille de son imagination créatrice afin de créer une Figure.

La Figure éprouvée ne *représente* nullement la Rencontre, ou plus précisément, elle n'est pas représentative de la Rencontre; la Figure *se présente* devant le chercheur, forme forgée par les circonstances du croisement, parce qu'elle est unique, non unique en soi, cas dans lequel la Rencontre se réduirait à un pur fantasme qui consomme plus qu'elle ne produit, mais unique en raison des circonstances hasardeuses, hardies de la Rencontre, le croisement subi, pressenti entre le monde extérieur et celui intérieur du chercheur.

La Figure qui se présente dans l'esprit du chercheur doit être traduite dans une langue communicable, d'où le recours aux images 'parlantes', aux 'figures de style'! Ainsi la langue, à son tour, ne représente-t-elle nullement la Figure du chercheur, cas dans lequel le chercheur y aurait projeté son 'autorité', sa 'qualité de chercheur assermenté', son 'discours'. La langue qui traduit la Figure doit, au contraire, présenter la forme forgée telle qu'elle était éprouvée et visualisée par le chercheur. Une Figure unique de

1 Dans son sens de 'imaginer'.

2 En d'autres termes, la passivité essentielle de tout homme se transforme en un élan agissant.

par les circonstances singulières du croisement ou de la Rencontre, néanmoins, universelle de par l'expression langagière des fruits de cette même Rencontre.

Or, nous verrons qu'une Figure qui se *présente* requiert un effort du chercheur de sortir de lui-même et de pénétrer le territoire de l'Autre, alors qu'une Figure qui *représente* repose sur un scientisme de réflexes prescrits, d'habitudes mécaniques,³ sur une érudition discursive de clichés retouchés, de rhétorique réactualisée..!

Durant notre trentaine d'années de voyage et de recherche en Eurasie, les Figures que nous allons exposer et explorer dans cet article agissent comme *guides* parce qu'à la fois uniques et universelles. Figures qui nous ont conduit sur le chemin de la construction de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale, sur le sol de la genèse et transformation des épopées médiévales qui ont bâti notre koiné, qui ont tracé et borné notre *Voyage de Pénétration*...

Avant d'entrer dans ce voyage avec comme *guides* l'Etre exposé, les Portes Parallèles, la Pensée Périphérique et la Philologie du Futur, nos quatre Figures majeures, piliers de la koiné, et l'Entonnoir, l'Hermaphrodisme, l'Orature, l'Alchimie Médiévale, la Mouvance et la Félure, nos six Figures mineures, bâtie de la koiné, revisitons la fondation de notre Projet: l'Eurasie elle-même...

La Fondation: Au-delà de l'Occident et de l'Orient

Tout d'abord, rendons hommage à celui qui a préparé le terrain pour une véritable identité eurasiatique, Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy.⁴ Préparation courageuse eu égard à l'hégémonie militaire et économique de l'Occident sur l'Orient. La machine coloniale façonna une représentation 'orientale' qui produisit des images des peuples considérés sans aucune nuance, comme une multitude indifférenciée; des peuples arriérés, dégénérés, réduits à une masse de statistiques! Il suffit de lire E.W. Said⁵ pour se rendre compte du degré de cette représentation, et pour admirer l'audace et l'urgence des travaux et des messages de Coomaraswamy.⁶

Pour imposer sa thèse: remarquables similitudes dogmatiques des livres sacrés et des objets d'art entre l'Asie et l'Europe au Moyen Age, A. Coomaraswamy avance que ces concordances remontent à des motivations religieuses communes à la fois fonctionnelles et esthétiques qui habitent le tréfonds de l'Homme. Il s'agirait donc, d'une strate psychologique similaire qui fit émerger des concepts et formes étonnamment identiques, lesquels gèrent la vie quotidienne des peuples qui s'abreuvent à la même Source: un Créateur ou une Crédence. Les expressions artistico-liturgiques de ce Créateur ou de cette

3 Habitudes qui souvent réduisent toute recherche à des concepts aporétiques des habitudes, imposées par un geste de pouvoir sur l'Autre, et non par un geste pour connaître l'Autre.

4 Né à Colombo, Sri Lanka en 1877 et mort aux Etats-Unis en 1947.

5 Said Edward W.: *Orientalism* (London, 2003).

6 Les œuvres d'A. Coomaraswamy se comptent par des centaines. Nous suggérons les éditions de Roger Lipsey: Vol. I *His Life and Work*, Vol. II *Traditional Art and Symbolism*, Vol. III, *Metaphysics* (Princeton: Bollingen Series, 1977) et *The Danse of Shiva* (New Delhi: Munshiram Monoharail Publishers, 1918), *Time and Eternity* (New Delhi: Munshiram Monoharial Publishers) *Hindousime et Bouddhisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1949).

Création, profondément, se rejoignent, tout en révélant, évidemment, de vastes différences quant aux techniques et matériaux utilisés. Les affinités dogmatiques se lisent dans la *Torah*, les *Evangiles*, le *Coran*, les *Vedas*, les *Upanishads*, la *Tipitaka* (la Triple Corbeille), le *Livre des Mutations* ou les *Analectes* de Confucius, mais aussi dans les traités des mystiques soufis et chrétiens, des sages hindous et bouddhistes. Ces similitudes iconographiques se gaugent dans la peinture murale, les miniatures, les rouleaux ou les manuscrits, tandis que les formes analogiques se contemplent dans les temples, églises, mosqués et synagogues. Voilà la fondation de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale. En effet, lorsque nous lisons A. Coomaraswamy, toute séparation entre Occident et Orient apparaît artificielle, fabriquée...elle se dissout devant cette quête sérieuse parce que passionnante...C'est la recherche de A. Coomaraswamy qui met au jour la réalité de l'Eurasie s'enracinant dans le Moyen Age, sol fertile de croissances croisées et parallèles.⁷

Cette formidable fertilité médiévale meurt sous la logique implacable de la colonisation britannique et française à partir du XVIII^e siècle! Une agonie lente, imputable à la maîtrise de la multitude intégrale, découpée en autant de fragments isolés, monolithes sans visage ni personnalité, juxtaposés les uns aux autres pour mieux administrer, accomoder le commerce, favoriser la gestion occidentale de l'Orient. Concomitamment, l'Occident devient; lui aussi, une entité de masse, dépourvu d'humanité, pourtant plein de bonnes intentions, dénué de sympathie, toutefois empressé d'impartir aux primitifs son savoir colossal! Voilà la naissance de l'Orient et par réaction de l'Occident: Dès lors, le savoir sur l'Autre s'initie, s'accumule et s'achemine vers une représentation, ou mieux, une mise en scène gigantesque d'une masse de *peuples-figurants* appelée orientaux, sur un bloc de *terre-scène* appelé l'Orient!

En dépit de la fin du colonialisme, et après tant de livres pour le dénoncer, cette représentation dichotomique persiste non seulement dans l'imaginaire populaire, mais encore dans les hautes sphères du savoir, qu'elles soient universitaires ou gouvernementales. Cette dichotomie ne fut jamais vraiment mise en cause! En période de crise, le discours 'oriental' réapparaît et sert aux démagogues (hommes politiques qui gèrent les médias) en vue de renforcer la représentation défigurée, pervertie, haineuse de cet Autre-Oriental, de sa mauvaise foi, et par conséquent, convaincre les Occidentaux de leur bonne foi. Les 'Orientaux' à leur tour, projettent sur l'Occident ces images négatives, engendrant ainsi un cercle vicieux ou une image en miroir; l'un et l'autre se voient comme des blocs monolithes, statiques, immuables...insensibles au toucher! Or, la réalité est tout autre; prenons un exemple: dire que l'Hindouisme s'avère une religion polythéiste, donc païenne, opinion qui traverse maints pays musulmans et chrétiens, s'appuie non seulement sur une ignorance théologique des *Vedas*, mais pire encore, sur une volonté politique de regrouper le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islam sous la bannière de 'vraies' religions.⁸ De même, accuser le Zoroastrisme de dualité, et donc du paganisme, revient à ignorer sa théologie, également monothéiste, comme une seule source lumineuse décroissant progressivement, décrit très clairement par Ibn Sina (Avicennes) et Soharwardi. Sans parler du dénigrement de son prophète, Zoroastre, sans doute, le premier messager du monothéisme!⁹ Pourquoi

7 Ecoutez Henri Focillon: "Dans la préparation de ce que nous appelons le moyen âge, l'Occident collabore avec l'Orient. Dans le cours de l'histoire, il y a des périodes où les hommes pensent en même temps les mêmes formes." *Vie des Formes* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1947), 87.

8 Sur le monothéisme des Hindous lire A. Coomaraswamy, 'Vedic Monotheism' *Metaphysics* (Princeton, 1977), 166-176.

9 Voir les travaux de Paul de Breuil, notamment *Zarathustra et la transfiguration du monde* (Paris: Payot, 1978).

ne travaille-on pas plus assidûment sur les motifs narratifs étonnamment similaires entre les récits théologiques des saints sivaïtes de la *Periyapuram* et ceux des Soufis perses, notamment de Soharwardi¹⁰, ou bien sûr les similitudes entre les enfers taoistes, bouddhistes et ceux dépeints par Jérôme Bosch et narrés par Dante,¹¹ ou encore sur les concepts analogues dans la fabrication de la tapisserie de Bayeux et la frise des saints de la *Periyapuram* sur le temple d'Airavatesvara à Kumbakonam dans le Tamil Nadu.¹²

En effet, il suffit de lire Cooramaswamy pour saisir l'unité radicale des religions en Eurasie et le symbolisme qu'elles ont projeté dans les sociétés, et comment il fit disparaître la notion même de deux réalités séparées, irréconciliables occidentale et orientale pour forger une réalité unique que nous appellons l'Eurasie. Cette fusion lui revient, c'est sa gloire en tant que chercheur appartenant à l'Eurasie: de père tamoul et de mère anglaise!

La volonté de cliver et de diviser pour mieux régner reste à l'ordre du jour, malgré cette fondation solide, posée par Coomaraswamy. S'agit-il de la peur de l'Autre? Une peur édifiée et fortifiée par une représentation de l'Autre depuis des siècles, et présentée en boucle sur les écrans, dans les journaux, voire dans les livres 'sérieux', ou bien s'agit-il du mépris envers l'Oriental pour son manque de raisonnement, de scientificité, d'objectivité? Quant à nous, notre Projet s'est bâti non sur un soi-disant 'déséquilibre' scientifique, politique, psychologique ou raciste,¹³ où la subjectivité souveraine orientale empêche la mise à distance requise pour se voir comme objet de savoir, mais il s'est érigé sur cette fondation inébranlable, justement, pour continuer à construire les piliers et la bâtie par le biais des épopées médiévales de l'Eurasie. Mais comment alors briser cette représentation duelle, étant donné que nous aussi, nous sommes né en 'Occident', et donc exposé quotidiennement à tant d'images et d'analyses immémoriales? Voici la réponse: Pour aller au-delà de l'Occident et de l'Orient, il fallait établir une présence réelle, à savoir un investissement subjectif dans la mise en contact avec l'Autre afin de le connaître pour ce qu'il est, et non pour ce que nous voulions qu'il soit! C'est donc un contact ontologique par la voie de la coexistence...

Cette présence existentielle devant l'Autre transcende dans le travail quotidien de l'étude de l'épopée en question, car la transcendance traduit la volonté de se dépasser soi-même pour atteindre une vérité en dehors de soi. Cette vérité, ou mieux encore, cette quête de sens trame une **identité narrative**, identité qui inclut l'Autre, présent dans notre étude narrative d'une épopée médiévale. Cette transcendance n'est point une 'machine à temps': il s'agit de la faculté de pouvoir se dépasser pour atteindre un sens au-delà de soi-même. Nous ne disons pas qu'il existe une vérité ensevelie dans une épopée médiévale, ni que

10 Voir notre 'Le chevalier de l'Esprit' *Liber Mirabilis* N° 50, (Carcassonne: 2008), 5-60. Lire aussi les récits théologiques d'Ibn Sina (Avicennes) et d'Ibn Tofayl.

11 Dans notre 'Les Enfers iconographiques: le Pandémonium' *Ji Bu: l'épopée chinoise aux heures médiévales* (Castres: Voies Itinérantes, 2003), 267-284.

12 Dans notre 'The Hero: A Study of Expression and Movement' *Periyapuranam, l'Eternel Moyen Age* (Auroville: Voies Itinérantes, 1995), 406-425.

13 Voici les propos de Jules Ferry, éducateur français et initiateur de l'école obligatoire en France: "Les races supérieures ont un droit vis-à-vis des races inférieures. [...] Elles ont le devoir de civiliser les races inférieures." *Discours et Opinions* (Paris: A. Colin et Cie, Vol. I, 1889) 210-211.

nous expérimontons le passé dans le présent pour le recréer,¹⁴ ni que nous pratiquons l'intropathie, cette projection sympathique pour nos héros épiques; nous disons qu'il existe un sens entre nous et l'Autre qui transcende le Présent pour arriver aux valeurs d'une épopée médiévale, lesquelles valeurs, parce qu'elles projettent le Passé dans le Présent par une opération d'appropriation inconsciente mythique ou consciente artistico-politique, ont créé la réalité de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale!¹⁵ Une réalité qui dépasse une seule famille de langues: la koiné est composée de langues indo-européennes, sino-tibétaines, ouralo-altaïques, dravidiennes! Une réalité à travers laquelle l'Autre apparaît comme essentiellement identique, c'est-à-dire sans différence radicale. Certes, les civilisations et leurs cultures de rites et de coutumes, bref, leurs histoires s'avèrent inéluctablement distinctes sur la face de l'Eurasie, cependant, ces civilisations sont essentiellement et radicalement analogues dans leurs strates les plus profondes; l'importance de la famille, l'amour de la vie, et par conséquent, l'appréhension de la mort; le souci d'éducation, de travail, de maladie; la quête, consciente ou inconsciente, de rejoindre le Créateur ou de participer à la Crédence. En somme, l'être sensible dont la raison aide à comprendre, puis à surmonter les difficultés de la vie. Ce qui diffère dans cette quête vitale sont les myriades de chemins pour y parvenir...

Voilà donc comment l'identité narrative trace une méthode, une quête de sens, en l'occurrence, la koiné eurasiatique médiévale, dont nos Figures nous ont servis de guides avertis. Nous sommes convaincu que c'est au Moyen Age que l'esprit du multiple intégral régnait, et que cet esprit foncier fondait, en forme et en image, une koiné; c'est-à-dire, un langage commun qui dépassait les singularités des cultures et de leurs représentations hiératiques. Car foncièrement toute expérience humaine, ontologique, est une! Cette expérience, en revanche, s'existe une fois qu'elle s'exprime, selon une topographie, un climat, une vision du monde contigu, un chemin *vers...*

Voici donc la portée de ces Figures-guides qui ont facilité le tracé de notre identité narrative à travers la mappemonde de l'Eurasie, médiévale et moderne...¹⁶

14 Ce qui en allemand s'appelle 'einfühlen'.

15 Ce qui nous a attiré plus précisément dans les épopées médiévales est leur pouvoir de poser des questions au monde médiéval (ou monde moderne!) sans pour autant jamais y répondre...

16 Nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi A. Coomaraswamy est si peu lu aujourd'hui dans les cercles académiques. Nous voyons deux raisons principales: d'abord, sa conception d'unité repose sur une unité religieuse, hiératique, sujet fâcheux, rétrograde, voire tabou dans les études scientifiques universitaires ou politiques en Occident. La seconde raison, cependant, nous paraît plus pertinente: le consensus de s'éloigner moralement, politiquement et surtout historiquement de 'cette partie du monde', d'isoler l'Orient pour mieux conserver le 'nôtre', fait que Coomaraswamy gêne plutôt qu'enseigne, ou à la limite, se lit d'une manière triviale. Il passe pour un amateur ou un dilettante. Par ailleurs, son rapport épistolaire avec René Guénon le disqualifie en France comme chercheur 'sérieux'...

Première Partie

Figures majeures: les quatre Piliers

L'Etre exposé

"Une convergence n'est vraiment intéressante qu'à partir d'une divergence"

Henri Gouhier

Pensée médiévale chez Auguste Comte

L'**Etre exposé** se définit comme Figure de par sa 'disponibilité', sa latitude ou faculté de pouvoir absorber, intégrer et assimiler les circonstances du monde extérieur, puis les traduire dans sa langue de communication. Elle est le *guide* principal sur le chemin de notre construction de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale. L'être, ontologiquement objectif, se subjectivise en s'exposant aux circonstances fortuites de l'Autre: l'homme devient un sujet par cette Rencontre en éprouvant la subjectivité de l'Autre, en compatissant avec lui. Il voit l'Autre, entend les sons de sa langue, regarde les formes de son écriture, touche sa terre et inspire son air!

Etre exposé aux quatre vents et aux mille soleils, c'est faire sortir l'être de son carcan d'habitude, de son assujettissement routinier pour entendre l'Autre dans 'ses' circonstances. Comment 'imaginer' alors cette Figure concrètement? Comment traduire la Rencontre ou le croisement en termes linguistiques, et ainsi l'objectiviser? Pour nous, c'est le Philologue-Voyageur qui incarne cette Figure. Celui qui voyage tant par l'Eurasie que par les strates profondes de son être. Celui qui s'expose aux mille heurts et affects sonores, visuels, auditifs et tactiles, provoquant l'irruption et le débordement de son être vers le Dehors, vers cet Autre.¹⁷ S'exposer pose un énorme risque au Philologue-Voyageur: le sentiment d'insécurité, l'être envahi et colonisé, le dérolement de son cher moi. Cependant, ces sentiments réels, de traverses passagères, se transformeront en une prise de position respectueuse aussitôt que le Philologue-Voyageur acceptera l'Autre pour ce qu'il est, et donc entrera en partage avec lui. L'aboutissement de la Figure de l'être exposé signifie l'accomplissement de l'être en communion avec l'Autre dans le but du partage, dans le respect mutuel.¹⁸

Une fois la Figure réalisée, le Philologue-Voyageur *se guide* dans la réalisation de son Projet, car il a 'pro-jeté' son être au-dehors, embrassant ainsi l'Autre, compagnon de route, vers la compréhension et la réalisation de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale, l'objet du Projet...

Les équipes se forment, élèves et professeurs, artistes et amateurs, car l'être exposé ne travaille jamais seul; il est appuyé par tant de personnes, tant de sympathie, tant d'enthousiasme. Et c'est cet Acte de communion, cette sympathie qui déclenche la transcendance, l'empathie avec l'épopée médiévale, non comme *retour* à une époque lointaine et mystérieuse, mais plutôt comme *reprise* de l'épopée dans le contexte actuel, *hinc et nunc!* Non encore comme mise en scène ou représentation, mais plutôt comme

17 La Figure du Philologue-Voyageur n'est qu'une incarnation de la Figure du barde-poète médiéval!

18 'Respect' ou 'acceptation mutuelle'. Nous n'employons jamais le rabâché 'tolérance', mot qui sous-entend exactement le contraire...

présence réelle et vraie parmi ceux qui ont l'produite, l'ont fait évoluer, qui la chantent, récitent, psalmodient encore et encore...

L'être exposé -le Philologue-Voyageur- s'avère le meilleur guide dans la construction de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale. En effet, sans cette disponibilité à toute Rencontre hasardeuse, cette latitude de guide qui concourt à discerner entre préjugé et réalité, entre sens et jugement, aucune Figure n'émergerait, aucun Acte de communion ne s'effectuerait, aucune étude, hormis livresque et descriptive, n'aboutirait, parce que l'être non-exposé ne s'accomplit pas sans la *présence* de l'Autre en lui...avec lui! L'être exposé est celui qui rejette le rôle assigné du démonstrateur pour être *présente* sur scène...

Les Portes Parallèles

L'émergence de cette Figure dont la forme parle par elle-même, nous a requis une certaine 'indifférence', mais dans son sens du XVIII^e siècle, regarder les circonstances en face sans tomber dans une sensiblerie pathétique ou un mépris cynique. Eprouver les circonstances sans crainte ni désir. L'indifférence pratiquée consciencieusement permet au Philologue-Voyageur de 'rester à l'écart' des retombées des circonstances, de rester à une distance mesurée pour pouvoir les absorber et les assimiler sans être affecté par les entraves des idées récues de la représentation. Les portes qui courent parallèlement aux portes de devant et de derrière ne représentent ni une entrée représentant ni une entrée représentée. Les portes parallèles se *présentent* comme alternatives aux portes de devant et de derrière. Nous nous expliquons:

Nous ne représentons pas une instance dirigeante, qu'elle soit académique, politique ou commerciale, cliente de la porte de devant. Nous ne représentons pas non plus les immigrés ou exilés, ces damnés de la terre, partis de chez eux pour survivre dans un pays où ils ont échoué, ni les bourlingeurs qui rôdent sur la planète en quête d'aventures existentielles ou autres; eux, les clients de la porte de derrière. Les portes parallèles ne représentent ni parenthèse sabbatique ni déplacement entreprenant ni mission diplomatique ou 'briefings' des intérêts sécuritaires: elles sont les portes de celui qui ne représente rien, hormis lui-même, mais qui, par cette auto-représentation, participe pleinement aux charges qui lui sont incombées. Charges diverses parce que liées aux circonstances de la Rencontre avec l'Autre dans la poursuite du Projet de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale. Nous y sommes entré par nos propres ressources avec pour but d'étendre la koiné avec le concours de l'Autre, sur son sol natal, avec son Texte patrimonial...

Par exemple, lorsque nous enseignons les langues étrangères, telle le français, cette langue enseignée n'est pas représentative d'un pays, qu'il soit la France, la Belgique ou la Suisse. Nous la présentons comme une langue française de la Francophonie. De même avec les langues anglaise ou espagnole, langues des sujets-parlants de ces langues et non d'un pays en particulier. Evidemment lorsque l'enseignement de la philologie nous incombe, le recours à l'histoire de ces langues nécessite des explications historiques et littéraires des pays où ces langues ont été cultivées; cependant, il n'existe aucune nation plus représentative d'une langue qu'une autre, plus hiérarchisée qu'une autre sur le parler

de ces langues. Nous ne croyons pas au mythe de la langue-nation!¹⁹ Or, s'il existe des langues officielles, il n'existe point de langues exclusivement territoriales! La langue russe est parlée à travers toute l'Asie centrale aussi bien qu'en Alaska!

Les Porte Parallèles tracent donc des ouvertures latérales par lesquelles nous nous sommes introduit par Choix. Ce Choix s'appuie sur une 'indifférence' aux fonctions honorifiques, représentatives de la porte de devant, ainsi qu'aux aléas légaux ou illégaux de la porte de derrière. Entre l'expatrié et le damné, entre l'envoyé et le marchand ambulant, il existe une autonomie existentielle qui ne représente que le chemin choisi à accomplir. C'est par ces portes-là que toute notre entrée dans des pays de la koiné, toute notre recherche sur elle, toute notre mise en contact avec l'Autre s'est effectuée. Libéré de toute contrainte représentative, nous pûmes agir librement selon notre gré: aucun espace ne nous était interdit...²⁰

Aucune contrainte non plus de Temps: nous restâmes tant que nous-même et nos employeurs étions satisfaits de notre collaboration. Ainsi la recherche sur la langue tamoule et chinoise, et leurs épopées respectives, laborieuse et longue, et par conséquent, nécessitant beaucoup de temps, fut-elle sans entrave grâce aux longues années pendant lesquelles nous séjournâmes dans le Tamil Nadu et en Chine.

Cette liberté ou autonomie de la *non-représentation* procure au Philologue-Voyageur le pur plaisir de *se présenter* devant l'Autre, tel qu'il est et non tel qu'il est censé représenter. En effet, nous *disposons* de nous-même! Et dans ce cas, nous sommes disponible réellement pour l'Autre. C'est en collaboration avec l'Autre que nous avons entamé le chemin du partage dans la construction de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale.

Par ailleurs, entrer par les Portes Parallèles permet au Philologue-Voyageur de côtoyer ou de fréquenter tant ceux qui accèdent par la porte de devant que ceux qui se glissent par la porte de derrière! Nous avons goûté autant la vie des heureux que celle des malheureux, celle des ambassades et cercles restreints que celle des marchés et des régions défavorisées en Inde, dans la Chine occidentale et surtout parmi les populations de l'Est de la Turquie. D'où notre thèse sur l'apport à la fois aristocrate et populaire lu dans une épopée médiévale. En effet, le barde-poète exécute ses compositions épiques tantôt chez les 'grands' du royaume dans leurs palais ou châteaux, tantôt chez les 'petits' sur les places de villages ou dans les basses cours. L'alliage savant-populaire se gauge dans l'expression 'orature', une expression littéraire issue de l'oralité, dont les techniques narratives telles la parataxe, le système itératif, les formules et leitmotsifs s'allient avec les thèmes des rois, des empereurs, des chevaliers. Forme et fond s'amalgament dans une unité foncière, celle de la réalité médiévale et de notre koiné eurasiatique.

Le barde-poète du Moyen Age réunit ces deux réalités sociologiques, de même que le Philologue-Voyageur, lorsqu'il s'introduit par les Portes Parallèles, réunit celles de devant et de derrière afin de poursuivre ses recherches et ses travaux. Les Portes Parallèles réunissent surtout la singularité de la démarche latérale du Philologue-Voyageur avec l'universalité du sentiment humain de 's'introduire' par une porte, quelle qu'elle soit...

19 Mythe très tenace, en France maints historiens considèrent que la naissance de la France commence par l'intronisation de Hughes Capet (987) parce que premier roi dont la langue maternelle était le français...

20 Recherche sur et autour du Lac de Van dans l'Est de la Turquie, à Horomotz sur la frontière turco-arménienne et à Al Bayrak, militarisé. Voyage en bateau sur le Mékong entre la Chine et la Laos, officiellement défendu...

La Pensée Périphérique

La Pensée Périphérique n'adhère pas aux centres fixes, établis, immuables; c'est une pensée de confins, du Dehors. Elle est la Figure de la contiguïté. Elle ne puise pas son énergie dans une source unique, dans aucune autorité centrale seule, dans une université 'pilote', cabale ou clique en vogue. Elle 'décentre' par une méthode de circumlocution, de circumambulation. Elle pratique la pénétration lente, circonscrite des forces centripète et centrifuge! Elle applique un mouvement de circonvolutions en s'approchant du sujet de l'étude (ou le sujet tout court), par à-coups, d'une manière circonspecte, sondant la profondeur aussi bien que la surface; le peuple parmi lequel nous vivons aussi bien que l'épopée médiévale à étudier...

La Pensée Périphérique s'articule sur trois points: l'absence d'un siège de pouvoir administratif, académique ou politique d'où irradie toute pensée sur un 'objet' ou 'sujet' d'étude. Nous n'avons jamais reconnu ni subi un siège de pouvoir central, à partir duquel notre savoir aurait découlé, nos Actes et paroles en émanent. Notre apprentissage de la langue arménienne, par exemple, était une expérience éprouvée par le biais de la langue turque (apprise à Istanbul) avec les Arméniens d'Istanbul. D'où l'idée de notre étude comparative sur les épopées *Dede Korkut Kitabi* et *David de Sassoun!* Notre apprendissage de chinois s'est passé en Chine dans une école à Beijing pour les Coréens, ainsi que la langue des Naxi, que nous avons apprise par l'intermédiaire des traductions et commentaires chinois. Dans ce premier point, la Pensée Périphérique agit comme une Figure qui 'décentre' et 'déplace' un mouvement unique, c'est un mouvement centripète et centrifuge autour *des centres*, tous unis dans une configuration rotatoire, mue par le Philologue-Voyageur sur le chemin de son Projet. Dans le même sens, relire et réinterpréter la *Chanson de Roland* par le prisme d'une lecture de *Ji Bu Ma Zhen* (*Ji Bu Insultant l'ENNEMI*), offre au Philologue-Voyageur un regard neuf sur l'épopée française par le décentrement de la 'francité' du Texte vers les périphéries 'chinoises'. Il en est de même avec la comparaison de *Dede Korkut Kitabi* et *David de Sassoun*, tous deux rapprochés, puis comparés à leur tour aux épopées 'européennes'. Ainsi, le *Récit d'Igor* est-il comparé au *Dede Korkut Kitabi* aussi bien qu'à *Digenis Akritas*, et concomitamment *Digenis Akritas*, *Dede Korkut Kitabi* et *David de Sassoun* se sont rassemblés dans une sous-koiné anatolienne non seulement parce que nés sur ce sol fertile, mais aussi pour des raisons pédagogiques qui seront exposées plus loin dans notre article. Autant de centres en rotation, de mouvements transversaux, centripètes et centrifuges, lesquels placent le Philologue-Voyageur tantôt dans son Texte tantôt sur le sol d'où est issu son Texte. Un sol mouvant et versatile parce que remué par le Présent; c'est-à-dire par les circonstances de la Rencontre avec l'Autre. Or, selon nous, il est bien plus intéressant de savoir ce que signifie une épopée médiévale pour ceux qui l'ont hérité culturellement, sinon ontologiquement, que pour ceux qui la scrutent comme un simple document, objet d'étude, archive à classer.

Le deuxième point qui forme la Pensée Périphérique est notre approche d'un Texte. Nous abordons une épopée médiévale par les circonstances du Présent qui l'entourent. La forme de nos livres en témoigne! Prenons notre *Ji Bu: l'Epopée chinoise aux heures médiévales*.²¹ L'arrivée au 'centre' du livre, où l'épopée sur *Ji Bu* est traduite en français et en anglais, s'avère lente, circonspecte: tant de rubriques qui relatent la Voie Royale (une autre Figure que nous développons dans la conclusion de cet article), des

21 (Castres: Voix Itinérantes), 2003.

Echos et Traces, de la Figure du Huit, du Jardin Chinois et la Découverte des Manuscrits de Ji Bu Ma Zhen et de la Chanson de Roland. En effet, pénétrer notre livre sur Ji Bu signifie voyager de la périphérie vers le centre, puis une fois les rubriques sur l'épopée 'proprement dite' terminées, le lecteur repart vers la périphérie, là où il découvre la comparaison des langues chinoise, tamoule, turque, une rubrique sur l'iconographie des enfers taoïste et bouddhiste, comment une épopée se construit et un Final! La construction de notre livre 'visualise', 'substantialise' notre Figure de la Pensée Périphérique, si bien qu'un mouvement centripète, puis centrifuge se dessinent, mais à travers lesquels d'autres 'centres' émergent, tangents à l'épopée, sinon autonome. Chaque rubrique se lit comme un centre en soi, mais devient décentré dès le moment où elle est mise en rapport avec d'autres rubriques. C'est comme si nous avions greffé l'épopée chinoise sur d'autres sols médiévaux tout en préservant ses racines précieuses dans son sol natal et de croissance.

De même avec notre *Récit d'Igor* dans la rubrique intitulée 'La Découverte du Manuscrit de Prince Igor: La Pensée Périphérique',²² là où l'exposé central -la découverte du manuscrit et une critique sur André Mazon est abordée par une circonlocution romanesque où les personnages de la mise en scène décentrent l'exposé central en le déplaçant dans l'ensemble du livre d'une manière centrifuge. Tout comme notre étude de *Ji Bu Ma Zhen*, la lente pénétration centripète vers les deux traductions d'Igor en anglais et en français, situées au 'centre' du livre, permet aux lecteurs de repartir vers la périphérie en compagnie de l'*Opéra d'Igor*, de *Figures and Configurations*, d'*Aux Pays insolites* et l'*Autre-Other*, autant de rubriques qui décentrent le récit, 'proprement dit' d'Igor. En somme, il n'existe ni début ni fin simplement parce qu'il n'existe aucun centre...

Le troisième point qui a forgé notre Figure repose sur les matériaux rassemblés et appliqués pour traiter nos épopées. Hormis les versions médiévales ou modernes de celles-ci, source requise pour nos études, nous consultons tout document contigu aux épopées, tout Texte périphérique aux sources: si c'est, par exemple, la *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, voici les poèmes et les pièces de théâtre de W.B. Yeats qui viennent prêter main forte à notre investigation, ou bien les récits de Lady Grégory, les journaux irlandais ou les romans où le nom de Cu Culann fait une apparition inattendue. Au surplus, cette documentation périphérique peut s'éloigner encore plus loin des Textes sourciers par des lectures ou des Rencontres hors des confins de l'Irlande et de son épopée: Rencontres avec le *Dede Korkut Kitabi*²³ et avec la *Chanson de Roland*.²⁴ Ou bien encore avec *Beowulf* par l'intermédiaire des runes et les oghams!²⁵ Ou encore par le truchement de la danse de Dieu-Shiva, le Nataraja, et de Zarathustra de Freidrich Nietzsche.²⁶ Des lectures et des Rencontres, dont les spirales (nos rubriques) représentent le mouvement centrifuge, qui touchent les spirales émanant de *Ji Bu Ma Zhen*, de la *Periyapuram*, du *Cid*, du *Récit d'Igor* ou de *David de Sassoun!* La force centrifuge, dont nos rubriques (les spirales) représentent le mouvement spiral, qui s'étire vers les périphéries de plus en plus loin pour revenir vers la source de leur mouvement -le Texte épique- par le mouvement inverse, centripète. Ces deux mouvements en spirale dessinent la Pensée Périphérique dans la configuration de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale.

22 (Hong Kong: Voies Itinérantes, 2011), 29-70.

23 Mirabile Paul, *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, 'Tain Bo Cuailnge and the Eastern Koine' (Hong Kong: Voies Itinérantes, 2003), 184-271.

24 Idem, 'La Honte rouge', 273-281.

25 Idem, 'Oghams and Runes: The Towers of Silence', 334-354.

26 *La Periyapuram ou L'Eternel Moyen Age* (Auroville: Voies Itinérantes, 1995) pages 308-324.

C'est pour cette raison, d'ailleurs, que nous rédigeons nos livres en rubriques: autant d'exposés de petits centres rotatifs, lus d'une manière autonome certes, tangents aux autres, cependant sans attache chronologique²⁷. Notre dispositif en rubriques permet aussi une lecture spirale dans le jeu de forces centrifuge et centripète; une combinatoire dont chaque rubrique-spirale interpénètre et complète un autre dans ces lointaines périphéries en fonction d'une lecture ou d'une Rencontre que nous avons expérimentées: Rencontres humaine, musicale, dramaturgue, chorégraphique, poétique, topographique (montagne, désert, mer, jungle, etc.).

La Figure de la Pensée Périphérique est celle de la contiguïté, du contact, non entre le Philologue-Voyageur et son 'siège ethnocentrique', mais plutôt entre lui et toute la périphérie qui enrobe ou enveloppe son Texte, dont l'Autre lui sert de compagnon, de 'passeur'; non entre son exposé central, mais entre les rubriques périphériques qui circonscrivent l'exposé central, en mouvant des forces centrifuges et centripètes; non, enfin, entre un matériel issu d'une seule source concentrée (université, instance dirigeante, coterie), d'une langue dominante (généralement anglaise!), d'une tendance en vogue (Chomsky, par exemple!), mais par un recours aux expériences sensibles et livresques dans les périphéries du Texte, périphéries visuelles, gestuelles ou auditives, aussi poétiques que scientifiques, académiques que journalistiques, encyclopédiques qu'artistiques!

La Pensée Périphérique nous semble unique de par son extension et sa diversité contiguës, cependant, tout en étant façonnée par une pensée universelle, car l'homme ne cesse de se libérer du centre afin d'y retourner pour se ressourcer...

La Philologie du Future

La Philologie est la Rencontre entre la Voix du Texte et le Sol des hommes; entre le Passé et le Présent. Ainsi se veut-elle une Figure temporelle. Ce n'est nullement une Philologie exercée dans un laboratoire mais dans la vie quotidienne parmi les êtres vivants. La **Philologie du Futur** est une Figure d'espoir...

Mais en quoi? En une perception des hommes par une expérience 'philologique' des hommes, une expérience de 'l'amour du discours', des paroles, des langues; bref, des hommes. Une Philologie dépouillée des discours essentiellistes allemands du XX^e siècle, aussi bien que des discours des représentants du historicisme. Une Philologie qui ne 'prouve' ni ne 'confirme' une biologie ou une historicité de races ou de familles, mais qui 'problématise'; qui creuse, et en creusant, brise la représentation des cultures, des religions, des peuples, qui pulverise la représentation de l'Autre...

Problématiser, c'est s'engager subjectivement. S'engager dans un Texte, ici une épopée médiévale, c'est ne traiter plus une langue médiévale comme langue morte, comme objet à examiner cliniquement, mais la traiter philologiquement en la considérant vivante parce qu'animée par la voix discursive, par le regard pénétrant du Présent en elle. Problématiser une épopée médiévale positionne le Philologue-Voyageur -le Philologue du Futur- dans une perspective transformatrice, non du Texte, mais de lui-même! Il établit un dialogue avec le Texte par l'intermédiaire de l'Autre, présent en lui, présent aussi

27 Sauf dans notre premier livre, thèse universitaire, *La Genèse de la Chanson de Roland*, (Dourgne: Voies Itinérantes, 1987).

dans le Texte. Le Philologue du Futur actualise²⁸ le Texte parce qu'il s'investit ontologiquement en elle afin de réaliser une symbiose, non avec le Texte ou la langue du Texte, mais avec le Discours du Texte, c'est-à-dire la Voix du barde-poète, celle qui résonne toujours dans le Présent. Pratiquer la Philologie du Futur, c'est plonger dans un discours, ici médiéval, où la voix poétique du barde nous fait entendre par son discours le temps présent, le nôtre, et notre rapport à ce temps présent même si ce temps présent pourrait nous sembler incongru eu égard aux valeurs médiévales de l'épopée.

La Philologie du Futur nous situe dans un Présent de Devenir, à savoir un Passé s'étirant vers le Présent, un Présent s'étirant vers le Futur. Le Philologue-Voyageur voyage entre ces trois aspects du Temps parce qu'il accompagne la voix discursive depuis l'époque médiévale jusqu'à la sienne, et là, dans ce Présent, transformé par cette voix-Autre, se prépare aux transformations ultérieures. Le Philologue-Voyageur est en Devenir permanent de par la Voix du Texte et la Voix de l'Autre qui lui tiennent compagnie! D'où l'image de la marche du chemin battu, du cheminement spiral dont les orbes rayonnent rétroflexivement pour pouvoir se projeter en avant. Voilà le mouvement du Devenir: une spirale dynamique qui reforme l'objet d'étude -une épopée médiévale- parce que le Philologue-Voyageur a été concomitamment transformé par elle! Nous avons qualifié ce double mouvement dans le Temps, ce mouvement du Devenir, la Philologie du Futur dont les défenseurs les plus ardents, créatifs sont, selon nous, Friedrich Nietzsche²⁹ et Pier Paolo Pasolini.³⁰ Et si le futur est un Temps qui semblerait universel de par l'espoir qu'il suscite, la Philologie, en revanche, s'avère une pratique unique dans la créativité des méthodes de ses formes abouties.

28 Dans son sens linguistique.

29 La Philologie de F. Nietzsche l'amena vers la pratique de la philosophie critique, briseuse de systèmes, de valeurs figées, pétrifiées pour dépasser les mensonges et les illusions d'une Histoire ethnocentrique, étroquée pour atteindre un **sens** de l'Histoire.

30 P. P. Pasolini brandit la Philologie comme arme politique! Il ouvrit deux dimensions d'attaque: l'éclatement de l'hégémonie du fascisme linguistique dans son travail poétique et romanesque des dialectes de Vénise et du parler des Romains prolétaires, et la transfert sémantique de cette lutte sur les écrans du cinéma pour devenir à la fois une poésie animée, iconique et une mobilisation politique des masses.

Seconde Partie

Les Figures Mineures: La Bâtisse

"To young people of the current generation the very idea of philology suggests something impossibly antiquarian and musty, but philology in fact is the most basic and creative of the interpretive arts."

E.W. Said

Orientalism, page xviii

Nos Figures mineures: l'Entonnoir, l'Hermaphrodisme, L'Orature, l'Alchimie Médiévale, la Mouvance et la Fêlure ne possèdent pas la même valeur ou propriété existentielle que nos quatre Figures majeures, piliers. Or, elles se restreignent à leur singularité narrative, historique ou politique. Par leur forme visuelle parlante, nous témoignons des circonstances de la naissance et de l'évolution d'une l'épopée étudiée. Voici l'Entonnoir, faiseur de la *Chanson de Roland*.

L'Entonnoir

Notre théorie de l'**Entonnoir**, telle qu'elle structure notre *Genèse de la Chanson de Roland*³¹, trace le parcours migratoire des peuples nordico-germaniques depuis la Scandinavie et du Nord de l'Allemagne actuelle avec leurs langues et leurs coutumes jusqu' à la France du XII^o siècle pour démontrer qu'au Moyen Age la France fut un carrefour d'échanges gallo-romains et nordico-germaniques, non entendu comme juxtaposition ou annexion d'une culture à une autre, mais comme véritable intégration des deux, symbiose d'une culture franco-germano-chrétienne. Un processus, donc, diachronique qui inclut tout Texte des peuples nordico-germaniques, des dynasties mérovingienne et carolingienne de la France médiévale. L'Entonnoir nous fait voir l'intégration et l'assimilation d'un ensemble d'éléments hétérogènes: langues, dialectes, coutumes, rites et lois, condensés, mais sans perte, coulant jusqu'au conduit, là où, après tant d'assimilation de ces éléments, une homogénéité s'est créée dont l'aboutissement s'avère le Texte de la *Chanson de Roland* (édition d'Oxford, la plus ancienne 1130?). Nous témoignons d'un double processus: une condensation d'une multitude de tribus avec leurs textes juridiques (Guta Lag (La Loi Danoise), La Loi Salique), chansons héroïques (Eddas, sagas scandinaves, Galga Valdr, Le Chant de Louis, Hilderband), hagiographiques (La Séquence de Sainte Eulalie, Saint Alexie), la Glose de Reichenau, les Evangiles d'Otfrid, le Catéchisme de Wisssembourg, poèmes (le Muspilli, Waltharius) hymnes (Jonas) et traité (Traité d'Antelot, Serments de Strasbourg) depuis les plaines de la Scandinavie et les fôrets du Nord de l'Allemagne, concomitant à une expansion géographique de conquête de ces mêmes tribus dès lors réduites, connues historiquement sous des noms tels les Francs, les Burgondes, les Alémans et les Wisigoths, jusqu'au premier Texte pensé, chanté et

31 Loc. cit.

composé en langue française médiévale (l'Anglo-Normand), jusqu'au au premier *discours*³² français homogène en Francie.³³

L'Hermaphrodisme

Voici une Figure complexe dont la singularité de l'image se lit dans la collation du *Livre de Dede Korkut* avec *David de Sassoun*, non seulement textuellement, mais plus important encore, existentiellement.

Le Philologue-Voyageur qui passe tant d'années en Turquie, et qui s'intéresse aux rapports entre Turcs et Arméniens, se rendra sûrement compte du paradoxe des deux peuples, turcs et arméniens, ayant vécu depuis le XI^e siècle ensemble, mais qui n'ont jamais tenté une expérience du partage, hormis dans le domaine public, celui du marché! Or, c'est dans le domaine privé que des échanges réels, à savoir intimes, intérieurs, familiers, donc profonds, s'accomplissent, et dans cet accomplissement, la parité juridique entre Turc et Arménien se formule. Cependant, le système des *millet* -la séparation physique des peuples non musulmans- enfermait les uns et les autres (Grecs byzantins, Arméniens, Syriaques, Juifs) dans leur différence immuable, existentielle. Une différence non seulement religieuse, mais surtout ethnique car Grec et Arménien se fréquentent moins, bien que tous deux Chrétiens, que Turc et Arménien ou Turc et Grec!

Ainsi a-t-elle émergé devant nous la Figure de l'**Hermaphrodite**: chacun sur son territoire n'a aucun contact avec les autres, avec l'Autre, on produit et se reproduit d'une manière autonome dans une sorte d'auto-fécondation parce qu'on ignore l'existence de l'Autre. L'Autre devient alors l'Autre-étranger, ou pire l'Autre-ennemi! Car l'ignorance n'engendre que la suspicion, la peur, la haine...

Et pourtant! A travers la lecture des épopees turque et arménienne et une expérience de vie parmi les Turcs et les Arméniens, tant de valeurs communes les réunissent, tant de qualités culturelles et existentielles les rapprochent. Ces valeurs et qualités se lisent également dans *Digénis Akritas*, un Texte né sur le sol fécond de l'Anatolie comme *David de Sassoun* et *Dede Korkut Kitabi*.

C'est pour cette raison même que nous avons esquisonné un programme pédagogique pour l'enseignement du Moyen Age en Turquie avec pour méthode de travail la comparaison des convergences et des divergences de ces trois épopeées médiévales, toutes issues du même sol anatolien! D'où, par ailleurs, dans notre livre sur *Digénis Akritas*, le sous-titre: 'la sous-koiné anatolienne'. Voici une synthèse de cette méthode comparative:

Il est rare, sinon inouï, de retrouver trois épopeées médiévales qui partagent la même terre, mais dont l'héritage culturel se distingue par leurs langues et religions. Mais justement. Ces trois monuments

32 'Discours' comme Henri Meschonnic l'entend: "Le discours n'est pas l'emploi des signes, mais l'activité des sujets dans et contre une histoire, une culture, une langue." *Critique du Rythme, Anthropologie historique du Langage*, (Paris: Verdier, 1992), 69-115.

33 Les quelques éléments 'français' dans les *Serments de Strasbourg* (832) ne comprennent pas pour nous ni une 'langue' française ni surtout un 'discours' français! A la limite, les serments tracent deux territoires 'Francie' et 'Germanie' et définissent deux langues le 'roman' et le 'tudesque'!

pourraient servir de support pédagogique pour des études du Moyen Age en Turquie, si les Turcs les considéraient comme des Textes égaux en probité historique, littéraire et culturelle. Cette considération exigerait des Turcs la reconnaissance de l'Autre en tant que protagoniste dans l'Histoire de la Turquie, surtout médiévale, où Arméniens et Grecs jouaient des rôles significatifs parce qu'égalitaires.

Les professeurs turcs pourraient exploiter des thèmes telle l'incarnation d'un héros: Bamsi Beyrek, Deli Dumrul, Salur Kazan, Kara Göne comparés à Digénis Akritas et aux quatre générations de la Maison de Sassoun: Balthasar, Mehre le Léon, David et Mehr le Jeune. Comparable aussi est la complexité des *rapports entre ethnies et religion*: les mariages de Bamsi Beyrk et de Kan Turalı, vus à travers ceux du père de Digénis, un Musulman, avec sa mère, une Chrétienne; les *rapports illicites* entre Arménien et Musulman dans *David de Sassoun*, où la belle-mère de David est Musulmane, étant la seconde femme de son père, Ismil Khatoun d'Egypte, dont le fils Mélik devient le rival haineux de David; *l'entrecroisement des mondes réels et magiques*: la force supernaturelle de Tepegöz dans le *Livre de Dede Korkut* est comparable à celle de David de Sassoun et de Digénis,³⁴ sans oublier le symbolisme du pont qu'évoquent les histoires de Deli Dumrul et de Mehre le Jeune, ou une analyse du paysage anatolien, réel ou irréel, où se croisent démons blancs, génies, fées, cyclopes, amazones, dragons et bien sûr des héros chevauchant chacun vers son destin épique...

De même les professeurs turcs auraient profit à comparer les toponymes lus dans chacune des épopées en relation avec leurs noms actuels, et les étymologies qui révèlent l'histoire de ces trois langues en symbiose constante à travers l'Histoire de la Turquie, Histoire, selon nous, encore à écrire! A un niveau plus élevé, des discussions sur les dichotomies nomade/sédentaire, culture orale/culture écrite, tribu/Etat et shamanisme/islam ou bien islam/christianisme (orthodoxe, arménien, catholique) permettraient de réfléchir sur tout un savoir sociologique, psychologique et anthropologique de la Turquie médiévale (de la Turquie moderne?), que les trois grands protagonistes: Turcs, Grecs et Arméniens ont fondé et continuent, jusqu'à aujourd'hui à faire évoluer. La matière primaire, pédagogique est là: il suffirait d'une volonté d'application, une volonté de reconnaître les irréductibles différences de l'Autre...³⁵

L'Orature

La Figure de l'**Orature**, c'est-à-dire un Texte dont le fondement du style est issu de l'oralité,³⁶ se classe parmi nos Figures narratives. Néanmoins, parler du narratif signifie évoquer une communauté ou une culture dont le moyen de communication est oral, mais dont l'application de l'oralité à une composition écrite peut varier considérablement. En effet, en ce qui concerne le Moyen Age, l'Orature ne désigne pas le parler quotidien, fonctionnel, mais un discours prosaïque ou poétique tel qu'il nous a été légué par des

34 Une comparaison avec le Tapagöz 'arménien' ne serait pas inutile!

35 Cette matière pédagogique requiert des traductions en langue turque de l'arménien *David de Sassoun*, toujours en attente, et du grec byzantin *Digénis Akritas*, faite en 2009: *Digenis Akritas, Anadolu'nun Büyüük Destanı*, trans. Bariş Baysal (Istanbul: Kal Kedon, 2009).

36 Le mot 'orature' (**oralture** en anglais) fut forgé par Pio Zirimia.

textes, seule source à notre disposition. La *Chanson de Roland* présente les techniques de l'Orature par sa structure parataxique des strophes, voire des vers (hemistiches), technique de la parataxe que nous lisons également dans *Beowulf* et la *Periyapuram*. L'Orature, dans l'exécution à vive voix du bard-poète, agit d'une manière sonore par sa réception: mots d'écho, anaphores, allitérations et assonances, rimes grammaticales, des techniques souvent compliquées, qui élaborent un tressage du sens syntagmatique et paradigmique, tel que nous le lisons dans la *Periyapuram* et la *Tain Bo Cuailnge*.

L'Orature dénote une culture d'écoute, une culture du signifiant bien plus que du signifié! Cette réception du signifiant, au fil du temps, fut transférée sur un support durable, mais non progressivement: il ne s'agit nullement d'un stade 'primitif' d'expression qui évoluait vers la 'civilisation' des belles lettres. Aujourd'hui encore, maintes cultures pratiquent l'Orature et l'écriture, la parole vive et la parole écrite dans leur communication quotidienne et leur poésie et prose, surtout en Afrique. Ceci étant dit, en ce qui concerne notre koiné eurasiatique médiévale, l'Orature fut la forme narrative, épique par excellence; fut toute une culture bardique parce que le bard-poète, à cheval entre deux cultures savante et populaire, réciteur tant pour l'une que pour l'autre, voire issu de l'une ou de l'autre, les combinait par son exécution du poème composé. L'Orature exige une écoute fine par laquelle le signifiant prend sens! C'est ce sens auditif qui compose la structure les épopées médiévales de notre koiné...³⁷

L'Alchimie Médiévale

Cette Figure rejoue notre Entonnoir de la *Chanson de Roland* qui, effectivement, de par sa fonction de condenser et d'assimiler à travers les processus dynamiques, tend à faire voir la fusion de tant de substances disparates vers la réalisation d'une oeuvre. Son fonctionnement s'applique à toutes nos épopées, véritables 'fabriques'³⁸ de créativité et de productivité! Quelles sont ces substances? Les mots et les choses, brassés dans les Rencontres des peuples venus d'horizons divers. Brassage des peuples nordico-germaniques et gallo-romains, des Turcs seldjoukides et Arméniens, des Indiens jaïns et sivaïtes dans le Sud de l'Inde, des Hans confuciens et des Tibétains bouddhistes dans l'ouest de la Chine, des Turco-Mongols et des Rus' en Asie centrale! De cette 'fabrique' s'ébranlaient les processus alchimiques, produisant, peu à peu, une oeuvre épique, oeuvre condensant et assimilant des myriades de substances-mots et d'éléments-choses! Une oeuvre, sinon homogène dans son discours, à tout le moins dans tous les éléments qui ont fabriqué ce discours, car malgré l'extraordinaire condensation et assimilation que l'alchimie compose, ces éléments disparates, conservent à l'oeil nu leur genèse géographique, leur origine ethnique, leur source historique de par les résidus de leurs formes anciennes. Néanmoins, l'oeuvre réalisée par des processus productifs, alchimiques reste une oeuvre intégrale, certes, multiple et

37 Pour l'Orature des textes médiévaux voir, par exemple, Rychner J., *La Chanson de Geste* (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1955), Zumthor Paul, *Introduction à la Poésie orale* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), Duggan Joseph, *Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft*, (Californie: University Press of California, 1973), Mann, Robert, *Lances Sing* (Slavica Publishers, 1990), Nerimoğlu K.V. *The Poetics of the Book of Dede Korkut* (Ankara: Atatürk Culture Centre Publications 1999).

38 L'étymon 'fabrique' s'entend dans le sens où Jordanas emploie le mot 'officina': "Scanza insula, quasi officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum". *De Origine Actibusque Getarum* (551-552).

fragmentaire dans sa fabrication diachronique, cependant, entière, Une dans sa réalisation synchronique. Voilà le sens d'une oeuvre épique médiévale: elle n'est jamais parfaite! Elle est à parfaire...Elle continue à évoluer de par ses multiples versions poétiques, iconographiques, romanesques, sculpturales, toutes ses formes d'expression descendues de la voix bardique aux multiples tons et modulations, nuances et teintes! Pour cette raison, la Figure de l'Alchimie Médiévale, quand bien même elle dépeindrait un processus qui avait lieu au Moyen Age, et aurait réalisé une oeuvre entière, elle, néanmoins, perpétuerait son processus alchimique dans la réalisation des œuvres nombreuses et multiples à venir à partir de cette œuvre entière médiévale. Un processus infini parce que productif, mû par les Rencontres diverses entre le Passé et le Présent! Cette Figure nous révèle, surtout, que l'œuvre dite parfaite (versions éditées, chrestomathies ou livres d'études) demeure inachevée, simplement parce que inachevable tant que le processus productif, alchimique poursuit sa course à travers le Temps et l'Espace...

La Mouvance

L'inachèvement nous amène à la **Figure de la Mouvance**. Figure sociolinguistique et anthropologique, Figure de fleuve! Figure qui forme et rythme la langue dans son parcours diachronique, syntagmatique qui forme et rythme le Philologue-Voyageur dans son parcours synchronique, paradigmatique. La Mouvance linguistique coule sans répit, matériaux phonétique, morphologique, syntaxique et sémantique sont charriés à des vitesses variables, confluent de deux langues ou plus, cas dans lequel le fleuve déborderait et courrait densément, ou affluent 'purifié', cas dans lequel les eaux afflueraient plus clairement. La Mouvance vitale du Philologue-Voyageur intervient dans cet écoulement, s'immisce dans le flux et là, le suit, momentanément, non pour le dévier ou l'endiguer, mais pour recueillir autant qu'il peut ce flot dans le but de façonne son Projet pareillement à ce flux incessant.

C'est par une écriture débordante, parfois emportée que nous avons façonné la koiné eurasiatique médiévale. Or, nous nous sommes laissé emporter par ce flot ininterrompu quel que soit le fleuve-langue, car à vrai dire ses eaux sont semblables! Notre Mouvance concomitante à la Mouvance de la langue court à deux niveaux: de fleuve-langue à fleuve-langue, dont chaque recueillement se traduit en livre, et à l'intérieur d'un même fleuve-livre, où par exemple, dans *Ji Bu Ma Zhen*, à cause du flot long et lent, notre étude et traduction subissent de légers méandres depuis le début du livre jusqu'à la fin en raison de la double Mouvance du fleuve-langue et notre convergence avec elle durant une période de six ans! De même dans certains de nos autres livres, sauf que les méandres se situent au niveau de l'orthographe ou d'une multiplication de variantes...³⁹

Suivre les cours du flux et du reflux des langues de l'Eurasie, à savoir, leurs Histoires au Passé et au Présent, revient à suivre les cours du flux et de reflux de notre histoire, dont les identités fluides et changeantes convergent ça et là avec ceux de ces Histoires, avec l'Autre, se complétant et se séparant du flot du fleuve vital! En effet, peut-être peut-on dire que les méandres des fleuves et de la pensée se conjugent et se déclinent dans des formes variables. Lors des convergences, nous voici en mesure de le

39 Il en est de même pour l'évolution des variants de livre en livre.

descendre jusqu'à ce que notre Projet prenne la forme voulue, puis nous nous séparons de lui, le laissant continuer son courant perpétuel, quitte à le reprendre dans un coude plus loin...

La Mouvance en tant que Figure ne reconnaît aucune immobilité ou fixité. Une langue n'est jamais fixe, ni établie; de même nos identités s'épanchent toujours en Devenir, quand bien même notre intervention ne semblerait qu'un moment bref dans ce flux infini! Cette double Mouvance diachronique et synchronique, syntagmatique et paradigmatic, sitôt jointe, a produit la koiné eurasiatique médiévale. En réalité, notre convergence -notre contribution-, n'est qu'un 'instant' de cueillage dans ce flux pérenne, immémorial...

La Fêlure

La dernière Figure mineure que nous allons succinctement développer dans cet article s'applique à toutes nos épopées eurasiatiques, avec des degrés de béance très variables. C'est que la Fêlure se dessine directement dans l'Histoire d'une nation en contact 'intime', quasiment 'névrosé' avec l'épopée à travers une longue période de temps; la Fêlure apparut et apparaît exclusivement dans nos époques modernes.

Le 'craquement' commence par une interprétation, une glose ou une exégèse ouvertement contre une autre interprétation, glose ou exégèse, soit à l'intérieur d'une même nation soit en provenance de l'extérieur...de l'Autre, et souvent de l'Autre-ennemi! C'est bien plus qu'un conflit des interprétations; c'est un véritable Acte de guerre contre le Sens d'un Texte au profit de sa Vérité...

Joseph Bédier, le philologue classique, positiviste français, qui s'en prit à Jacob Grimm, l'allemand romantique et folkloriste, en réponse à ses interprétations 'germanisantes' et métaphysiques, de la *Chanson de Roland*, ouvrit une Fêlure dans les années de l'entre-deux-guerres; années pendant lesquelles la littérature française et allemande devinrent une arme de la machine propagandiste: y compris la *Chanson de Roland*, dont chaque AOI traduisait le son du cor de Roland par les patriotes de la France!⁴⁰ Il ne s'agissait pas d'une exploitation du signifié du poème, comme au Moyen Age,⁴¹ mais de l'exploitation de son signifiant par les méthodes philologiques qui récusent toute proximité (embarrassante!) avec les 'germanismes' dans le Texte, la lettre 'k' et maints étymons de souche nordico-germanique!⁴² C'est du fait de cette proximité linguistique et donc historique entre la France et l'Allemagne depuis les origines des Francs, depuis Ch(K)arlemagne, depuis les *Serments de Strasbourg* que la brèche de la Fêlure reste tenace

40 Emile Faguet déclara au début du XX^e siècle que la *Chanson de Roland* était "...grandeur épique, puissance pittoresque et oratoire, magnifique exaltation patriotique." *Histoire de la littérature française* (Paris: 1905). Dans ce débat idéologisé, c'est Pio Rajna qui défendait sans concession le 'germanisme' dans la *Chanson de Roland*. En revanche, Gaston Paris et Godefroid Kurth cherchaient un compromis entre les deux 'belligérants'. Par exemple, Kurth tempérait un moyen terme quand il dit que la *Chanson de Roland* est le résultat de "la fécondation de l'esprit roman par l'imagination germanique." *Histoire Poétique des Mérovingiens* (Bruxelles Leipzig, 1893), 492.

41 Le glissement sémantique des Basques en Sarrasins, et les vers offensifs contre l'être-musulman.

42 "La généralisation du 'k' dans une graphie rénovée heurterait la germanophobie latente de notre pays..." Martinet André, 'La République, l'élitisme et l'orthographie, (Le Monde: 24 mai, 1985).

dans sa béance nordico-germanico-romane!⁴³ Le clivage culturel d'une France du Nord et du Sud, illustré par tant de guerres civiles, incline à penser que deux peuples différents y ont toujours habité...

Plonger dans le monde tamoul et dravidien en Inde nous expose à une Fêlure d'une profondeur considérable: la brèche entre Aryen du Nord et Dravidien du Sud. Cette brèche actuelle n'apparaît nullement dans une lecture de la *Periyapuram*; elle surgit, en revanche, dans la violence entre Jaïns et Sivaïte décrite dans l'épopée médiévale, transposée et actualisée entre Aryen et Dravidien de l'Inde actuelle, surtout sur un point extrêmement sensible: l'origine culturelle et linguistique de la civilisation harappéenne à Mohenjo-Daro dans l'Etat du Penjab au Pakistan. La langue de cette civilisation reste jusqu'à présent difficile sinon réticente à tout déchiffrage sans arrière-pensée politico-religieuse. Est-elle d'origine dravidaïenne (tamoule?), ce que maints archéologues et philologues semblent nous communiquer depuis les années 1950, ou bien d'une culture Indus-Saravati, indo-européenne, comme d'autres scientifiques tentent de le prouver? Le débat, vicieux parce qu'affectif, s'avère crucial pour les Aryens, car si cette langue et le peuple qui l'avait parlée et l'avait écrite, démontre une affinité dravidaïenne, cela signifierait que les peuples indigènes du sous-continent sont les Dravidiens! Il est vrai, par ailleurs, que la langue des Brahi, langue dravidaïenne, est toujours parlée dans le Baluchistan oriental, dont l'ancêtre aurait pu être la langue harappéenne.⁴⁴ D'où viennent alors les Aryens? Sont-ils des tribus migrant de l'Asie centrale, de la Perse, des Caucases? Et les *Veda*, furent-ils rédigés en Asie centrale ou en Perse? Existait-il un 'cheval védique', indigène de l'Inde, ou bien fut-il importé de l'Asie centrale avec les Aryens migrants?⁴⁵ Autant de questions gênantes qui ébranlent, selon nous, la position supérieure de l'Aryen sur le Dravidien, et la notion géographique connotée Nord/Sud. Le débat des origines de la civilisation de Mohenjo-Daro divulgue un contentieux plus entre Ayren et Dravidien qu'entre Indien et Occidental!⁴⁶

Et la *Periyapuram* là-dedans? Elle nous renseigne sur un système de caste beaucoup plus souple que celui pratiqué par les Ayrens dans le Nord avant la migration dravidaïenne vers le Sud. Par exemple, elle nous relate les légendes de Saint Tirunajaipovar, un pariah, qui atteint la sainteté par la grâce de Dieu-Shiva. La *Periyapuram* nous instruit surtout sur Dieu-Shiva: ses attributs, notamment le *Nataraja*, le Shiva dansant, *Pashupati*, le Shiva-Yoghi, dont les sceaux et les figurines déterrées à Mohenjo-Daro

43 Voici l'analyse de Ferdinand Brunetière sur la proximité dangereuse du 'germanique' dans la *Chanson de Roland*. Il nous fait part de son inquiétude des 'sons' du poème: "...où les consonnes se heurtent et s'entrechoquent avec un bruit de mauvais allemand..." *Etude critique sur l'Histoire de la littérature française*, pages 17 et 78.

44 Voici une bibliographie succincte sur la civilisation de Mohenjo-Daro: Parpola, Asko, Materials for the Study of the Indus Script, A Concordance to the Indus Inscriptions (1973), A Dravidian Solution to the Indus Script Problem (Coimbatore: Central Institute of Classical Tamil, 2010) et Deciphering the Indus Script (Trivandrum: International Dravidian Studies: 1997), Mahadevan, Iravatham, The Indus Script, Texts Corcordance and Tables, (New Delhi: Memoiral Archeological Survey, 1997) et Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest to the Six Century A.D. (Chennai: Harvard University Press, 2003, Dales F. George, Harappan Civilisation (American Institute of Indian Studies, 1982), Rao J.R., Lothal and the Indus Civilisation (Bombay, 1973).

45 Qu'il n'y eût ou eût pas de chevaux 'védiques' à Mohenjo-Daro témoigne de cette problématique. Peut-être furent-ils importés dans le Nord de l'Inde par les Proto-Turcs ou Proto-Mongols, et par ce biais-là les peuples harappéens auraient eu des rapports directs avec ces peuples nomades de l'Asie centrale. C'est, du moins, ce que nous pensons.

46 Le lecteur peut suivre ce débat souvent lassant en consultant les articles de Michael Witzel, Professeur N.S. Rajaram et R. Nagaswamy sur Internet.

témoignent. En effet, les fouilles archéologiques montrent les analogies impressionnantes entre les cultures harappéenne et dravidienne, en particulier, la culture tamoule.⁴⁷

Ceci étant dit, c'est l'ignorance que les Indiens du Nord arborent envers la culture dravidienne, culture du Sud, et envers la *Periyapuram* qui accroît la brèche entre Ayren et Dravidien,⁴⁸ et dans cette ignorance volontaire, s'accuse le refus total d'une possible culture 'originale' de l'Inde dont la *Periyapuram* pourrait être à la fois la bannière sacrée (Sivaïsme) et profane (une réécriture du Moyen Age).⁴⁹ R. Nagaswamy nous informe que: "It may be seen, for example, that South Indian history receives inadequate representation. The rule of the Pallavas, Cholas or Chalukyas that lasted for over four hundred years each and had glorious achievements in all fields gets summary representation, when compared with Mughal rule and the colonial rule that did not last even half that period. South India has witnessed exemplary democratic institutions at the village level for several centuries in the medieval period that is yet to be brought to the notice of the children".⁵⁰

Tout comme l'Histoire médiévale de la Turquie est à écrire, il en est de même pour l'Histoire médiévale dravidienne, où la culture dravidienne jouerait son rôle non comme figurante, mais protagoniste sur la scène de cette grande Histoire de l'Inde. La Félure, nonobstant, reste problématique à combler, et semble, au contraire, s'élargir avec chaque nouvelle 'lumière' projetée sur la langue harappéenne de Mohenjo-Daro...⁵¹

L'épopée chinoise, *Ji Bu Ma Zhen* (*Ji Bu Insultant l'Ennemi*) est victime d'une 'thèse' idéologique: en Chine, une reprise médiévale dans le but d'une réactualisation 'politique', à savoir critique, est taxée de

47 Les fouilles archéologiques ont découvert les fragments de poterie, sceaux (signes de la langue) et les statuettes des figurines, surtout des danseurs et danseuses. Voir Rakhal Das Banerji, John Marshal, Mortimer Wheeler et J.R. Rao.

48 Et voici un bel exemple: Ghosh Aurobindo, malgré une excellente éducation tant occidentale qu'orientale et puissance intellectuelle, lors de son séjour à Pondichéri trouvait la langue tamoule belle, et effectivement dans son enthousiasme, déclarait qu'elle était "...an offshoot of the Sanskrit tongue." India's Rebirth: On (Out of) the Ruins of the West (Paris: Institut de Recherches Evolutives, 1994). Et comment ce constat aurait-t-il pu être autrement lorsque le même Aurobindo nous énonce que la grammaire du sanscrit s'avère la plus parfaite! Nous écoutons des refrains semblables en Turquie où la majorité des Turcs considèrent la langue kurde comme un dialecte de la langue turque. C'est que l'amour (mauvais) de la langue emporte certains zélés vers les préjugés, chemin inverse du Philologue-Voyageur de la Philologie du Futur...

49 Il est intéressant de remarquer que la *Periyapuram* ne professait aucune portée 'nationaliste', telle que nous lisons dans le Récit d'Igor, le Cid, la Chanson de Roland ou dans Digénis Akritas, par exemple. Elle se situe dans une communauté, circonscrite par une langue et une culture dans le Sud de l'Inde. La méconnaissance de ce joyau médiéval à l'intérieur de l'Inde (sans parler de l'extérieur!) reflète l'absence totale de curiosité envers une culture aussi ancienne que la culture 'classique' aryenne. Méconnaissance et ignorance n'ont jamais refermé une Félure...

50 Lire dans Archeology On Line: 'The Harappan Horse'.

51 Voici comment le traducteur de la *Periyapuram* en anglais, T.N Ramachandra, opère l'élargissement de la Félure, cette fois-ci contre les méchants Jaïns dans les notes qui accompagnent sa traduction: "The religious intolerance of the Jains during the time of our saint (Tiruavukkarasar) knew no bounds. Even to see or hear of a non Jain was pollution for them. Their concept of Kandamutal and Kettumutal has no parallel in the world for rank acerbity." Et: "The motto of the Jains is 'Yes and No'. Lack of certainty is the breeding-ground of falsehoods. Their very austerity, rigid and inflexible, was nothing but stuffed-up falsehoods. With them the cowl never made the monk. Theirs was a religion perpetrated by clouded definitions and bogus values. They would rather hang themselves than correct their false moralisms and occult inaccuracies. *Periyapuram*, (Tanjavor: Tamil University, 1990). Au surplus, les bardes-poètes eux-mêmes qualifient les Jaïns de 'cruels, dégénérés, bas'. Les Jaïns 'puent', etc. Transposer cette violence anti-Jaïn des bardes-poètes médiévaux et des traducteurs modernes dans la dichotomie sur Mohenjo-Daro et le lecteur mesurera la taille colossale de la Félure entre Ayren et Dravidien aujourd'hui.

régression réactionnaire! Le héros Ji Bu pourrait paraître sous des personnages romanesques, mais jamais sous une forme politisée ou idéologisée dans une Chine au Présent, où il jouerait des rôles critiques dans une société en transformation. Actualiser un Ji Bu médiéval pour des raisons idéologiques ou sociologiques nous semble impropre eu égard au système économique chinois du marché libre dans un cadre politique communiste; or le marché libre et le communisme sont anti-féodaux dont l'exploitation des paysans par l'aristocratie ne présente aucune utilité pour une idéologie marxiste, monolithe et une idéologie du marché, également monolithique...

La complexité des rapports entre Ji Bu et Liu Bang, l'empereur des Han, ne sont pas à l'ordre du jour dans une Chine qui exige des rapports simples à la production, rapports catégoriques! Plus que historique, cette Félure se situe au niveau idéologique: le progrès collectif, de masse, du marché infini condamne toute tentative de rétrogression, de recul... C'est que le Chinois moderne ne voit pas le chevalier Ji Bu comme un individu, comme un être à part entière, mais comme un ' type', un personnage générique: chevalier, noble, féodal, donc décadent, incapable d'association aux 'types' modernes, non parce que la société chinoise moderne ne comprend les individus, les êtres à part entière, mais parce que le 'type' Ji Bu, médiéval, le Ji Bu *sui generis*, ne s'accorde pas à l'harmonie sociale de la Chine du Présent, ne correspond pas au 'type' de la société chinoise d'aujourd'hui, ne croise pas les génératives de la Chine en progrès... Ji Bu reste figé dans son rôle générique parce que la société chinoise moderne, aussi figée que lui dans son nouveau rôle politico-économique, récuse le droit à Ji Bu de se prononcer sur son individualité, qualité que le héros de l'épopée exprime par une parole noble, sincère, attachante...

Exploiter l'individualité souveraine et franche de Digénis Akritas pour des raisons nationalistes ouvrit une nouvelle brèche entre Grec et Turc, béante de mauvaise foi, de mensonges. Est-ce possible que le Digénis médiéval, chevalier errant par des déserts de l'Anatolie à la quête d'aventures amoureuses et autres, incarne le héros national de la Grèce moderne? Pour le professeur N.G. Polites, il ne put en être autrement: reconquérir les terres byzantines perdues aux hordes turques du XV^e siècle autorise cette récupération aux yeux des nationalistes grecs: la Grande Grèce vivra, une fois de plus, avec Digénis Akritas à la tête des armées conquérantes, car Digenis Akritas s'avère: "l'incarnation de l'âme grecque et l'épopée nationale de la Grèce moderne."⁵²

Il va sans dire que l'épopée médiévale nous raconte un autre Digénis, celui qui pratiquait la marginalité et l'altérité, loin d'un quelconque siège de pouvoir (Constantinople), des entraves étroites du nationalisme des vécus chez les musulmans. Mais voilà le génie de la gloire politique, appropriatrice, usurpatrice: il récuse la philologie au nom d'une actualité impérieuse, ardente. Il fait fi des *genius loci* pour replanter les origines dans un sol d'élection stratégique, belliqueux. Il dévêt les vertus singulières, particulières d'un chevalier errant pour le vêtir des principes d'un pouvoir politique, des convictions d'une autorité militaire...

Devenir l'oriflamme des armées grecques entre 1919 et 1922 (la guerre entre Turcs et Grecs), l'étendard des nationalistes en 1973 (l'invasion de Chypre),⁵³ nous en dit long sur les rapports gréco-turcs depuis 1071 (la défaite de l'armée byzantine à Manzikert (Malazgirt) par Alp Arslan) jusqu'à aujourd'hui! Digénis Akritas est-il donc une figure de la nostalgie?..

52 Voir Mavrogordado John, *Digenis Akritas: Translation and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1999), introduction.

53 Le Plan Akritas dressé en 1963, puis l'invasion de Chypre par les Grecs en 1973; il s'agit d'ENOSIS.

La Fêlure demeure une blessure: Constantinople tomba à jamais (1453), Smyrne fut incendiée sans pitié (1922), les Roums chassés en masse de la Turquie (1955), Chypre du Nord toujours aux mains des Turcs: Digénis Akritas se débat-il contre toute tentative de le priver de sa philosophie de vie, de son choix de marginalité et d'altérité? Peut-être faut-il aux Grecs chercher un autre héros emblématique, capable de mener l'opinion politique et les armées vers l'idée d'une Grande Grèce à venir...

Une épopée médiévale restera-t-elle une épopée du Moyen Age si ses racines s'enfoncent dans l'Age de Fer, ce dont G.P. Mallory, lecteur de la *Tain Bo Cuailnge*, cherche à convaincre le monde celtique avec sa théorie 'nativist'? Une épopée profondément irlandaise, 'native' de la vraie Irlande, requiert-elle une forme et un fond sans teinte médiévale, exogamique?⁵⁴ Ou bien, l'interprétera-t-on à travers le prisme classique, des épopées bellement écrites, plus littéraires, homérique ou virgilienne, tel Henri Arbois de Jubainville en jubile? Ou encore la lira-t-on avec des lunettes *revisionist*, cette fois-ci *mediavalist*, comme James Carey le professe, bien que le médiévalisme de Carey s'appuie sur les écrits monastiques des lettrés anglo-saxons latinisant et non sur l'art bardique.⁵⁵ Ces écoles rivales rivalisent sur des critères philologiques et archéologiques avec pour critère majeur leur bonne éducation classique et un nationalisme exacerbé!

Il est difficile de dater une épopée médiévale par le seul critère de l'archéologie (Mallory et Kenneth Jackson); la philologie, en revanche, découvre le style d'une époque: le style d'exécution, de composition et d'interpolation correspondent aux habitudes des bardes-poètes et aux habitudes d'écriture des scribes du Moyen Age. C'est pour cela que les épopées d'Homère, de Virgile et *Gilgamesh* appartiennent à d'autres époques; leur style d'exécution et de composition diffèrent à cause de leur rapport au public. Chercher à ancrer la *Tain Bo Cuailnge* dans un sol si irlandais que l'épopée échappe à tout échange ou interénétration des cultures environnantes, la défigurerait, car la propriété principale d'une épopée médiévale est justement sa composition hétéroclite d'éléments disparates, réunis dans une oeuvre homogène, entière, mais toujours à parfaire...

De même, dire comme James Carey que la *Tain Bo Cuailnge* s'avère un quasi 'plagiat', s'inspirant des textes latins ou anglo-saxons du Moyen Age, écrits dans les monastères britanniques, puisque selon Carey, le barde-poète irlandais (le *sgéali*) n'était aucunement capable de produire un tel 'chef d'oeuvre', revient à étaler un enthousiasme 'classique' aussi morbide que la théorie classique d'Henri Arbois de Jubainville et d'Ernest Curtius sur les épopées médiévales parce qu'eux, élevés dans le moule classique pour qui nul 'beau' Texte ne se crée en dehors des beaux textes écrits, ne voient la littérature européenne que comme un pur héritage homérique ou virgilien, inséminateurs littéraires de toute humanité, sous entendu, européenne! Mais justement, l'épopée médiévale ne rentre pas dans le catégorie des 'belles lettres', voire de la 'littérature': elle est chanson, prose poétisée, poème prosaïque, Texte et Geste...

La Fêlure alors déchire la *Tain Bo Cuailnge* en Texte 'purement' irlandais, pré-historique, une 'window of the Iron Age'⁵⁶ ou une 'imitation' des greffons monastiques médiévaux anglo-saxons moins ancrée dans un sol irlandais, cultivée plus en surface, où tant de textes exogamiques se seraient greffés sur un

54 *Aspects of the Tain* (Belfast, December Publications, 1992), *In search of the Indo-European* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

55 'The Irish Element in Beowulf', *Studies in Irish Literature* (Dublin: 1955). Voir aussi *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1955.).

56 La formule est de Kenneth Jackson.

noyau anecdotique, et là, les événements de Cu Culainn auraient évolué vers son stade de Texte. Ces deux thèses se rejoignent, étrangement, sur le sol de l'ignorance des valeurs épiques du Moyen Age. Il faut lire les études de Madame Cecile O'Rahilly pour saisir l'urgence de ces valeurs, son indifférence à tout éclat nationaliste ou classique, surtout lorsqu'elle insiste sur une Oralité du Texte, retravaillée au long du Moyen Age à la fois par la parole vive et la parole écrite:

*"Such a repetition of themes or motifs in the development and expansion of the original tale, as represented now by LU, is merely an indication that the story has existed for a long period in tradition. As the central theme was elaborated and the tale grew by the accretion of episodes, the same theme was introduced more than once, with variation of context or with additional detail..."*⁵⁷

Plus loin, elle renforce son argument:

*"The episodic nature of the TBC, the result of continual accretions, is precisely what we should expect in an orally preserved tale. Further the tale is uneven and lopsided, some parts having been elaborated and expanded and stylistically embellished. It has been suggested that the native genius of the Irish writer is better suited to the short story than to a work of long and complicated structure."*⁵⁸

C'est que Madame O'Rahilly comprend la *Tain Bo Cuailnge* comme une voix et non comme une catégorie scientifique, déterrée ou importée quel que 'profondeur' ou 'greffage'⁵⁹! Plus tard, au XIX^e et au XX^e siècles,⁶⁰ Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats reprirent les thèses *nativist* et *medievalist* pour mener combat contre les envahisseurs anglais, stratégie qui effectivement élargit la Félure dans un sens idéologique, où Cu Culainn devint l'emblème d'une nation irlandaise libre, républicaine. Mais voilà qu'en 1968 l'image d'un Cu Culainn nationaliste, irlandais, anti-anglais aurait évolué vers un Cu Culainn catholique ou protestant, se battant pour l'un ou l'autre camp en Irlande du Nord! Le héros restait 'naturellement' irlandais, cependant, il s'est vu enroulé dans les rangs catholiques pour affirmer l'identité irlandaise catholique en Irlande du Nord, son héritage celte contre l'Autre-protestant, ou dans les rangs protestants pour rappeler que les origines de Cu Culainn se trouvaient dans cette Irlande du Nord, et précisément à Belfast, terre autonome irlandaise certes, mais protestante! Là, chaque rang s'empare d'image mythique d'un héros qu'il croit, effectivement, le sien!

La Félure irlandaise se dessine par une violence aux visages multiples, aussi multiples que les formes que Cu Culainn prend pour combattre ses ennemis! Peintes sur les murs de Belfast et de Londonderry, ces images représentent ce Moyen Age éternel, actualisé et réactualisé par des gestes artistiques, politiques et idéologiques qui continuent, bon an mal an, à cultiver l'hostilité et l'aversion de l'Autre...

57 *The Book of Leinster*, (Dublin: Institute of Advanced Studies, 1967), page xix.

58 Idem, page xxv.

59 Comme le dit Jacques Lacan: "...la science est une idéologie de la suppression du sujet." *Scilicet* 2/3 (Paris: Seuil, 1970), 89. Pour nous, la suppression du sujet égale à la suppression de la voix...

60 Plus précisément entre 1880 et 1928.

Conclusion

La Voie Royale: L'Identité Narrative

Concluons notre article sur une Figure majeure dans la construction de notre koiné eurasiatique médiévale: la **Voie Royale**. Figure géographique et ontologique, c'est le Philologue-Voyageur qui la trame, étant à la fois spectateur et acteur de son cheminement dans un monde qu'il traverse et qu'il décrit en tant que *public* et *figurant!* La Voie Royale a tissé notre koiné de la même manière qu'elle a narré notre identité de Philologue-Voyageur.

Figure ancienne, elle fit avancer le Philologue-Voyageur intérieurement (ontologiquement) selon la formule de Philon d'Alexandrie ('...βασιλική οδος ...'), dont l'adjectif 'royale' indique une marche humble et discrète, et la 'voie', celle du Dieu unique, roi du Monde; et extérieurement (géographique), selon Hérodote qui situe la voix royale, bâtie par Darius I,⁶¹ entre Ephèse et Suse, en passant par la Cappadoce et la Babylonie; voie à la fois commerciale et militaire.

La Voie Royale représente le cheminement ontologique et géographique du Philologue-Voyageur, ces deux sciences se parfaissant dans la réalisation d'un Projet, en l'occurrence, la koiné eurasiatique médiévale par leur fusion requise. Or sans cette fusion, la Voie Royale s'avèrerait impraticable; et un Projet sans cheminement, concomitant, interne et externe, est voué à l'échec!

Le Philologue-Voyageur retrace 'sa' Voie Royale parce qu'il y figure et se refigure grâce à elle! Il est tantôt l'acteur tantôt le spectateur; héros et témoin de sa trame identitaire, la seule qui permet l'émergence de l'Autre simultanément avec la conscience de soi-même.

La Voie Royale traduit, chemin faisant, le Projet du Philologue-Voyageur: son parcours à travers l'Eurasie où les Rencontres inter-subjectives fondent et bâissent la koiné. Ce parcours a pour origine l'Espagne médiévale avec son chemin de Saint Jacques, bordé de châteaux catholiques et d'églises visigothes. Puis cette route se transforme en sentiers étroits des Cathares dans le Sud de la France, eux aussi, jalonnés de châteaux, mais cette fois des manichéens. Ces sentiers s'étendent dans l'Asie Mineure, là où ils se transforment en caravansarails seljoukides et perses. Tout un réseau de routes pénètre l'Asie centrale par les déserts de la Route de la Soie jusqu'à Xi'an, voire Beijing, par les Himalayas jusqu'aux forêts denses des pays du Sud-Est de l'Asie, aux temples et aux villes recouverts de végétation et d'oubli! Ces routes-là constituent dans leur ensemble la Voie Royale, c'est-à-dire, la nôtre, appropriée, momentanément, afin d'accomplir notre projet. C'est sur cette Voie re-tracée que notre identité a été narrée. Identification aux peuples de la Voie, à leurs œuvres iconographiques aussi bien que romanesques! D'où l'intertextualité: la Rencontre auditive entre l'opéra d'Alexandre Borodine à partir des notes et des accords des instruments, puis réécrits dans notre *Récit d'Igor*⁶² D'où la Rencontre à Cidambaram dans le Tamil Nadu sur le parvis du Temple de *Nataraja* entre la danse de Dieu-Shiva sur scène et la *Periyapuranam*: Rencontre 'visuelle' qui nous fit voir la nature double de Shiva, hermaphrodite, telle qu'elle est écrite textuellement dans la légende de Saint Sambandar Moorti:

61 Dans l'Empire Achéménide au V^e siècle avant l'ère chrétienne.

62 A partir donc du signifiant! Dans The Aria of Igor: The Black Sun, 221-251.

"Celui de l'étant inséparable, de l'étant femelle et mâle; Il accomplit la danse dans le Hall de danse à Cidambaram; qu'Il soit loué! Qu'Il soit loué!"

D'où plusieurs Rencontres poétiques entre les *Rubáiyát* perses et le Texte de *Digénis Akritas*⁶³, les rimes plates de Victor Hugo et du *Récit d'Igor*⁶⁴, les reliefs topographiques de l'Irlande et le parcours du Cu Culainn.⁶⁵ Sans parler de l'inspiration poétique de nos compagnons de routes de l'Eurasie: Rabindranath Tagore, Lin Yu Tong et André Suarès, de nos maîtres du Moyen Age: Ananda Coomaraswamy, Henri Focillon et Etienne Gilson, et finalement notre maître des montagnes Nicholas Roerich! Nous avons croisé et recroisé ces artistes et écrivains; ils ont concouru à la conception et à la composition de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale.

L'identité narrative narre en frayant la Voie Royale; se narre dans un 'je' débordant d'un surcroît de vie, de vitalité, mais qui convoque l'Autre pour le compléter, le faire évoluer avec ses irréductibles différences! Ainsi le Projet de la koiné se révèle-t-il collectif, tant par les hommes du Passé que par nos compagnons du Présent. Un partage du moment, de halte sur la Voie, inscrit dans chacun de nos livres; témoins d'un vécu spontané et sincère avec l'Autre. Plus que 'démontrer' une quelconque thèse, nos livres-témoins présentent une vie en commun, momentanément partagée, aux Actes heureux et malheureux d'une acceptation mutuelle...

Si Ananda Coomaraswamy posait la fondation de la koiné eurasiatique médiévale, les quatre Figures majeures représentent les piliers et les six Figures mineures, la bâtie, alors la Voie Royale, elle, réunit toutes les Figures comme autant d'îles d'un archipel, d'étoiles d'une constellation, de hauts lieux d'une mappemonde. Ce que cette Figure majeure a vraiment réuni sont les liens fins mais résilients entre un parcours ontologique et géographique, un tracé entre le Passé et le Présent, un chemin entre Rêve et Réalisation...Bref, une Voie entre des hommes de l'Eurasie...

Enfin, la Figure de la Voie Royale nous apprend et nous enseigne que l'Europe et l'Asie ne souffrent aucune réalité ségréguée, compartimentée, opposée. Les voies qui la traversent, fluviales ou battues, ne constituent aucune frontière 'naturelle' ou 'artificielle': ce n'est qu'une force et une activité politique, mercenaire, raciste qui avait imposé un semblant de frontière imaginaire entre les 'deux côtés'. La réalité est tout autre: celle de la koiné eurasiatique, de la Voie Royale; Voie qui joint toute voie eurasiatique et dont ces épopées médiévales bornent les contours, dessinent la fusion de tous les horizons...

"Nombreux sont les chemins encore inconnus qui y mènent, mais un seul chemin est réservé à chaque penseur; le sien, dans les traces duquel il lui faudra errer en incessant va-et-vient jusqu'à ce qu'enfin il le maintienne comme sien- sans pourtant qu'il lui appartienne jamais- et qu'il dise ce qui s'appréhende par ce chemin."

Chemins qui ne mènent nulle part

M. Heidegger

63 Dans The Discovery of the Manuscript at Sumela', pages 31-51 et La Grande Idée, 367-387.

64 Dans 'La Prophétie de Svyatoslav: мънь сънъ видѣ (Le rêve troublant), 137-147.

65 Mirabile Paul, *La Tain Bo Cuailnge* (Hong Kong: Voies Itinérantes, 2003).

MIRABILE, Paul: Methodological Figures in the Making of the Mediaeval Eurasian Koine

The author exposes the major and minor Figures that have guided him on his explorations in the regions of Eurasia where his research on mediaeval epic tales was carried out. First he renders homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy for having laid the foundation of the Eurasian Koine, then he recounts how upon this solid mediaeval Eurasian foundation he set out to erect the Pillars of the House by medium of four major Figure-guides: the Being Exposed, the Parallel Doors, Peripheral Thinking and the Philology of the Future. Then the House itself was constructed with as his minor Figures: the Funnel Theory, Hermaphrodism, Oralture, Mediaeval Alchemy, Mobility and the Crack. The conclusion focuses on yet another major Figure, the Royal Road, upon whose many meandering ways the author was not only able to discover and explore the mediaeval epic tales of the Eurasian Koine, and join their vast differences into a coherent One, but more importantly, was able to encounter the Other, and with this Other as his road companion, join the Present to the Past. For it is by these two joinings that the reality of the Eurasian Mediaeval Koine debunks the long-standing artificial separation of Europe with Asia, dismisses the artless refrain of two opposed and opposing humanities...



MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

The Road to Van Eyck¹

— *A Panorama of Northern European fine art in the first half of the 15th-century* —



Jan van Eyck: The Annunciation. c. 1430-1435.

Oak, transferred on to canvas in St Petersburg after
1864, 92.7 x 36.7 cm. Washington DC, National Gallery
of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection. Source:

www.boijmans.nl.

¹ Exhibition organized in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam between 13 October 2012 and 10 February 2013.
(<http://www.boijmans.nl/en/>)

Jan Van Eyck seemed, in the eyes of later generations, to light up suddenly as a supernova, his unique genius turning the art of painting and setting profoundly new standards of beauty. Was it really so? Is he really an inventor without forbearers or, can we root his oeuvre within his time? A current exhibition in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen attempts to answer this question by bringing together some ninety artworks created around the time of Jan van Eyck's birth.

Jan van Eyck was born not much before 1400, most likely in Maaseik in the historical region of Flanders (including today's Belgium, The Netherlands, and some parts of France). His elder brother, Hubert, was already a renowned painter by the time Jan began his apprenticeship (in his brother's workshop?), although the few remaining sources do not allow to assess Hubert's achievements with certainty. At that time, Flanders was one of the most densely urbanised areas in Europe. The prosperity of Flanders, a land which is relatively poor in natural resources, was based on the well-organized production and Europe-wide trade of fine woollen and linen cloth. The rich cities of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres and Antwerp held a key economic position and were the originators of many new ideas. In van Eyck's time, this region belonged to the Dukes of Burgundy, an extremely influential noble family. The Burgundian dukes were famous of their sumptuous courts ornate with works of the greatest sculptors, painters, illuminators, goldsmiths, glaziers and tapestry-weavers of Dutch, Flemish, French and German origin. Under their rule, the arts flourished and a new naturalist style emerged that gradually replaced the previously prevailing International Gothic style. Jan van Eyck was one of the leading artists of this new style, commonly referred to as Early Netherlandish art or the art of the Flemish Primitives.

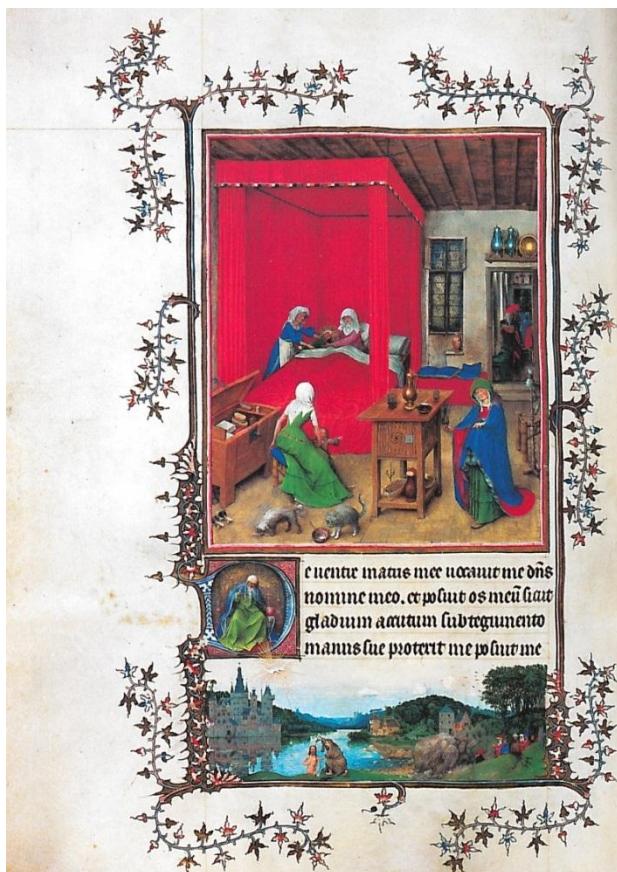
However, the new style was far more than an artistic wave. It was the expression of a profound change in mentality that can be traced in almost every aspects of life and was preceded by a period of intensive crises. In the 1300s severe famines and mass starvation hit Western Europe, partly because of a climate shift and partly because the population exceeded the agricultural capacity. The strike of the Black Death added to the toll, as well as the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, and various rebellions in the towns. The Church was undergoing deep crises (Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism), black magic and devil worship flourished and various popular religious movements arose (pilgrims, flagellants, Lollards, Devotio Moderna, Hussites...). From the 1400s national monarchies got gradually stabilized and life became more stable (except for religious matters; as the Church opposed to all renewal attempts, the reformation and religious warfare became inevitable).

From this political and social turmoil there emerged a new European character, intimately linked to the growing urban centres. It placed value on individual achievements and personal genius and experienced itself -uniquely in the God-created universe- as bestowed with the freedom of choice. The first sprouts of the modern Self were cropping up. The shift of values resulted in several revolutionary changes in the art of painting.

As the esteem of the human element increased, there increased the importance of depicting its actual physical appearance and its actual surroundings. Painting became naturalistic, and the Van Eyck brothers were the first great masters of the new art. Looking at their artworks, we perceive an obvious joy in the faithful representation of interiors and everyday objects. They attest a deep reverence towards creation in a broad sense, including creation of objects through men. It is as if the spiritual had turned away from a far, beyond-human realm and had infused into the immediate surroundings of the people. Although naturalism in painting emerged first in northern Italy, namely, in the art of Giotto, nowhere

else did it reach such perfection as in Flanders. Northern artists achieved absolute perfection in rendering the material, the texture, and the outlines of things as well as of figures and their artworks were sought throughout Europe. In the course of the 15th century more works produced in Flanders moved to Italy than vice versa. At the current exhibition we can see a couple of artworks created for the wide market –lower quality for lower price– which may have originated in the same workshop that created more elaborate works as well. In spite of the former abundance, sadly, only two to three dozen panel paintings remained that were painted in Flanders around the years 1400.

The increasing importance given to the representation of real places brought with it the discovery of linear perspective. In the pre-Eyckian period landscapes were composed of independently existing landscape elements, which served as indications of certain locations where a particular story happened. In the new painting, the figures were placed in virtual spaces that convincingly imitated the feeling of real places or, from the mid-15th century, were more and more often faithful depictions of real places. The new way of rendering space appeared in Flanders and in North Italy at around the same time, seemingly independently. The Italian Renaissance artists approached this question with a quasi-scientific study of the rules of perspective; first constructing a framework of perspective lines and then placing the figures carefully in the resulted virtual space. North of the Alps artists proceeded more directly, so to say more through trial and error. Their great invention was the aerial perspective, that is, perspective through the gradations of tones, which conveys the feeling of immense distances. A beautiful example is the bas-de-page of the illumination below.



Jan van Eyck and various French and Netherlandish illuminators: The so-called Turin-Milan Hours, c. 1380/1400 until c. 1450.
Vellum, 26.4 x 20.3 cm. Turin, Palazzo Madama
– Museo Civico d'Arte Antica.
Source: www.boijmans.nl.

One of the big surprises of the current exhibition is the consideration that Jan van Eyck also worked as a book illuminator. The outstanding quality of some of the miniatures in the so-called Turin-Milan Hours (Turin Prayer Book), probably commissioned by Philip the Good of Burgundy, provoked this suggestion. The above vellum looks very much like a scaled-down panel painting of Jan van Eyck. The central image, showing the birth of John the Baptist, and especially the *bas-de-page* depicting the baptism of Christ as well as the initial with God the Father – are all executed with the same breathtaking finesse that characterizes van Eyck's paintings.



Jan van Eyck: Portrait of Baudouin de Lannoy,

c. 1435-1440.

Oak panel, 26 x 19.5 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen,

Gemäldegalerie. Source: www.boijmans.nl.

The inner motive to represent individuals leads to the development of portraiture. In Gothic artworks, mostly biblical stories were depicted. In rare cases were nobles painted; these portraits are highly generalised and almost always shown in the way that required the least personal rapport: from profile. The new art brought an increasingly faithful representation into the portraiture and Jan van Eyck is known as one of the first great European masters of portrait painting. He had been sent to Portugal, in order to paint a portrait of the Infanta Isabella, who was to become wife to Philip the Good. Instead of profile, Van Eyck painted his portraits in a three-quarters view or even full face, often with one hand

resting on the edge of the niche that the person occupies – the latter served as a *trop l'oeil*. It was certainly not his invention², nevertheless, became widely copied after his works.

Also the person of the artist became important. From the 1400s, we find signed and dated works in increasing number, as well as written documents referring to artists with their full names.

Among the technical inventions easel painting and the use of oil as a binding medium are the most important. Both originated in Flanders. Jan van Eyck excelled in painting technique as well; Honour and Fleming note on his special ability to handle oil paint: "The transparency of the pigments gives his paintings a unique jewel-like quality to which no reproduction can do justice. They seem to emit light from within." Although oil was already in use long before Van Eyck appeared on the scene, he brought the handling of oil paint to an unprecedented perfection. He was able to render the brilliance of gold with purely painterly means, so that the use of gold leaves in the painting became unnecessary. Other great innovators of the time, such as Robert Campin, Rogier van der Weyden, or the 'Master of Flémalle' come nowhere near to Van Eyck regarding the feeling for the effects of light³.

Taken together, all the revolutions traditionally attributed to Jan van Eyck can already be traced in pre-Eyckian painting, however, in a fragmentary, rather uncertain way.

The below triptych, first time presented on a public exhibition, is an outstanding work from the pre-Eyckian period. It is traditionally conceived, although the architectural elements on the two side wings as well as the gestures and color tones of John the Baptist on the right wing, are painted with great mastery and appear fresh and new.



Bruges (?), Triptych with the Anointing of Christ's Body c. 1410-1420.
Oak, centre panel 31 x 31.9 x 1.9 cm; wings 31 x 12.8 cm each. Private collection.

Source: www.boijmans.nl.

² Fransen, 2012

³ Kemperdick and Lammertse, 2012

Jean Malouel, uncle of the Limbourg brothers Pol and Jean, is a well-known master of the period. *The Virgin with Angels and Butterflies* is an exquisitely beautiful painting, one of the main attractions on the exhibition, and also known as the earliest extant Franco-Flemish painting on canvas.



Jean Malouel (?): The Virgin with Angels and Butterflies, c. 1410.
Canvas, 107 x 81 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie. Source: www.boijmans.nl.

The artistic inventions spread very quickly. From the 1440s onwards, soon after Van Eyck's death, his innovations became widely used. Copying of paintings was an established custom in the training of painters as well as for the reproduction of masterpieces. Van Eyck's works were widely copied (of which we can see examples on the current exhibition) in drawing as well as in painting. Although he was innovative in many respects, Jan van Eyck's works also evidence a medieval belief in the harmonious unity and stability of the world: his figures are static and radiant with eternal beauty. In the art of the somewhat later Rogier van Weyden, though he was echoing Jan van Eyck's work at an early stage, we see more of our modern concept of the human element: the figures of van der Weyden are less static⁴ and his portraits are more of an interpretative character compared to the descriptive style of Jan van Eyck.

*

⁴ Kindly pointed out by Rien Monschouwer in the course of a personal conversation.

Putting up the present exhibition required a tremendous effort from both the organizers and the public. Private individuals raised some €700.000 for the purpose, without their help, it would have not come into being. In spite of the obvious public interest, visitors untrained in art history may face great difficulties when confronted with the celebrated artworks of six hundred years ago. This became apparent to me when a friend, with whom I visited the exhibition, asked me about the reason for dressing a large map at the entrance. I got surprised at this question and answered that it was the rightest way to present the differences of the political situation of then and now and to see the close ties between certain areas of France, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands and help us to imagine the free movement of artists and artworks between these countries... Some time later it occurred to me that what I found evident, and what surprised this friend coming from a traditional religious background was the overwhelmingly intellectual approach that the current exhibition is set with.

But how could we surpass the boundaries established by our own culture? How could we show these pieces, deprived of their original context, in a way that it would somehow evoke the feelings and ideas they had been able to evoke? It is easy to enjoy Van Eyck, because we partly share his world view but it can be tremendously difficult to enjoy the works of many of his contemporaries. I think some additional information either in pictorial or musical form on the late medieval monastery and court life might have helped to get more in tune with the presented artworks.

Due to the scarcity of remaining 15th century artworks and their world-wide dispersal, a broad international cooperation including more than fifty museums in twelve countries and years of work was required for putting up the exhibition. It is therefore a unique occasion to see these masterpieces together, in the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam, until 10 February, 2013. The exhibition is accompanied by a fully illustrated, substantial catalogue.

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PLÁJÁS, Ildikó Zonga

Curved Reflexion — a Five-Day Experience of Cinematic Art from India —

Indian Film Festival The Hague 2012 – 2nd edition

Ladies of Miss India 2012 welcomed us as we entered the reception of the 2nd edition of Indian Film Festival The Hague. Model cut girls in pseudo Indian clothes with sparkling details, pinkish and

artificial inserts, and gimmicky smiles yet with an air of melodramatic seriousness. Films and festival, content and appearance shared the same ambivalence; the sometimes astonishing sometimes charming opposites which otherwise characterizes the whole Indian society and culture.

As the main page of the festivals' website appropriately states: 'The Indian Film Festival The Hague will take you on an unforgettable journey to India, an overwhelming country filled with contrast. The festival explores the changing identity of India through the eyes of film makers. [...] Five days of cinema, five days of eclectic and exciting programming, five days of mesmerizing India for all ages and all kinds. Whether you're a lover of art or a lover of nightlife the IndianFFTH has something for you.'

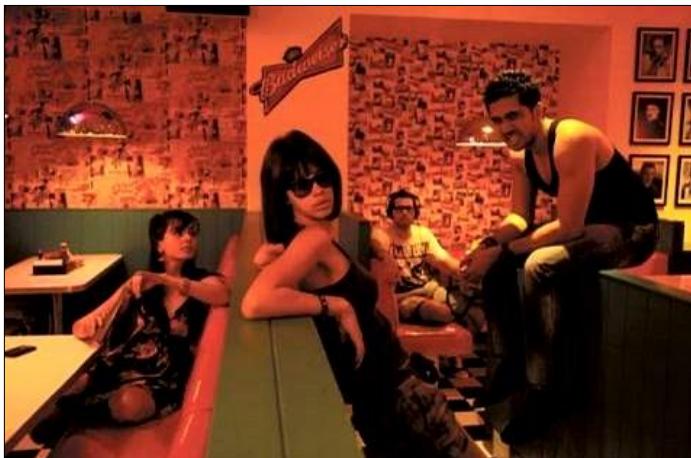
The festival took place between 3-7 October 2012 and during the 5 days of rich programming a total of 27 films were screened, more than half being Dutch premieres. The festival this year run on more locations and a number of

additional screenings and events took place. A special educational program was connected to the screening of the children film *Chillar Party* (d. Nitesh Tiwari and Vikas Bahl) and a special Indian Ladies Night was organized where the audience could watch the longest-running film in the history of Indian cinema, *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (The lover will take the bride), a Bollywood classic from 1995.

This year the festival was enlarged with a Retrospective screening with five films of the director Shyam Benegal. Born in 1934 in Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh) he started his career in Mumbai, and after the success of his first feature film, *Ankur*, in 1973, he directed more than another twenty feature films. Shyam Benegal is considered by many the father of Independent Cinema in India. The titles screened during the 2nd Indian Film Festival The Hague were *Ankur* (1973), *Bhumika* (1976), *Suraj Ka Satvan Ghoda* (1993), *Sardari Begum* (1996) and *Zubeida* (2001).



The spectrum of the films screened during the Indian Film Festival was much larger than the previous year. The wide and ambitious collection constituted a real gratuity for the Dutch audience, yet the large numbers of films also carried the chances of making slip-ops. In one thing the festival was truly consistent, i.e. presenting the colorful diversity of the Indian film production. At the side of very specific Bollywood bestsellers, art-film productions and documentaries were also screened, representing a unique opportunity for taking a glance at the marvelous world of India from both an upper and a lower angle.



Shaitan

Right at the beginning, the festival was inaugurated with a bestseller. The *Shaitan* (d. Bejoy Nambiar) has everything, maybe even too much of what makes a film popular among a H(B)ollywood audience with modest film culture. A modern adaptation of filmic clichés applied on a Bollywood pattern: the decadent lifestyle of rich teenagers with music inserts realized like video clips, trimmed images and dashed editing. The plot is overcrowded too. One of the main characters is a psychologically unstable but lush teenage girl, symbolically the devil, who together with his friends is getting into increasingly dangerous troubles. All they are

seeking is innocent fun but when under the influence of alcohol and drugs they suffer a car accident killing somebody, the troubles are starting to get fatal. The additional stories are also platitudinous. A corrupt policeman finds out the truth and he asks a big amount of money in return for his silence. The youngsters in order to get the money are faking a kidnapping. While they are hiding they face the social problems of real India, sexual abuse, corruption, controlled media, poverty, illegal prostitution, etc. Finally the case is solved by a good cop who is also living his family drama.

As if all the plot wouldn't be enough, the film includes his story too. He (I mean the good policemen – and no need to worry if the story seems bit too diffuse, as at this point some of the audience also left the screening room) is getting divorced because on other man made a pass at his wife. He takes revenge but this almost costs his job. At the end, while looking for the kidnapped youngsters he still comes across a raped and killed German woman and kills two criminals. Meanwhile the youngsters are also going crazy and start killing each other, but all is well that ends well, the main character survives, the bad policeman gets his punishment and the good policeman gets back with his wife.

The films of the Indian Film Festival were very different in their character targeting the widest spectrum of audience. Those from the 'best of Bollywood' category sometimes were seeking recognition with abusing Bollywood clichés while low budget documentaries were delving into the deepest human misery. An astonishing contrast yet unquestionably belonging to the same reality called India and Indian film production.

Women are waiting hopeless for their husbands and sons in a remote area affected by war and poverty. The film entitled *Broken memory, shining dust* (d. Nilosree Biswas) starts slowly with strong, touching pictures and a staggeringly honest narration. While the topic of the film is *only* the struggles and hopes of a couple Kashmiri women, the strong subjective images and highly cinematic elaboration takes us into a deep and fascinating world of human endurance and hope, maybe one of the strongest cinematic experience one could have during the 2nd Indian Film Festival The Hague.



Broken Memory, Shining Dust

acts or personal stories but more about the feeling of vulnerability in the sluggish fog. Gurvinder Singh proves to be a master of depicting the space as well, as he turns into the 'silent witness of events'. The cast of amateur authentic villagers and their minimalistic performance turn the film into a silent ballad communicating through its extraordinary images and an atmosphere which gives goose bumps during the entire screening.

Alms for the Blind Horse



fertility problem introducing meanwhile the spectator to a world sawed up by the gaps of social inequalities, impenetrable healthcare system, business and exploitation. Jhuma and Niladri live in Burdwan, West Bengal, and are married for 8 years. Their misfortune of not having kids is more than just a family drama as in India childless married women are considered impure. What are the chances for a regular Indian family to fight the nature of their bodies and social prejudice?

The *Ahney Ghorhey Da Daan (Alms for a Blind Horse)* (d. Gurvinder Singh) was already screened in the Netherlands during the Rotterdam Film Festival this year, yet the film unquestionably has a place in the collection of Best of India. The struggle of a small community in the Punjab region is elaborated in a strongly visual language and the director with his special talent and great knowledge manages to raise his topic to a universal level. The marginalized and powerless villagers are fighting desperately their truth with the ferocious lord and social order, yet the film is not about

Not only the film-genres but also the elaborated thematic showed a marvelous richness at the 2nd edition of Indian Film Festival The Hague. The topic of surrogate mothers and alternative birth clinics for example lately shows an increasing tendency, many films, be it fictions or non-fictions addressing the subject, nevertheless Indian women only appear exclusively in the roles of the surrogate mother. The documentary entitled *Mother India* (d. Raffaele Brunetti) gives an inside of the same story from a different perspective, whereas the beneficiaries are - or at least should be - a childless Indian couple. The film follows their bumpy journey seeking solution for their

India seen through the eyes of all these films remains the country of questions with multiple answers. A land full of contrasts: wealth versus poverty, tradition versus progression, social and cultural constraints versus the majesty of cultural heritage and faith, and nevertheless the contrast of films on the widest spectrum of quality, quantity, genre and value presented at the 2nd Indian Film Festival The Hague.



TÓTH-UBBENS, Magdi

Een vorstelijke jachtpartij in Frankrijk

De kunst van het jagen met valken.

*Wer wil nach valken art derjage
der sal sich hohen alle tage
mit tugenden und mit milde*

'Der Minner im Garten'. [1]

Notitie n.a.v. de 15^{de} eeuwse waterverf-tekening 'De Vispartij' op de tentoonstelling "Jan van Eyck terug in Museum Meermanno te Den Haag", 26 februari t/m 11 maart 2012 (afb I).

Herkomst: Parijs, Musée du Louvre, Cab. des Dess., 20674, ca. 1420-1425 (afb. I). Met het latere opschrift in hoofdletters: 'VETERUM BURGUNDIAE DUCUM CONIUGUMQUE FILIORUM FILIARUMQUE HABITUS AC VESTITUS'. Voorheen Bourgondische, later keizerlijke collecties van het Huis Habsburg te Wenen. Zie ook het schilderij, zijnde een kopie naar deze tekening, door de Franse historie- en portrettschilder Charles-Alexandre Debacq (1804-1850), Musée du Château de Versailles, [2] (afb. II).

Voorstelling: Twee gezelschappen van edellieden, van vrouwen aan de linkerzijde en mannen aan de rechterzijde (gezien vanuit de toeschouwer), staan tegenover elkaar op een open plek in het bos met op de achtergrond een kasteel met vele torens. Zij worden gescheiden door een tussen hen in stromend beekje. Aan het hoofd van de edelvrouwen staat de Franse koningin Isabeau (Elizabeth) van Beieren (1371-1435) uit het huis Wittelsbach, de echtgenote van en regentes voor haar echtgenoot, de geesteszieke koning Charles VI van Frankrijk, 'le Fou' of 'le Bien-Aimé' uit het huis Valois (1368/1380-21 oktober 1422). Koningin Isabeau, in een miniatuurportretje duidelijk herkenbaar afgebeeld, draagt - tijdens de valkenjacht - een eenvoudige tulbandachtige hoed met een broche met drie afhangende kettinkjes, waaronder twee 'horentjes', een Frans hoofddeksel geïnspireerd door de kleurrijke tulbanden der Osmaanse Turken [3]. Met een vergelijkbare, rijk versierde hartvormige hoofdtooii ('bourrelet') wordt koningin Isabeau eveneens in miniatuur geportretteerd, met haar hofdames, in vol ornaat in haar paleis gezeten, in de openingsminiatuur van het verzamelhandschrift 'the Queen's manuscript' (ms Harley 4431, 3r, Brit. Libr., Londen, 1413) (afb. III). In onze tekening staat de Franse koningin gehuld in een wijd op de grond slepend gewaad, een 'houppelande' met neergeslagen, van bont gemaakte kraag en een hoge gordel. Op haar schouders draagt zij een gouden schakelketting. Zij houdt op haar gehandschoende linkervuist een afgerichte jachtvalk zonder huif (kapje) op zijn kop vast, terwijl haar

rechterhand half schuil gaat in een lange afhangende 'hangmouw'. Achter de koningin staat een jong, opzij stappend en wegkijkend, 'blikontwijkend', meisje, haar dochter, de bruid, prinses Catherine uit het Huis Valois (1401-1437), die op haar onbedekte haar, zijnde ongehuwd, een haarband ('chapelet') met witte parels of bloemetjes draagt. Ook zij draagt een over de grond slepende 'houppelande' met een gouden schakelketting op haar schouders. Zij beiden, moeder en dochter, worden door zes edelvrouwen vergezeld, van wie er een, staande achter de Franse koningsdochter, een jachtvalk op haar linkervuist houdt en de jachtvogel een brokje vlees (aas), als beloning voor zijn terugkeer en in ruil voor de prooi, aanreikt, terwijl een andere edelvrouw, knielend aan de kant van de beek een lange lichtgebogen stok (hengel?) in haar rechterhand vasthoudt en tegen de (hengel) stok van een der edellieden aan de overzijde van het stromende water stoot [4].

Aan het hoofd van de edelen staat de slanke, atletische figuur van de Engelse koning, Henry V uit het Huis Lancaster (1386 of 1387/1413-31 augustus 1422); prins van Wales, hertog van Aquitanië, Lancaster, Cornwall en earl van Chester. Hij was volgens de Engelse kronieken 'taller than most men, his face fair and set on a longish neck, his body graceful, his limbs slender but marvellously strong', maar bovenal een succesvolle legeraanvoerder – de overwinnaar in de vermaarde slag bij Azincourt op 25 oktober 1415 (feestdag van de Franse heilige schoenmakers Crispinus en Crispianus van Soissons) -, sportief, een hartstochtelijke jager, muzikaal en geletterd. [5]. Op de linkervuist van de koning zit een jachtvalk zonder huif, terwijl hij in zijn rechterhand de vogel een brokje vlees (aas) als beloning voorhoudt. De koninklijke jacht met gevangengenomen en goed getrainde jachtvalken, de snelste roofvogels ter wereld, wordt in de middeleeuwse dichtkunst bezongen en in de beeldende kunst afgebeeld als het liefdes- of het hoofse minnespel van de ridderlijke jager en de edelvrouw, het beeld der liefde, van wederzijdse trouw en zelfdiscipline, de deugd der christelijke zelfonthouding. Het was in het minnespel de taak der vrouw (of het jonge meisje) om door weg te kijken de blik van de man te ontwijken en op die manier de man te louteren en van hem een beter mens te maken. [6]

De Engelse koning, na zijn huwelijksuitoefening met de Franse prinses Catherine in mei/juni 1420, hertog van Normandië, regent van Frankrijk en schoonzoon van de geesteszieke Franse koning, is gekleed in een met bont geboord, hooggesloten scharlaken gewaad met uitgehakkeld randen en met lange neerhangende gekartelde 'mouwen' en met van zijn polsen afhangende stroken van bont. De lange scharlaken mantel is bezaaid met witte bloemetjes met blaadjes als klavertjes-drie. Op zijn hoofd draagt hij een zwarte of donkerpaarse Bourgondisch-Vlaamse kaproen ('chaperon'), waaraan, aan een der zijslappen, een ovaalvormige gouden sierspeld met drie afhangende kettinkjes, met in het midden het Griekse kruisteken (?0 als embleem. Dit kruisteken met gelijke armen, is het attribuut van St George / St. Joris, de Drakendoder (feestdag 23 april), patroonheilige van Engeland en de beschermheilige van de Orde van de Kousenband [7]. De Engelse koning draagt voorts als hoofd van het Huis Lancaster een gouden schouderketting met schakels en edelstenen in de vorm van rozen met in het midden een medaillon, met het 'X'- of St. Andreaskruis (?) (feestdag St. Andreas 30 november, de patroonheilige van Griekenland, Schotland en Bourgondië). Ten tijde van het bewind van hertog Jan zonder Vrees, hertog van Bourgondië, graaf van Vlaanderen en Artesië (1371-1419) was het schuine St. Andreaskruis het partijtje van de Bourgondiërs. Tevens draagt de Engelse koning een halsketting met het T(au)-kruis met het St. Antoniusklokje, de onderscheidingstekenen van een lid van een leken-St. Antoniusbroederschap (St.Antonius, feestdag 17 januari, de geboortedag van hertog Philips de Stoute, Pontoise

1342 – Halle 1404, begraven in zijn kartuizer klooster te Champmol bij Dijon). Ook dit sieraad en de Vlaamse/Bourgondische kaproen wordt door de Engelse koning gedragen ten teken van politieke verbondenheid met de Bourgondiërs. Naar wij veronderstellen staat achter de rug van de Engelse koning hertog Jan zonder Vrees als een ‘stille’, geheime bondgenoot in een miniatuurportretje ‘en profil’ geportretteerd (*afb. IVA*). Hij is gekleed in een rode mantel herkenbaar versierd met – naar wij veronderstellen – zijn embleem, de schaaf met houtkrullen. Zijn (Vlaamse) motto was ‘Ic hou(d) (vast)’. De Bourgondische hertog had, zonder dat iemand daarvan op de hoogte was, begin oktober 1416 te Caen met de Engelse koning ‘afgepakteerd’, ‘un pacte infernal’ volgens de Franse geschiedschrijvers, terwijl de Engelse historici de hertog een ‘double-dealer’ noem(d)en. Eind mei 1418 veroveren de Bourgondische troepen de stad Parijs. Na massale slachtpartijen in juni trekt hertog Jan zonder Vrees in eigen persoon half juli de stad binnen, gezeten op zijn paard versierd met zijn embleem, de schaaf met houtkrullen, terwijl zijn soldaten op hun harnassen of borstplaten het ‘X’-kruis, het St. Andreaskruis, dragen [8] (*afb. IVB*).

De belangrijkste plaats van verering van de relieken van de koptische woestijnheremiet St. Antonius Abt of de ‘Kluizenaar’ (251-356; meegenomen door een Franse kruisvaarder uit Byzantium) was sedert ca. 1000 gelegen in de oude Franse pelgrimskerk St. Antoine-en-Viennois, (Dep. Isère). De heilige Antonius, een nood-heilige, was een bescherm- en geneesheilige van mens en dier (met name van varkens en pluimvee) en werd aangeroepen tegen het Antonius-vuur (ergotisme of moederkorenvergiftiging) en andere ongeneeslijke infectieziekten, zoals pest, miltvuur (antrax) etc. Zijn sterf/geboortedag wordt gevierd op 17 januari. Op vele plaatsen werden hospitalen opgericht. In de 13^{de} eeuw ontstond de Congregatie der Antonieten, die de verzorging der zieken aan St. Antonius-lekenbroederschappen overdroegen. In 1776 werd deze congregatie van reguliere Augustijner kanunniken opgenomen in de Maltezer Orde. Ook te Havré bij Bergen/Mons in Henegouwen was een leken-St. Antoniusbroederschap verbonden aan de kapel van St. Antoine-en-Barbefosse, in 1382 opgericht door hertog Albrecht van Beieren (1336-1404), paltsgraaf op de Rijn, hertog in Beieren, ruwaard (landvoogd) vanaf 1358, graaf van Henegouwen, Holland, Zeeland en heer van Friesland (1389-1404), als teken van dank voor het behoud en genezing van zijn oudste zoon, hertog Willem VI (1365-1417) [9].

Het profane thema van de jachtvoorstelling met de valkerij en visserij (?) van twee in alle rust en vrede tegenover elkaar staande koninklijke gezelschappen geeft een politiek-historische gebeurtenis in de vorm van een allegorie weer, n.l. een vorstelijke valkenjacht, een jachtspel, ter gelegenheid van het huwelijk en de vredesluiting tussen de koninkrijken Engeland en Frankrijk (1419-1420). Het is uit de kronieken bekend op welke wijze de eerste ontmoeting tussen de twee soevereinen plaatsvond. Nauwkeurig werd de plaats van samenkomst bepaald en beschreven. De twee partijen, d.w.z. de Engelsen onder leiding van de Engelse koning en de Fransen onder leiding van de Franse koningin met haar huwbare dochter, als een soort ‘lokduif’, zouden elkaar ontmoeten op een neutrale open plek in het open veld gelegen tussen de twee oorlogsgebieden. De Engelsen kwamen uit de richting van Meulan en de Fransen uit de richting van Pontoise, waar op 17 januari 1342, op St. Antoniusdag, Philips de Stoute, stichter van het hertogdom Bourgondië (1364), als de jongste zoon van de Franse koning Jan II de Goede (1319-1350), werd geboren. Beide plaatsen liggen ten Noord-Westen van de stad Parijs, die sedert 29 mei 1418 in handen was van de partij der Bourgondiërs en vervolgens van 1420 tot 1436 onder bewind stond

van de Engelse koningen. De partijen moesten zich strikt aan de minutieuze afspraken en strakke regels voor deze historische ontmoeting houden.

De Engelse koning wordt vergezeld, naar men veronderstelt, door een 'Knight of the Garter' omdat deze op zijn linkerbeen het teken van 'the most noble Order of the Garter', de Orde van de Kousenband toont. De Kousenband, letterlijk een jarretel of sokophouder is een korte riem of band met kuitgesp, gedragen onder de knie, voorzien van de spreuk 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', 'Schande over hem, die er kwaad van denkt'. Deze beenversiering onder de knie, geschilderd als een soort strik, is naar wij aannemen het teken van de Orde van de Kousenband is (*zie afb. VA en VB*). De technische foto's zullen hierover wellicht meer duidelijkheid kunnen geven. Deze figuur, een Engelse edelman, naar wij aannemen Thomas, hertog van Clarence (1389-1421), een broer en huwelijksgetuige van de Engelse koning, houdt in zijn rechterhand, als luitenant-generaal of admiraal, een opgeheven korte staf. Hij draagt een zwarte muts met opstaande rand van bont op zijn hoofd. Achter hem staat nog een edelman, als een Bourgondische St. Antonius-broeder met een valk op zijn gehandschoende linkerhand, die de valk een brokje vlees (aas) geeft [10].

Deze ridder, drager van de band van de Orde van de Kousenband (?) onder zijn knie kan o.i. in ieder geval niet hertog Willem VI van Beieren, paltsgraaf op de Rijn, hertog in Beieren, graaf van Henegouwen, Holland, Zeeland en heer van Friesland zijn, omdat deze zich in 1416, na zijn tweede bezoek aan de Engelse koning Henry V, aan de zijde van zijn schoonzoon, de Franse kroonprins Jean, hertog van Touraine, graaf van Ponthieu, dauphin van Viennois (1398-1417) had geschaard. De Franse kroonprins, de Dauphin, was immers sinds 6 augustus 1415 (dag van de Transfiguratie) de eerste echtgenoot van hertogin Jacoba van Beieren, gravin van Henegouwen, Holland en Zeeland en Vrouwe van Friesland (1401-1436), de enige wettige erfdochter van hertog Willem VI en zijn echtgenote, hertogin Margaretha van Bourgondië (1374-1441). De jonge Franse kroonprins stierf echter reeds twee jaar later en kroonprinses-hertogin 'Jacob' 'Delphyne van Vyennen', bleef als jonge weduwe achter. In talloze portretten wordt zij dan ook als een vorstelijke Franse weduwe, getooid met hermelijn, het bont der koningen en prinsen, afgebeeld.

Hertog Willem van Beieren, graaf van Oostervant was de stichter van de Hollandse Orde van de Tuin, opgericht ter gelegenheid van zijn huwelijk op 12 april 1385 (feestdag van St. Marcus, wiens attribuut de leeuw is), met hertogin Margaretha van Bourgondië, gravin van Oostervant, waarvan de versierselen door een goudsmid genaamd Jacomart Pierchen uit Bergen (Mons) zijn vervaardigd (uitbetaling op dinsdag voor Allerheiligendag, 30 oktober 1386). Dit ordeteken, genaamd 'De Tuin' was een gouden of zilveren ketting met schakels als vlechtheggen rondom een Hof, afgesloten door een hekje, in navolging van het symbolisch-theologische beeld van de 'Hortus Conclusus' (*zie Vulgaat, Canticum Canticorum, Hooglied 4:12*), de 'Besloten Tuin' of de 'Oommuurde Hof', zijnde de Onbevlekte Maagd Maria, de Moeder Gods, 'bewaakt door de Leeuw van Vlaanderen of van Holland. Vermoedelijk werd graaf Willem bovendien geïnspireerd door het beeld van de beschrijving van 'Onze Lieve Vrouwe van de Tuyn', verschenen in 1383 in de hemel boven het klooster der Franciscanen in de stad Ieper, de rijke hoofdstad van West-Vlaanderen. Tijdens de Honderd-jarige Oorlog werd deze stad door de troepen der Engelsen, tezamen met de Gentenaaren, platgebrand. Alles werd vernield met uitzondering van het Franciscaanse klooster aan de rand van de stad. Jaarlijks wordt deze redding door de Maagd Maria nog steeds gevierd op de eerste zondag van de maand augustus geheten de 'Thuyndagkermis van Ieper'.

Kort na elkaar overleden de Franse kroonprins Jean, op 4 april 1417, en hertog Willem VI, op 31 mei 1417. Hertog Willems enige dochter en erfgename, hertogin Jacoba van Beieren, de door zijn broer Johan, hertog van Beieren-Straubing, prins-elect van Luik, paltsgraaf op de Rijn, graaf van Loon en heer van erflanden in Holland (1374/1417-1425) betwiste erfopvolgster, was overeenkomstig de wil van haar ten tijde van het huwelijk reeds overleden vader, op 10 maart 1418, ten tweede male getrouwed (zonder dispensatie van de paus) met neef (in de tweede graad) Jan van Bourgondië, hertog van Lothingen, Brabant en Limburg, markgraaf van het Heilige Roomse Rijk (1403-1427), een maand later, op 10 april 1418 kerkelijk bevestigd en gezegend voor de ingangsdeur van de grafelijke kapittelkerk, de Mariakapel op het Hof in Den Haag. Achter de ridder van de Kousenband met de staf in zijn rechterhand staat waarschijnlijk een Bourgondische edelman, een St. Antoniusbroeder, met de halsketting met T(au)-kruis en St. Antoniusklokje. Twee jonge edelen, staande naast en hurkende voor de Engelse koning vermaken zich met hun (hengel?) stokken aan de oever van de beek vol met waterplanten. Achter de koning staat nog een jonge edelman met een jachtvalk op zijn linker vuist. Twee kleine hazewindachtige jachthonden, die het waterwild lokaliseren en als prooi voor de jachtvalken uit zijn schuilplaats opjagen, staan tegenover elkaar aan beide kanten van de beek, terwijl een ander hondje, ten teken van trouw afgebeeld voor de voeten van de Engelse koning, omkijkt naar de toeschouwer.

Na de eerste ontmoeting van beide vorsten einde mei 1419 liepen de daarmee gepaard gaande vredes- en huwelijksonderhandelingen op een mislukking uit en trok de Franse koninklijke familie zich terug in de door de Bourgondiërs sinds 1417 bezette stad Troyes onder leiding en bescherming van de Bourgondische hertog, Jan zonder Vrees. Enige maanden later, op 10 september 1419 werd hertog Jan van Bourgondië op de brug van Montereau-sur-Yonne door de lijfwachten van de 16-jarige kroonprins Charles VII van Valois, 'le Victorieux' (1403/1422-1429-1461) neergestoken. Hertog Jans zoon en opvolger, Philips de Goede, hertog van Bourgondië, graaf van Vlaanderen etc. (1396-1467) steunde de aanspraken van de Engelse koning op de Franse troon. Hertog Philips de Goede ratificeerde dan ook kort daarna in het verdrag van Atrecht/Arras op 2 december 1419 de vredes- en huwelijksvoorwaarden, waaronder de bruidsschat van 200.000 kronen voor kroonprinses Catherine van Frankrijk, zoals voorgesteld door de Engelse koning. Ruim een maand later, op 17 januari 1420, op St. Antoniusdag, de feestdag van de ascetische Koptische woestijnvader St. Antonius Abt, een belangrijke Bourgondische feestdag zijnde de geboortedag van hertog Philips de Stoute, werd de Franse kroonprins wegens 'parricide' (vadermoord) veroordeeld en onterfd. Koningin Isabeau, de moeder van de 'ontwaarde' zoon, die met deze veroordeling instemde, ontving een lening van 10.000 francs, van hertogin Margaretha van Bourgondië uit het Huis Beieren (1363/1385-1424), de weduwe van hertog Jan zonder Vrees en plaatsvervangster van haar echtgenoot in Bourgondië [11].

Door het genoemde vonnis werd de weg vrijgemaakt voor het regelen van de vrede en het huwelijk van de Franse prinses met de Engelse koning. In de 'minne-maand' mei, op 21 mei 1420, onder het sterrenbeeld 'Tweelingen' van de Dierenriem (22 mei-21 juni) werd het onder ede bekrachtigde Engels-Franse vredesverdrag in de kathedraal van St. Pierre te Troyes gesloten, waar tegelijkertijd voor het hoofdaltaar het huwelijk met de Franse koningsdochter Catherine van Valois werd afgekondigd door het voorlezen van het huwelijkscontract. Als getuigen bij het huwelijk traden op Philips, hertog van Bourgondië, in het contract 'Roy de Bourgogne' genoemd en Thomas, hertog van Clarence uit het Huis Lancaster, broer van de Engelse koning. Vervolgens werd deze koninklijke verbintenis op zondag, 2 juni

1420, voor de parochiekerk van St. Jean te Troyes kerkelijk bekrachtigd en ingezegend door de pro-Bourgondische aartsbisschop van Sens, Henri de Savoisy. In dit huwelijkscontract van Troyes d.d. 21 mei 1420 werd bepaald, dat na het overlijden van de Franse koning Charles VI, het koningschap van Frankrijk over zou gaan op diens schoonzoon, koning Henry V van Engeland, ten nadele van diens eigen zoon, de dauphin Charles VII (*afb. VI*). Deze overeenkomst kwam tot stand door tussenkomst van hertog Philips (in het contract ‘Roy de Bourgogne’ genoemd), maar werd noch door de Kerk, noch door de ‘Pairs’ van Frankrijk noch door kroonprins Charles VII, de wettige erfgenaam en in 1422 opvolger van zijn vader, de geesteszieke koning Charles VI van Frankrijk, erkend. [12].

Ook in de artistieke beeldvorming werd deze politieke gebeurtenis – t.w. veroordeling en huwelijk, met voor de Bourgondiërs, hertog Philips en diens nazaten, vergaande perspectieven – uitgebeeld. De genoemde historische actualiteit wordt eveneens weergegeven in de uitbeelding van de Legende van de Fleurs de Lys, het wapenbeeld met de drie gouden lelies van het Franse koningshuis, afkomstig uit het rijk geïllustreerde getijdenboek gemaakt ter gelegenheid van het kerkelijk huwelijk op 13 april 1423 van John of Lancaster, hertog van Bedford (1389-1435), de jongste broer van de Engelse koning Henry V, met hertogin Anne van Bourgondië (1404-1432), zuster van hertog Philips de Goede. De hertog van Bedford was in 1422, na het overlijden van zijn broer koning Henry V, gouverneur/regent van Frankrijk geworden. Het rijk versierde handschrift, gemaakt voor de bruid, werd later geschenken aan koning Henry VI van Engeland en van Frankrijk (1421-1471) (Add MS 18850 f. 288v, Brit. Libr., Londen, *afb. VII*). In deze oude legende wordt verhaald op welke wijze en door wie de drie gouden lelies (irissen), symbool van de Heilige Drieéenheid, op het Franse wapenschild aan de heilige koningin Clotilde van Frankrijk (474-545), een Bourgondisch-Gothische prinses, dochter of nichtje van koning Gondebaud van Bourgondië en vervolgens aan haar echtgenoot, de eerste in de abdijkerk van St. Denis bij Parijs tot christen gedoopte en gezalfde, vredebrengende koning der Franken, Chlodevech I / Clovis I (ca. 466-511), stichter van de dynastie der Merovingen, werden geschenken. De allegorie brengt de steun der Bourgondiërs aan het huwelijk van koning Henry V van Engeland met prinses Catherine van Frankrijk tot uitdrukking.

Linksboven, in de eerste scène van de illustratie zien wij de heilige koningin Clotilde, oftewel koningin Isabeau van Frankrijk en gevolg op bedevaart gaan naar de kluizenaar St. Antonius Abt. De heilige, steunend op zijn T-staf, is geknield afgebeeld voor zijn boskapel hetzij in St. Antoine en Viennois hetzij in de bossen van Havré bij de stad Bergen (Mons) in Henegouwen. In deze kapel, Barbefosse, werd een haar van zijn baard - vandaar de naam ‘Barbefosse’ – als reliek vereerd. De oude heilige met lange baard schenkt aan de heilige koningin Clothilde/Isabeau, het goddelijke schild met de ‘fleurs de lys’, bekend als ‘fleurs de Louis’, de drie mariale bloemen van de heilige Lodewijk IX van Frankrijk (1214-1270, heilig verklaard in 1297), dat de heilige Antonius Abt van God de Vader, stralend in de zon aan de sterrenhemel uit handen van een engel had ontvangen.

Rechts onderaan in de tweede scène van de illustratie van de Legende zien wij opnieuw de heilige koningin Clotilde/Isabeau met haar hofdames het Franse wapenschild vasthouden. Tegenover haar staat de door de heilige Remigius (ca. 436-ca. 533, feestdag tezamen met de heilige Bavo, de enige heilige met een jachtvalk als attribuut afgebeeld, 1 oktober) in ca. 491 of later te Reims tot christen gedoopte en gezalfde koning der Franken Clovis, oftewel koning Henry V van Engeland, aan wie als christelijke kruisridder in harnas, als een St. George, door twee schildknapen de sporen worden omgebonden. Hij

houdt met zijn linkerhand het Franse wapenschild vast tezamen met de heilige koningin. Tussen hen beiden in is een wapenheraut (?) afgebeeld, die het Franse wapenbord omhoog houdt en zich tot de koning richt. Hij, koning Clovis/Henry V, de vredesbrengende echtgenoot van de heilige koningin Clotilde, wordt in de legendarische verhalen als de historische voorvader van de Fransen, van de Bourgondiërs en zelfs van de Engelsen afgebeeld. Beide scènes met historiserende voorstellingen benadrukken de politieke betekenis van de steun van de Bourgondiërs aan het Engels-Franse huwelijk en aan de Engelse erfopvolging in Frankrijk, een bondgenootschap zonder bloedvergieten. Hierdoor zou er een einde komen aan de reeds jaren voortdurende oorlog tussen Engeland en Frankrijk. Deze oorlog, de zgn. Honderd-jarige Oorlog (1337-1453), eindigde echter pas in het jaar 1453 [13].

Op de 'Eyckiaanse' ontwerptekening uit het Louvre, naar wij aannemen een 'petit patron' voor een wandtapijt (ca. 1420-1425) of voor een serie van wandtapijten met de gezamenlijke Valkenjacht van de beide regerende vorsten van Engeland en van Frankrijk, beiden regenten van Frankrijk, - door F.P. van Oostrom in zijn boek *Het woord van eer* een 'figuurlijke vispartij' genoemd (afgebeeld op de omslag) -, staan beide koninklijke figuren statig en onbewegelijk tegenover elkaar met op hun vuisten de afgerichte edele jachtvalken. De Franse koningin wordt vergezeld door haar hofdames en de Engelse koning door zijn eigen gevolg van edellieden. Tussen hen beiden in stroomt het water van een beekje met op de achtergrond een Frans/Bourgondisch kasteel met torens en omringd door bomen en struiken op een heuvelachtig terrein. De twee koninklijke hoofdfiguren met hun afgerichte, stilzittende en gehoorzame jachtvalken benadrukken hun zelfdiscipline, hun beheersing der hartstochten en hun vaste wil om tot een huwelijksvereenkomst en daarmee op een vreedzame wijze tot een algemene vrede in Frankrijk te komen. De twee koninklijke jachtgezelschappen – de vrouwen aan de linker en de mannen aan de rechter zijde – staan, na beëindiging van de edele valkenjacht, de kunst van het jagen met de valk, in alle rust en vrede tegenover elkaar, gescheiden door het zuiverende stromende water van de beek. In de (figuurlijke) koninklijke jachtpartij met de edele jachtvalken, het 'vederspel', zien wij een versmelting van heden en verleden, van actuele politieke gebeurtenissen met legendarische, allegorisch-poëtische verhalen. De moord op de diplomatiek actieve hertog Jan zonder Vrees op 10 september 1419 en het overlijden van de machtige – en sedert de slag bij Azincourt (25 oktober 1415) oppermachtige – Engelse koning, regent en toekomstige koning van Frankrijk Henry V op 31 augustus 1422 op het kasteel te Bois-de-Vincennes bij Parijs betekende het begin van het einde van de Engelse expansie in het Franse koninkrijk.

Reeds onder de eerste Bourgondische hertog Philips de Stoute, een grote beschermmer der kunsten en opdrachtgever aan vele kunstenaars, zoals architecten, beeldhouwers, goudsmeden, schrijvers, (miniatuur) schilders, wevers enz., werden vele wandtapijten in de beroemde weverijen van Arras/Atrecht ter opluistering – en voor de warmte – van de muren der talrijke kastelen vervaardigd. Zijn opvolgers, de Bourgondische hertogen Jan zonder Vrees en vooral Philips de Goede hebben deze traditie voortgezet. Helaas zijn de meeste ontwerptekeningen voor deze tapijten zowel als de wandtapijten zelf in de loop der tijden verloren gegaan. Een van deze ontwerpen (ca. 1465-1470, Louvre, Parijs) èn het wandtapijt (ca. 1475-1490, Victoria en Albert Museum in Londen) zijn beide bewaard gebleven. De voorstelling was ontleend aan een episode uit de Trojaanse oorlog, t.w. de slag tussen de Amazonen en de Grieken. Ter gelegenheid van het kerkelijke huwelijk van hertog Karel de Stoute (1433-1477) met de Engelse prinses Margaretha van York (1446-1503) op 3 juli 1468 te Brugge hingen tijdens het

bruiloftsfeest, volgens de overlevering verschillende wandtapijten – zgn. ‘Telling Tapestries’ – met de volgende ‘verhalen’ ter versiering aan de muren van de grote zaal: de *Geschiedenis van de Grote Slag bij Luik*, oftewel de Slag van Othée (23 september 1408), de *Kroning van koning Clovis, de eerste Christelijke koning van Frankrijk* (dit wandtapijt met drie historische voorstellingen, w.o. de kroning van koning Clovis, wordt bewaard in de schatkamer van de kathedraal van Reims) en het *Huwelijk van koning Clovis van Frankrijk met de dochter of nichtje van Gondebaut* (de koning van Bourgondië). Dit waren thema’s, die de roemruchte recente èn oude geschiedenis der Bourgondiërs alsmede de historische banden met Frankrijk en Engeland in beeld brachten [14].

Conclusie: De gekleurde ontwerptekening op papier, stelt een belangrijke politiek-historische gebeurtenis voor in de Europese geschiedenis, t.w. de Vredesluiting en het Bondgenootschap door middel van een vorstelijk huwelijk tussen de twee toenmalige tegen elkaar strijdende grootmachten, Engeland en Frankrijk, waarbij de hertogen van Bourgondië, Jan zonder Vrees en diens zoon Philips de Goede, met de steun van de Franse koningin Isabeau, een cruciale bemiddelende rol hebben gespeeld. Dit is o.i. dan ook de reden, waarom dit ontwerp in Bourgondisch en vervolgens in Habsburgs en tenslotte in Frans bezit bewaard is gebleven. De opdrachtgever was, naar wij aannemen, Philips de Goede, hertog van Bourgondië, de enige zoon en erfopvolger van hertog Jan zonder Vrees, die in 1422 in de Engelse Orde van de Kousenband van St. George werd gekozen, maar deze benoeming heeft afgewezen. Hertog Philips zou nog lange tijd, tot de Vrede, de Zoen van Atrecht/Arras op 21 september 1435, wegens de in zijn ogen verraderlijke moord, op zijn vader – niettegenstaande de herhaalde verzoeningspogingen van de kartuizer monnik uit Bologna, kardinaal Nicolò D’Albergati (1375-1443), als afgezant van de Apostolische Stoel te Rome - de onverzoenlijke, op eerwraak beluste tegenstander van de op 17 juli 1429 te Reims gezalfde en gekroonde ('sacré') Franse koning, Charles VII blijven.

De maker van deze ‘Eyckiaanse’ tekening is waarschijnlijk een hofschilder afkomstig uit de groep kunstenaars, die aan het Bourgondische hof te Dijon, of in de stad Atrecht/Arras, bekend om zijn vele tapijtweverijen, werkzaam waren. Deze schilders zetten de traditie van de Gebroeders van Limburg voort, die in 1416, tezamen met hun beschermheer, de kunstminnende hertog Jean de Berry (Vincennes 1340-Vincennes 1416), aan de pest waren overleden. De Gelderse miniatuurschilders van Limburg waren neven van de Gelderse hofschilder en kamerdienaar Jan Maelwael (voor 1370 Nijmegen – 1415 Dijon), die het portret en profiel van Jan zonder Vrees, hertog van Bourgondië in 1412/1413 en de gebeeldhouwde profetenfiguren in Champmol, het kartuizerklooster met de begraafplaats der Bourgondische hertogen bij Dijon, heeft geschilderd resp. beschilderd.

Tijdens de valkenjacht, met jachthonden, op ‘veerwild’, d.w.z. op allerlei soorten vogels, zoals o.a. op duiven, roeken (kraaien), hoendervogels, reigers, eenden en ander waterwild, worden deze getemde en goed afgerichte roofvogels met aas teruggelokt en beloond om na de geslaagde uitvoering van hun opdracht tot hun eigenaren/valkeniers terug te keren, die de overmeesterde prooi uit de klauwen van de jachtvalken nemen (*afb. VIII*). In de middeleeuwse dichtkunst werd de reigerjacht aan de hoogste vorm van de liefde, de hoofse minne, gelijkgesteld. De jacht met de slechtvalken (Lat.: ‘falco peregrinus’), de snelste jachtvogels ter wereld, op reigers was een bijzonderheid van de valkerij in de waterrijke noordelijke landen van het Bourgondische Rijk. Enkele eeuwen later, in de 19^{de} eeuw, in de jaren 1839 – 1855, werd op Paleis Het Loo te Apeldoorn - in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, onder bescherming van

de koningen Willem II (1792 / 1840-1849) en Willem III (1817/1849-1890) een korte tijd (en tevens voor de laatste keer) eveneens met slechtvalken op reigers gejaagd [15].

Het ongewone portret van de Engelse koning Henry V met de zwarte/donkerpaarse Vlaams/Bourgondische kaproen op zijn hoofd en met de jachtvalk op zijn linkervuist in de tekening van het Louvre schiep later de nodige verwarring. Immers op een Franse portret-gravure uit 1555 met de ondertiteling ‘Charles, sixiesme du nom liii Roy de Frâce’ wordt niet de aldaar genoemde geesteszieke 54-jarige Franse koning Charles VI († 1422) afgebeeld – o.a. bekend door zijn portret van de hand van de miniatuurschilder de Boucicaut-meester - maar de 36-jarige Engelse koning Henry V (eveneens † 1422), met de jachtvalk op zijn gehandschoende rechterhand als koninklijke jager, ‘hoofse minnaar’, regent en als toekomstige koning van Frankrijk met de leliestaf in de linkerhand (*afb. IXA, IXB en IXC*). De Engelse koning draagt een soortgelijke kaproen, èn de valk, op zijn linker vuist, als op onze tekening bewaard in het Louvre. Op deze Franse portretgravure (1555) is zelfs het gezicht van de Engelse koning door littekens ontsierd waarvan bekend is, dat de Engelse koning, als prins van Wales, deze heeft opgelopen als de moedige jonge legeraanvoerder tijdens de slag bij Shrewsbury op 21 juli 1403. Ook tijdens de beroemde slag bij Azincourt op 25 oktober 1415, waarin een klein Engels leger met zijn vermaarde boogschutters te voet, onder de bezielende leiding van koning Henry V, het numeriek veel grotere Franse leger van edellieden te paard heeft verslagen, wordt de koning in de kronieken om zijn heldhaftigheid en leiderschap geprezen, maar soms ook wegens zijn genadeloosheid scherp bekritiseerd. De vermaarde Engelse boogschutters (‘longbowmen’) gingen tot de aanval over onder het uiten van luidre kreten, die tijdens de hertenjacht werden gebezigd. Zowel het regenachtige weer als de onverwachte en ongewone, verwarring wekkende manier van aanvallen met een rij van opgestelde stokken en met jachtkreten als zou het om een jacht op wilde dieren gaan, bracht de Franse edellieden te paard in grote verwarring. [16].

De problemen van de ontwerptekening bewaard in het Louvre met de voorstelling van de twee rivaliserende naar vrede zoekende en stichtende koninklijke gezelschappen op de gezamenlijke valkenjacht, ‘the sport of kings’, vergezeld door hun jachthonden met de drie ‘hengelaars’, oftewel ‘opstoters’ van de watervogels, met de vogels hoog in de lucht zijn nog niet geheel en al opgelost (*afb. X*). Echter, zoals de Franse historicus, Prof. Henri Pirenne (1862-1935) aan zijn collega Prof. Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) schreef: “Il y a, en somme, plusieurs vérités pour une même chose: c'est un peu, comme une peinture, une question d'éclairage. L'essentiel est de faire réfléchir” [17] [18].

Noten

[1] Antonia Gertruda Ermes-Körber *Zwei Künste, beflügelt von einem Ideal, Eine Untersuchung des Falkenmotivs in der Lyrik, Epik und Minneallegorie des 12. – 14. Jahrhunderts*, Academisch proefschrift Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 110-111; Het standaardwerk over de valkerij is geschreven door keizer Frederik II van Hohenstaufen (1194-1250): *De Arte venandi cum Avibus*, 1247 (*De kunst van het jagen met vogels*). Door zijn verblijf in het Nabije Oosten tijdens de kruistochten kwam hij in aanraking met deze wijze van jagen, t.w. het jagen met roofvogels.

[2] Zodra de nieuwe fotografische opnamen van de tekening gepubliceerd zullen zijn, zullen waarschijnlijk andere details (b.v. t.a.v. kleding en sieraden) aan het licht komen. ; Zie o.a. O. Kurz, 'A fishing party at the court of William VI count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault. Notes on a drawing in the Louvre', *Oud-Holland*, 71 (1956), p. 117-131, afb.1 op p. 119, het latere opschrift in hoofdletters op de tekening heeft alleen maar verwarring gesticht. De kledij van de afgebeelde figuren is inderdaad gedeeltelijk afkomstig uit de Bourgondische wereld. De Franse koningin draagt uiteraard kleding in haar eigen Franse hofstijl.; zie ook R. van Lutterveld *Bijdragen tot de Iconographie van de Graven van Holland, naar aanleiding van de beelden uit de Amsterdamse vierschaar*, Oud Holland, 1957, pp. 139-234, afb. 90 als een 'Beiers familieportret', waarin door van Lutterveld de vissende vrouwelijke figuur als hertogin Jacoba van Beieren wordt geïdentificeerd en de edelman met de Kousenband (?) als hertog Willem VI van Beieren; D. Roggen *Lentetij der Nederlanden* in: Cat. *De Eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*, Tentoonstelling in het Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Groeningenmuseum 26 juni-11 september 1960, Brugge, Rogge vermeldt de *Valkenjacht* in Versailles als 'een repliek' en hij noemt, tezamen met de *Otterjacht*, beide schilderijen het begin van het landschap als een 'min of meer zelfstandig genre'; p. 29; D.E.H. de Boer en E.H.P. Cordfunke *Graven van Holland, Portretten in woord en beeld (880-1580)*, Zutphen, 1995, pp. 115-122, afb. op p.115, beschreven als 'Grafelijke vispartij. Groepsportret van leden van het Hollands-Beierse vorstenhuis. Centraal met valk is Jan van Beieren afgebeeld', etc; R.W. Scheller *Representatie en realisme, De vormgeving van het laat-middeleeuwse identiteitsbesef* met afb. op p. 32, beschreven als 'Vispartij aan het Hollands-Beierse hof. Ca. 1400', etc.in: B. Kempers (red.) *Openbaring en bedrog, De afbeelding als historische bron in de Lage Landen*, pp. 29-59, D. van Tol *De Orde van de Hollandsche Tuin De oudste ridderorde van Holland (1387-1418)*, *De Nederlandse Leeuw* jaargang CXIV, no 1-3, 1997, pp. 25-26, die het ook 'een hengelpartij aan het hof van Willem VI van Holland' noemt, Antheun Janse *Een pion voor een dame, Jacoba van Beieren (1401-1436)*, Amsterdam, 2009, afb. 16, *De vispartij*, Tekening op papier uit circa 1410-1430, 'die misschien betrekking heeft op één van Jacoba's huwelijken'. Musée du Louvre, Parijs; Till-Holger Borchert *Jan van Eyck*, Köln, 2008, afb. op p. 10 als 'Kopie naar Jan van Eyck, Allegorisch hengeltafereel, ca. 1550'; Annemarie Lavèn *De machteloze Jacoba van Beieren*, in: Historisch Nieuwsblad, april 2010, nr. 3, pp. 66-73, afb. pp. 68-69, 'Huwelijkskandidaten Schilderij van de historie- en portretschilder Alexander-Charles Debacq' (Parijs 1804-Parijs 1850). 'Afbeelding Art Archive', voorts emailwisseling met Annemarie Lavèn d.d. 10.9.2012 over de bewaarplaats van de kopie van de genoemde schilder Debacq en verdere informatie over het betreffende schilderij: 'The Fishing Party (medieval Dukes of Burgundy and their ladies), 1840 copy of drawing of Van Dyck school in Louvre (MV 4020)', waarvoor de schrijfster bij deze vriendelijk dank zegt; Het afgebeelde hoofse jachtgezelschap stelt echter als hoofdthema geen 'Vispartij' voor, maar *Een vorstelijke jachtpartij in Frankrijk*, oftewel *Een koninklijk jachtgezelschap op de valkenjacht*. De edele, afgerichte jachtvalken symboliseren - na het einde van de jacht stil en onbewogen staande op de 'handen' van hun koninklijke bezitters - de wederzijdse trouw en liefde van mens en valk, symbool van de ridderlijke hoofse liefde. Zij worden door de jacht, het 'vederspel', voor het leven aan elkaar verbonden. Zij jagen als bondgenoten in de strijd tezamen op hun prooi hoog in de lucht en laag op het water. Zie ook Antheun Janse *Ridderschap in Holland, Portret van een adellijke elite in de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum 2001, pp. 344-353, hoofdstuk 7.4, *De jacht als statussymbool*.

[3] Bertrand de Chavelot *Isabeau de Bavière ou l'épouse d'un roi fou*, Lausanne, 1965, met portret van koningin Isabeau op de omslag. Vgl. voor de hoofdbedekkingen en gewaden Fr. Van Thienen *Acht eeuwen Westeuropese Costuum*, Zeist, 1960, pp. 17, 32-34, en James Robinson Planché *An Illustrated*

Dictionary of Historic Costume From the First Century B.C. to C. 1760, Mineola, New York, (1876) 2003, pp. 92, 272, 221.; Hier zegt de schrijfster dank aan Prof. Dr. Christine Chavannes-Mazel voor haar kritische opmerkingen n.a.v. de hoofdbedekking van koningin Isabeau en de versierselen van koning Henry V.

[4] Zie ook de volgende voorstellingen: (1) de drôlerieën in de marge van de miniatuur met de afbeelding van de Ontmoeting van de heilige Maagd Maria met de heilige Elizabeth, de moeder van Johannes de Doper, gevieren op 2 juli en (2) de drôlerieën van de maand augustus met de valkenjacht en een lange buigzame 'roeststok' / ruststok – een stok voor de jacht- of lokvogels om erop te zitten en te slapen - van de vooroplopende valkenier met een valkenpaar op zijn vuist in de *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1412-1416), (3) *Een Bourgondische Bruiloft met alle aanwezigen in het wit gekleed* Mus. de Versailles ter gelegenheid van het tweede of derde huwelijk van hertog Philips van Bourgondië in 1424 resp. 1430 (oftewel 'Een feest na het jagen en voor de bruiloft' afgebeeld als illustratie bij de maand november in *Middeleeuws dagboek van de liefde*, 1995, Fox Editions Lisse oorspronkelijke titel: *Medieval Lovers' Book of Days*, 1988, Phoebe Philips Editions). Het bruidspaar en de gasten vermaken zich met de verschillende fasen van de valkenjacht. Op de achtergrond is het jachtbedrijf nog in volle gang, op de voorgrond wordt de maaltijd met vruchten en wijn bereid begeleid door de muziek der blazers, ook afgebeeld op de omslag van Joseph Calmette *The Golden Age of Burgundy, The Magnificent Dukes and their Courts*, vert. Doreen Weightman, eerste Franse uitgave Paris, 1949, eerste vertaling London 1962, paperback 2001. (4) de Jachtvoorstelling op het Bourgondische wandtapijt .met een valkenjacht op reigers- en een hertenjacht met jachthonden ca. 1430-1435 (Londen, Victoria and Albert Museum; afkomstig uit de collectie van de hertog van Devonshire op Hardwick Castle.). De kalendermaand Mei, onder het sterrenbeeld Tweelingen van de Dierenriem, wordt dikwijls geïllustreerd met een voorstelling van de valkenjacht, aangezien in de voorjaarsmaand mei de valk zijn verenkleed vernieuwt en gereed is voor het paren, de liefde tussen 'man' en 'vrouw', zie o.a. de eerste afb. met de maand mei in de verluchte kalender van het Psalter van Gui Dampierre (ca. 1280-1297) , Brussel, Bibl. Roy., ms. 10607, fol. 3 in: Baudouin Van Den Abeele *La fauconnerie dans les lettres françaises du XIIe au XIVe siècle*, Leuven, 1990; Soltész Zoltánné *Flamand Kalendárium*, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 396, Békéscsaba, 1983, zie twee afbeeldingen voor de maand mei. Aan de linker zijde is een ridder te paard met een valk op zijn linker, geschoeide hand en aan de rechter zijde het sterrenbeeld 'Tweelingen' van de Dierenriem als een liefdespaartje afgebeeld (afb. XIA en XIB).

[5] Vgl. o.a. zijn, naar men veronderstelt, natuurgetrouw beeld in de kloosterkerk van York, met schouderketting, waarmee hij als hoofd van het huis Lancaster in officiële portretten altijd is getooid.

[6] Ermes-Görber, o.c. p. 12

[7] De Orde van de Kousenband, 'The Most Noble Order of the Garter', werd in 1348 door Koning Eduard III van Engeland (1312/1327-1377, uit het Huis Plantagenet), na succesvolle overwinningen in Frankrijk, zoals de slag bij Crécy en de inname van de stad Caen in 1347, zowel voor mannen als voor vrouwen ingesteld. De koningen van Engeland zijn de soevereinen van de Orde; W.M. Ormrod *The House of Plantagenet, 1272-1399*, pp. 150/151 in W.M. Ormrod *The Kings & Queens of England*, Stroud, 2004. Het onderscheidingsteken (tegenwoordig), is een rond gouden borduursel voorstellende de blauwe kousenband met het bekende devies, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense' op een blauwe mantel met in het midden een schild met het kruis van St. George. De Kousenband wordt onder de linker kniebroek gedragen. In de lijst van de ridders van de Orde staat, behalve hertog Willem VI van Beieren-Straubing,

graaf van Oostervant (1365-1417), opgenomen in 1390, ook zijn vader, hertog Albrecht van Beieren-Straubing, paltsgraaf op de Rijn, graaf van Henegouwen, Holland en Zeeland en heer van Friesland (1336-1404), opgenomen in 1397. Beiden werden door koning Richard II uit het Huis Plantagenet (1367/1377-1399) in de Orde van de Kousenband opgenomen.

[8] In zijn jonge jaren had Jan van Bourgondië, graaf van Nevers, als laatste kruistochtridder deelgenomen aan de (verloren) slag van Nicopolis op 25 september 1396. Hij werd door de Osmaanse Turken onder leiding van sultan Bajazid I (1347/1354-1403) gevangengenomen en pas twee jaar later vrijgelaten. Het hoge losgeld werd door de sultan (die zelf 2000 valkeniers in dienst had) pas aanvaard, nadat de Bourgondische hertog 12 witte Groenlandse giervalken als voorschot had geleverd.; Christopher Allmand *Henry V*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp. 109-111; Keith Dockray *Henry V*, Stroud 2004, pp. 98-99; Christopher Allmand *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, Liverpool, 2000, pp. 60-69; Planché o.c. p. 123; Joseph Calmette o.c., pp. 117-122; Johan Huizinga *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen, Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, Bezorging tekst en illustraties Anton van der Lem, 25^{ste} druk, zonder plaatsnaam, 1999, p. 27. Op 20 september 1418 werd te Parijs in de kerk van St. Eustachius, beschermheilige der jagers, een Broederschap van St. Andreas - trouwe volgelingen van de Bourgondiërs - opgericht

[9] Over het leven van de heilige Abt Antonius de Grote bestaan er vele beschrijvingen, w.o. Noëlle Devilliers *Antonius de Grote, Vader van alle monniken*, vertaling door de Benedictinessen van Bonheiden, Reeks Monastieke Cahiers – Studie, Bonheiden, 1981; Stephan Beissel *Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 1983 (Herdruk), Zweiter Teil, p. 44; Piet Penning de Vries SJ, *De heiligen, volgens het nieuwe altaarmissaal voor Nederland en Vlaanderen*, Brugge-Vught, 1981, pp.16-17; Van Tol, o.c., pp. 23-25, afb. 4 en 6; F.P. van Oostrom *Het woord van eer, Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400*, Amsterdam, 1987, pp. 172-173, 176; Isnard W. Frank OP *Lexikon des Mönchtums und der Orden*, Stuttgart, 2005, pp. 54-55.

[10] Allmand, o.c., pp. 131-132 en 136; Dockray o.c. p. 184; voor zover bekend wordt de jachtvoorstelling met de valken uiterst zelden tezamen met het vissen afgebeeld. Jacht en visserij waren heerlijke rechten (tot de Franse Revolutie). F.C.J Ketelaar *Oude Zakelijke Rechten, Vroeger, Nu en in de Toekomst*, Zwolle 1978, pp. 16, 20-23. De valkenjacht was voorbehouden aan keizers en koningen met echtgenoten en hun naaste hoogadellijke omgeving. Zie voor afbeeldingen: een fresco met de valkenjacht en het vissen met vangnetten vanuit een vissersbootje in het Castello del Buonconsiglio in Trento, 2^{de} helft van de 15^{de} eeuw, afb. in: Christian Antoine de Chamerlat *Falcony and Art*, London, 1987, pp. 124-125 en een miniatuur met voorstellingen van de jacht op vogels en viervoeters met een mannetje vissend in een vijver, terwijl de eenden hoog in de bomen zijn gevlogen, uit: *Livre des profits ruraux* door Petrus de Crescentiis (ca 1470) door de meester van Margaretha van York, Parijs, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 5064, fol. 265 in Maurits Smeyers *Vlaamse Miniaturen*, Leuven, 1998, afb. 64, p. 402 (afb. XIIA en XIIB) en afb. Grande Chartreuse bij Grenoble met vissende kartuizer monniken in *Les Belles Heures du Duc de Berry*, fol. 97.v., Metr. Mus. Of Art, New York.

[11] De rekening i.v.m. het maakloon van de halsband van de hertog is door de schrijfster gevonden, zie voorts Van Tol o.c., pp. 19-20; Na zijn ridderslag in Damme in juli 1384 en zijn verheffung tot graaf van Oostervant ('comte d'Ostrevant') door de Franse koning Charles VI een jaar voor zijn huwelijk op 12 april 1385 te Kamerijk/Cambrai, had Willem VI, hertog van Beieren, door zijn bruuske optreden tegen de

Engelse koning en zijn versnelde terugtocht hals over kop uit Engeland naar Zeeland (of Holland?), in feite de loyaliteitsband met de Engelse koning – als gevolg van zijn opname in de Orde van de Kousenband in 1390 –verbroken, zie *Annales Comitatum Hollandiae, Frisiae et Zeelandiae et Episcoporum Ultraiectinorum* door de karmeliet Joannes Gerbrandus a Leydis (1347-1403) in *Rerum Belgicarum Annales Chronicci et Historici..., Tomus Primus I..., Francofurti, An M.DC.XX.*, met de verkeerd gedrukte Zeeuwse plaatsnaam ‘Poke’ i.p.v. ‘Polre’/ ‘Polder’, d.i. ‘Onze Lieve Vrouw van den Polder’, tegenwoordig Vrouwenpolder, waar in vroeger tijden een Augustijner klooster genaamd ‘Het Heilig Graf’ lag met een scriptorium en een wonderdoend Mariabeeld werd vereerd; zie Peter Blom *Versekert ende bewaert, De geschiedenis van het archief van de heren van Veere en bronnen voor het onderzoek naar het markizaat Veer*, in: P. Blom, P.A. Hendrikx, G. van Herwijnen (eindred.) *Borsele Bourgondië Oranje, Heren en Markiezen van Veere en Vlissingen 1400-1700*, Hilversum, 2009, pp. 179-181; Nicole Pons *Intellectual Patterns and Affective Reactions in Defence of the Dauphin Charles, 1419-1422*, in: Christopher Allmand (ed.) *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, Liverpool, 2000, pp. 54-69.

[12] Bertrand Chavelot o.c. pp. 145-148, afb. tekst nr 28.

[13] *A Medieval Flower Garden*, San Francisco, 1995, (z.n.) pp. 40-41 met afb.; Jkvr, Dr J.M. van Winter, *Ridderschap, ideal en werkelijkheid*, Bussum, 1965, pp. 19-21, 54-57, met afb. op pp. 9, 45, 77 en 91, met vraagstelling over het recht van het jagen, zie Ketelaar o.c., noot 10 hierboven.

[14] Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton *Global Interests, Renaissance Art between East and West*, London, 2000, pp. 72-74; Zowel de hertog van Bourgondië, Jan zonder Vrees, als Johan hertog van Beieren, de voormalige prins-elect bisschop van Luik gaf opdracht om de geschiedenis van de slag van Othée (23 september 1408) en de dramatische veroordeling van de opstandige, ongehoorzame stad Luik, de zgn. ‘Sentence de Lille’ (24 oktober 1408), op wandtapijten in beeld te brengen, zie Henri Defresne en Yves Charlier *Othée 1408, Chronique d'une drame, Commémoration des 600 ans de la bataille d'Othée*, Othée 2008; Susan Groag Bell *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies, Christine de Pizans Renaissance Legacy*, Berkely, Los Angeles, London, 2004, afb. Pl. IV in kleur en afb. tek. Fig. V, pp. 52, 54-55, 68-69.

[15] de Chamerlat o.c., pp. 164-167, afb. op pp. 167. 168 en 169.

[16] Een miniatuur-portret van de Franse koning Charles VI (1368-1422), werd door de miniatuurschilder ‘de Boucicaut-meester’ in 1412 vervaardigd. Zie ook Michael K. Jones *Agincourt 1415, Battlefield Guide*, Barnsley, 2005, pp. 66-68 met de afbeelding van het verkeerd geïnterpreteerde en geïdentificeerde portret van de Engelse koning Henry V op p 66; Dockray o.c. pp. 149-150; Ormrod o.c. pp. 167-168. Voor de datum van de gravure, 1555, zie de reeks van portretten van vroege Engelse koningen en koninginnen in de National Portrait Gallery, geschilderd ca. 1590-1610, w.o. het zgn. portret van koning Henry V, en een gravure gedateerd 1618, genoemd ‘HENRICUS QUARTUS ANGLIAE ET FRANCIAE REX DOMINUS HIBERNIAE, <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/case-case-studies/>...p. 5. Ook in deze tekst wordt ervan uitgegaan, dat de gravure uit 1555 met het Franse onderschrift ‘Charles, sixiesme du nom liii, Roy de Frāce’ inderdaad de 53 jarige koning Charles VI van Frankrijk voorstelt, die in hetzelfde jaar als koning Henry V van Engeland, t.w. in 1422, is overleden.

[17] E.O. van der Werff, C.A.A. Linsen, B. Ebels-Hoving *Burgundica et Varia, Keuze uit de verspreide opstellen van prof. dr. A.G. Jongkees*, Hilversum, 1990, p. 149.

[18] Ten tijde van het afsluiten van dit opstel werd in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam een tentoonstelling geopend over de valkerij ter gelegenheid van het feit, dat de jacht met roofvogels door de Unesco werd erkend als cultureel erfgoed (7 augustus-15 oktober 2012). Zie de catalogus *The Lure of Falcony, De verlokkingen van de valkerij*, uitgegeven door het Nederlands Valkeniersverbond 'Adriaan Mollen', met bijdragen van Huigen Leeflang, Erik Hinterding en Harrie Knol met een voorwoord van Jane Turner.

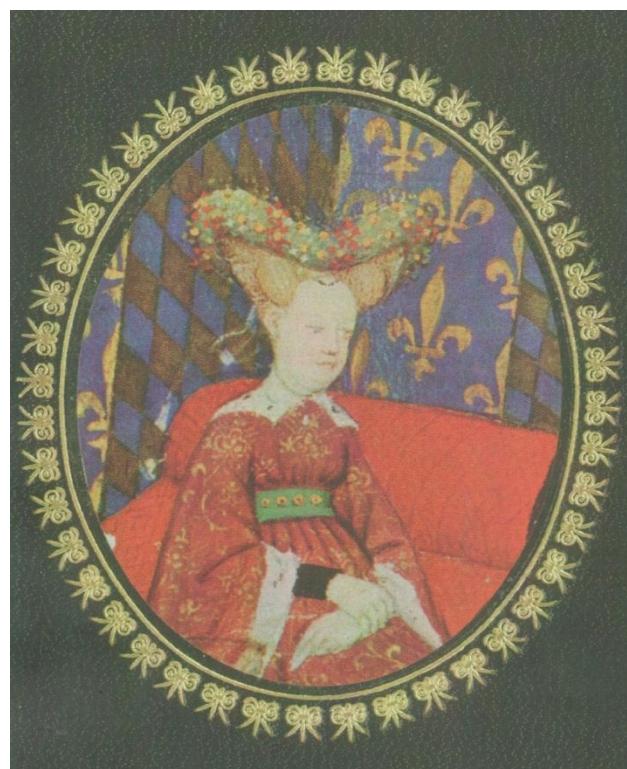
Lijst van afbeeldingen.



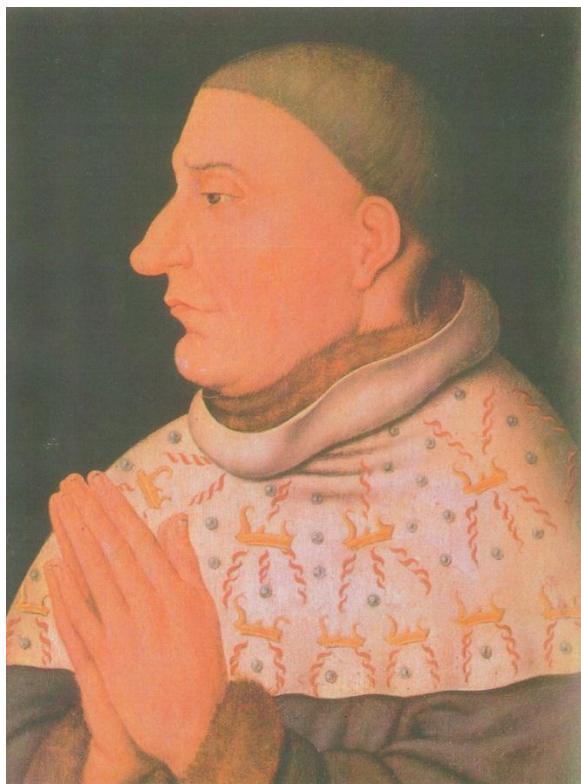
I. 'De Vispartij'.



II. Kopie van 'De Vispartij' door de historie- en portretschilder
Charles-Alexandre Debacq (1804-1863).



III. Detail uit *the Queen's manuscript*, 1413,
afb. in Bertrand Chavelot o.c. p. 19 (zie noot 3).



IVA. Vgl. Het portret en profil van Jan zonder Vrees, hertog van Bourgondië met op zijn witte schoudermantel zijn embleem: een schaaf met houtkrullen, afb. in: Bertrand Chavelot o.c., p. 17 (zie noot 3).

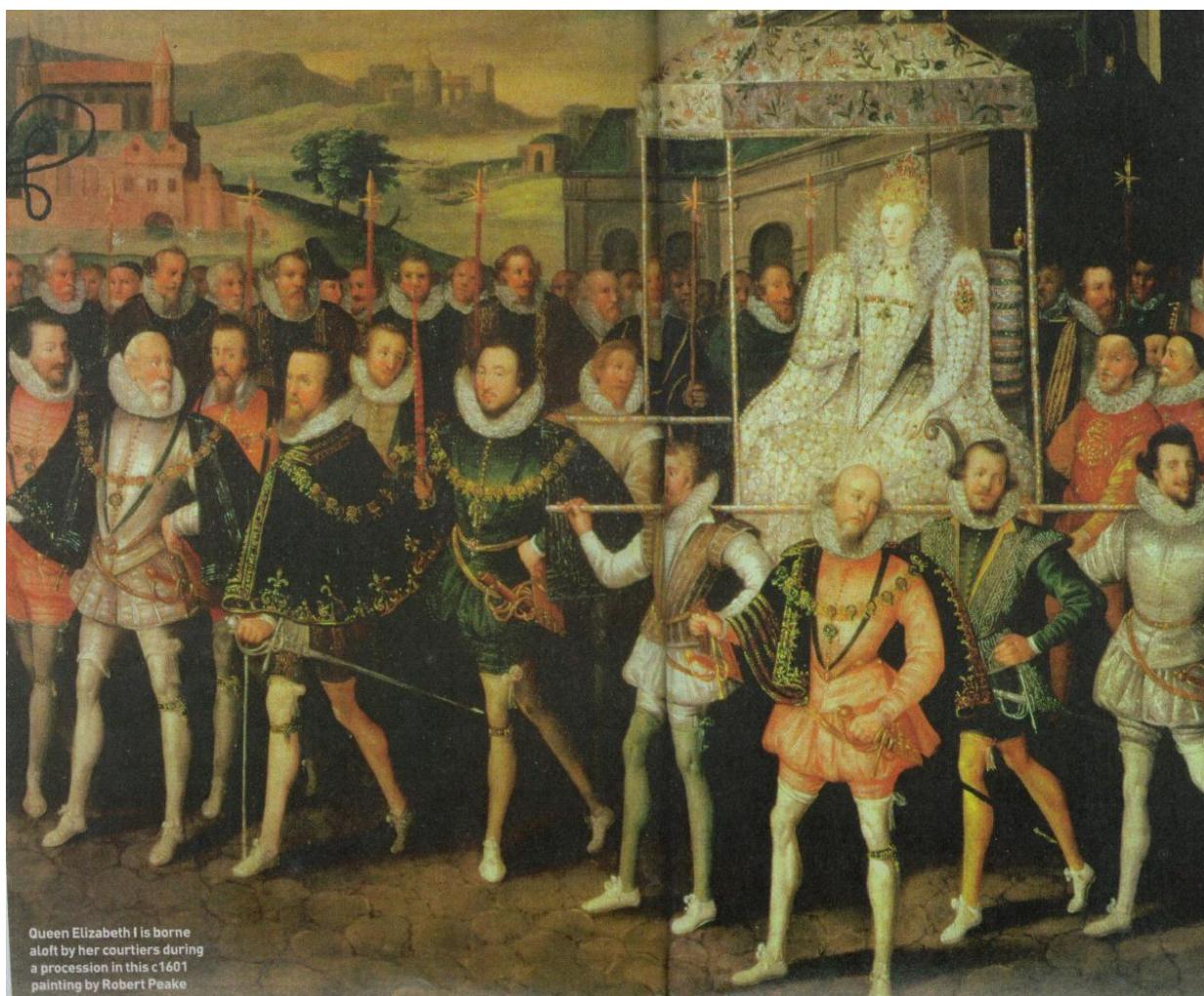


IVB. Intocht in Parijs van de Bourgondische troepen o.l.v. hertog Jan zonder Vrees, afb.in: Bertrand Chavelot o.c., p.20 (zie noot 3).



VA. Vgl. twee gewapende Engelse ridders in de Orde van de Kousenband.

Zij dragen de Kousenband over de wapenrusting
aan het linker been onder de knie,
afb. in: Paul Knight (colour plates by Graham Turner)
Henry V and the Conquest of France 1416-53, London, 1998, pl. F.



VB. Vgl. de ridders van de Orde van de Kousenband, die met andere hovelingen, Koningin Elizabeth I van Engeland (1533-1603) tijdens een processie hoog op hun schouders dragen,
geschilderd ca. 1601 door Robert Peake.

Afb. in: BBC History Magazine, Vol. 13, no. 6, June 2012, pp. 32-33.



VI. Koning Henry V brengt als hertog van Normandië leenhulde aan koning
Charles VI van Frankrijk na het Verdrag van Troyes in 1420,
afb. in: Antonia Fraser (ed.) *The Wars of the Roses*, London, 2000, p. 31.



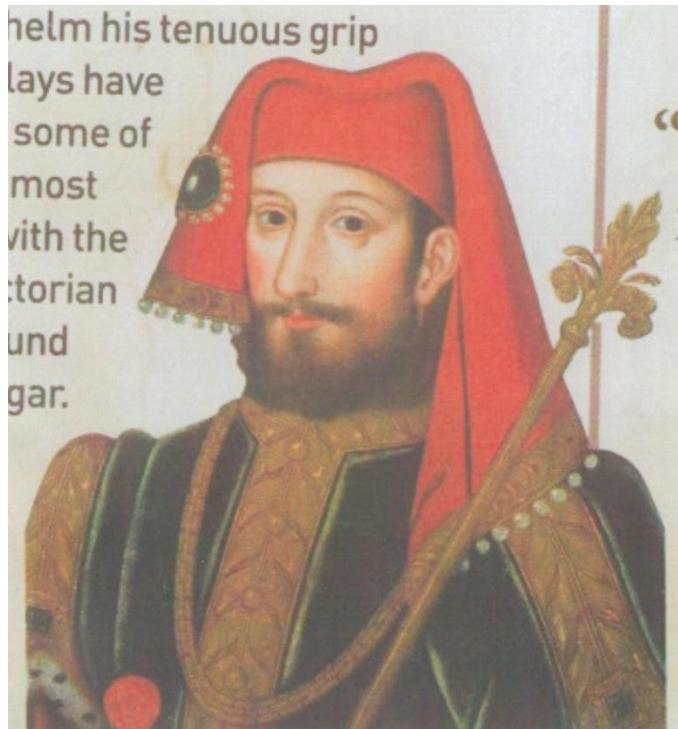
VII. De Legende van de drie lelies op het wapenschild van het Franse koningshuis.



VIII. *Een loer draaien*, het teruglokken van een jachtvalk door middel van een 'nep'-vogel ('lok'vogel') door de valkenier, detail uit het *Getijdenboek van Engelbert van Nassau*, Ms Douce 219-20, fol. 55v, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, zie Robin S. Oggins *The Kings and Their Hawks, Falconry in Medieval England*, New Haven & London, 2004, p. 29.



IXA. Het gegraveerde, zogenoemde portret van koning Charles VI van Frankrijk.



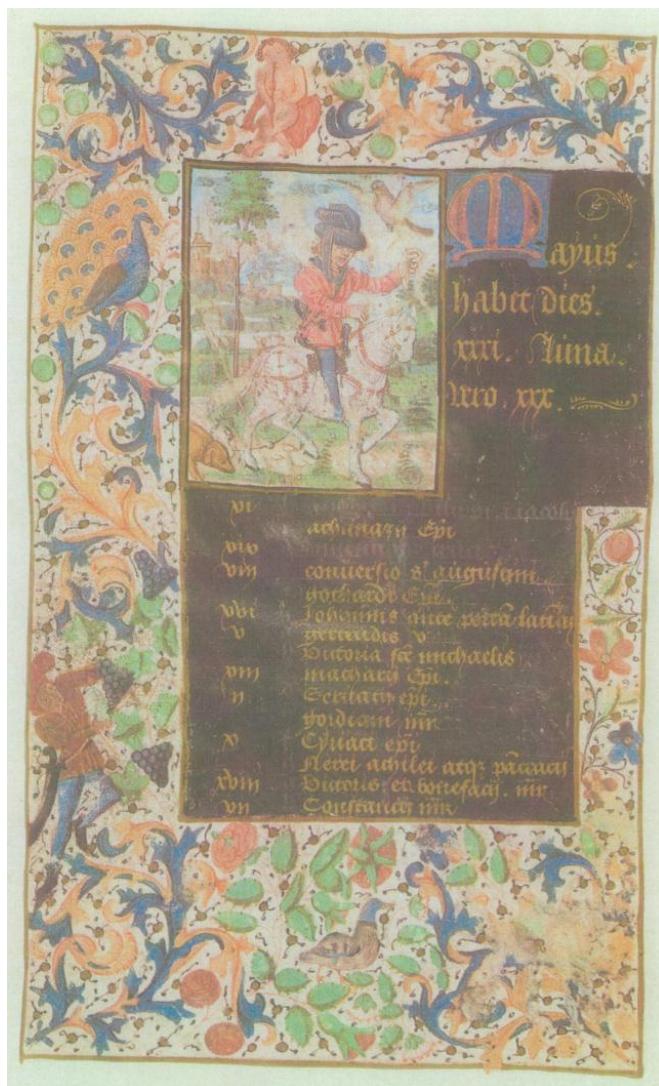
IXB. Een geschilderde kopie van de gravure IXA.



IXC. De geschilderde kopie van de gravure (IXB) was het voorbeeld voor het toneelkostuum met de Bourgondisch-Vlaamse kaproen met een zeer lange lamfer van de toneel- en filmspeler Sir Laurence Olivier in zijn rol van koning Henry V in Shakespeare's drama 'King Henry V', zie Jerry Brotton *Shakespeare The Kingmaker* in: BBC History Magazine, Vol 7, no. 12, December 2006, pp. 14-21 en de hier genoemde twee afbeeldingen nrs. IXB en IXC op p. 16.



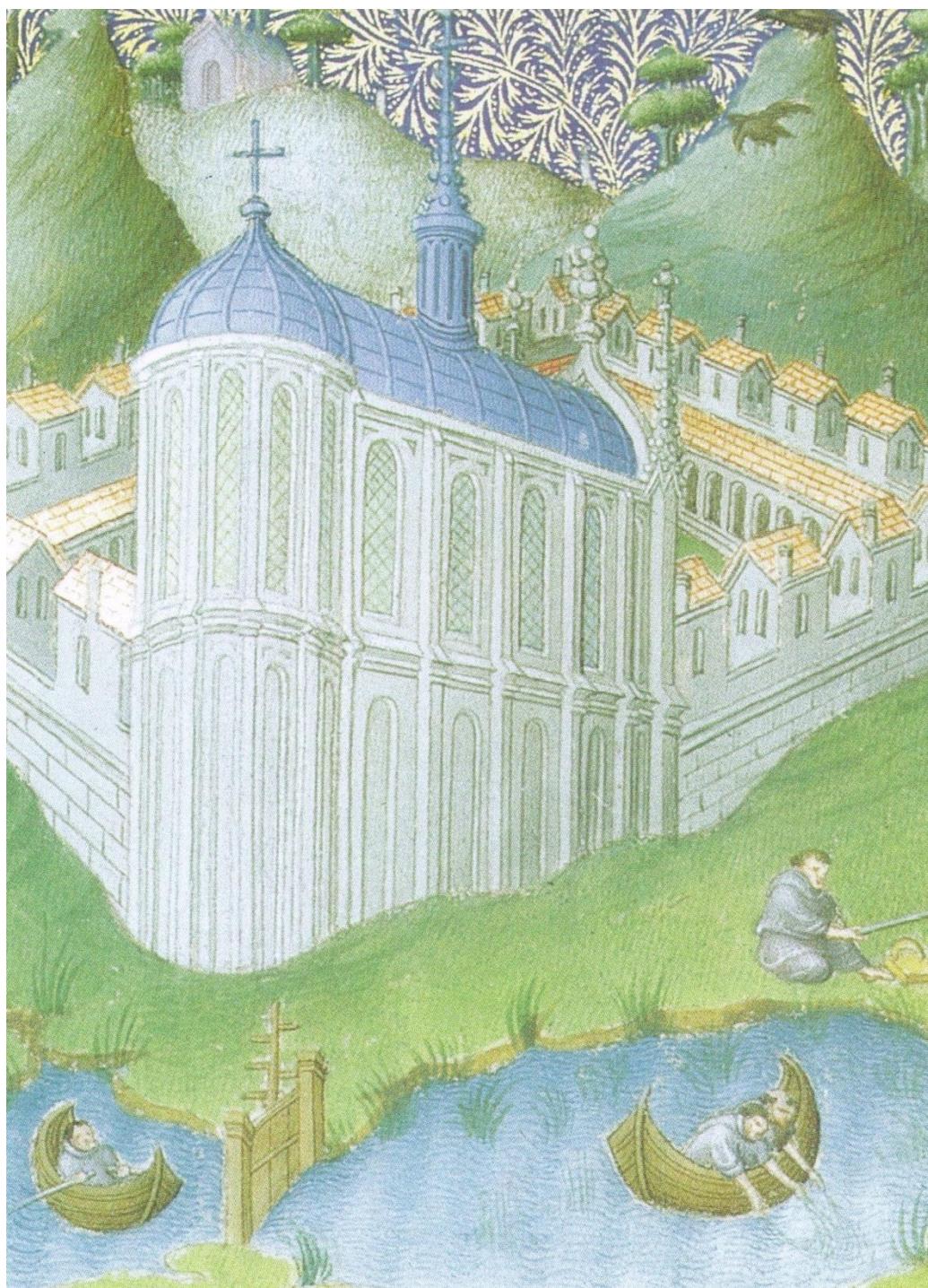
X. Een visser met een hengel met een vis aan de haak, zie *Medieval Life Illustrations*, selected and arranged by Carol Belanger Grafton, New York, 1996, p. 89.



XIA en XIB. De maand mei in twee afbeeldingen in een Vlaams getijdenboek, bewaard in de Széchényi-Bibl., Budapest (zie noot 4).



XIIA. Miniatur met jachtvoorstellingen in: *Livre des profits ruraux* van de schrijver Petrus de Crescentiis door de meester van Margaretha van York, ca. 1470. (zie noot 10).



XIIB. Vissende kartuizer monniken in: *Les Belles Heures du Duc de Berry*,
ca. 1415, fol.v. 97, (zie noot 10).

Den Haag, 6 december 2012

TÓTH-UBBENS, Magdi: A Royal Hunting Party in France*The Art of Hunting with Falcons*

On the great international art exhibition 'The Road to Van Eyck', (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam 13 October 2012-10 February 2013) we also find the drawing from the collection of the 'Musée du Louvre' in Paris. In the catalogue of the exhibition this drawing is mentioned as number 79 with the as usual wrong title a 'Fishing-Party'. The main theme is rather a royal hunting-party with falcons and hounds with as central figures the King of England, Henry V, and Queen Isabeau of France, accompanied by her daughter the Princess Catherine as the bride to be of the English King and their respective retinues. The hunting with trained birds of prey such as falcons was the prerogative of the high nobility. Even as the right of fishing and the right to build and to use windmills the right of hunting was reserved for the highest class of the feudal society. This right was only done away with in 1798 during the French Revolution in Europe when the legal system was changed due to the ideals of 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité'. Nevertheless these feudal rights remained in existence in several places during a long time. The hunting on and with birds of prey is forbidden in the Netherlands and so is the hunting with falcons. At the moment however it is again possible to be trained as a falconer. The hawker with his bird of prey is put into action to shoo away birds that present a danger for the air traffic.

The coloured draft on paper portrays an important political-historical event in the history of Europe, namely the pacification and the alliance by means of a royal marriage between the two superpowers England and France at that time engaged in battle in which John the Fearless and his son Philip the Good, the Dukes of Burgundy, supported by the French Queen Isabeau, played a vital mediatory role. This is in our opinion the reason why this draft has been kept save first in Burgundian, than in Habsburgian and then in French possession. The commissioner was, as we suppose, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, the only son and hereditary successor of duke John the Fearless, who in 1422 was chosen into the English Order of the Garter of St. George, but refused admittance. For a long time until the Peace of Arras on the 1st of September 1435 Duke Philip remained the irreconcilable opponent, bent on revenge and honour killing, of the French King Charles VII, anointed and crowned on the 17th July at Reims because of the in his eyes treacherous murder of his father despite the regular attempts at reconciliation undertaken by the Carthusian monk of Bologna, cardinal Niccolò D'Albergati (1375-1443), the envoy of the Apostolic See in Rome.

During the falcon hunt with hounds, that is to say on all sorts of birds, such as pigeons, rooks, fowl, herons, ducks and other waterfowl, these tamed and well-trained birds of prey are lured with all sorts of bait, actually called 'lures', that is to say fake birds with white feathers of pigeons or of other birds, and rewarded to return to their owners/falconers after having succeeded in the execution of their task, who take the overpowered prey out of the falcons' talons. In the poetry of the Middle Ages the hunt on herons was compared with the highest form of love, the courtly love. The hunt with the 'falco peregrinus' - the fastest bird of prey on earth - on herons was a peculiarity of the falcony in the northern parts of the Burgundian empire with its abundant waters.

The unusual portrait of Henry V, King of England, with the black Burgundian-Flemish hood ('kaproen') on his royal head and a falcon on his left hand caused a lot of confusion later on. A French portret-engraving of the 16th century (1555) entitled 'Charles, sixiesme du nom liii Roy the France' does not portray the 54-years old mentally ill French King Charles, but the 36-years old English King Henry V with the falcon on his gloved right hand as the 'courtly lover' and as the (future) King of France with the stave of lilies in his left hand. Here he is wearing the same hood ('kaproen') as on our 'Eyckian' drawing in the Musée du Louvre.

The problem raised as the draft with the representation of the two royal companies on the falcon hunt, 'the sport of kings', accompanied by their hunting dogs and the three 'anglers' have not yet been totally solved. However, as the French historian professor Henri Pirenne (1862-1935) wrote to his colleague professor Johan Huizinga (1872-1945): 'Il y a, en somme, plusieurs vérités pour une même chose: c'est un peu, comme une peinture, une question d'éclairage. L'essentiel est de faire réfléchir.'



TRAVELOGUE

TAPON, Francis**Slovakia — for the Mountain Lovers**

Since the July-September 2010 issue we published excerpts from the book *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*. This piece is the last one we publish. We think that we gave a good taste of what this book is about. There is so much more available in this enjoyable volume that we encourage all of you to purchase it and read it. And recommend it to your friends too. By this you not only treat yourself with an interesting travelogue but you also support Francis on his next great adventure: *a 3 years tour of Africa*. In fact this next adventure will commence in less than 30 days. We agreed with Francis that we would publish pieces of his travel diary in Africa in the coming issues. Stay tuned...

Editors

Why Slovaks and Hungarians don't get along

Hungarians and Slovaks have been having some problems recently. And by "recently," I mean for the last 140 years. Whenever I asked Hungarians to rank their seven neighboring countries in order of a positive relationship, Slovakia was always dead-last. Slovaks aren't too fond of Hungarians either. Ján Slota, chairman of a major Slovak government party, summed up the sentiments of Slovak extremists when he said, "Hungarians are a tumor on the body of the Slovak nation that needs to be removed without delay."

How did these neighbors get into such a mess? History explains it all. We'll examine Hungary's history more closely later, but for now it's only important to understand that for about 1,000 years, Hungarians ruled (among other places) what is now called Slovakia. Depending on who you ask, life under Hungarian rule was either fabulous, crappy, or somewhere in between. One thing is fairly clear: for most of those 1,000 years, Hungarians let the Slovaks (and other non-Hungarian ethnicities) keep their language and culture.

However, that loose grip began to tighten 140 years ago, when Hungary started to *Hungarianize* its citizens. For example, Hungary forced Slovaks to speak Hungarian in official business, converted about 70 percent of the Slovak elementary schools into Hungarian ones, closed nearly all Slovak secondary schools, gave the right to vote to only the top 5.9 percent of the population (effectively silencing the Slovak political voice), and encouraged Slovaks to change their names into Hungarian-sounding ones. As one Encyclopedia states, "Under Hungarian rule, Slovaks were pressured to give up their language and cultural identity and become Hungarian. Mainly rural, landless peasants, the Slovaks had little economic status and virtually no role in the political life of Hungary."¹ Therefore, by the time Hungary lost WWI, Slovaks were happy to end 1,000 years of Hungarian rule.

¹ Wolchik, Sharon L. "Slovakia." *Microsoft® Encarta® 2006 [DVD]*. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2005.

After you manage a territory for 1,000 years, it's hard to let it go. Therefore, when Hitler offered Hungary one-third of Slovakia's land, Hungary couldn't resist, especially since it was land where the majority of the inhabitants were ethnically Hungarian. To thank Hitler for returning Hungary some of its former territory, the Hungarian Army fought side by side with the Nazis as far east as Stalingrad and sent hundreds of thousands of Jews to their deaths.

When Hungarians lost WWII, they had to face the furious Slovaks, who viewed the Hungarians as Nazi collaborators. This accusation was wildly hypocritical, since the Slovak government and military were also allied with the Nazis! Slovaks may argue that Hitler forced Slovakia to join the Axis, but they forget that Hitler twisted Hungary's arm too. Consider that when German troops began crossing Hungary to attack Yugoslavia, Hungary's Prime Minister committed suicide. He wrote on his suicide note, "I have allowed our nation's honor to be lost. The Yugoslav nation was our friend. . . . But now, out of cowardice, we have allied ourselves with scoundrels."

Slovaks are right to say that, under Hitler, Hungary got a better deal than Slovakia: Hungary's territory increased, whereas Slovakia's decreased. One reason Hitler favored Hungary is that, in his warped mind, Hungarians were better than Slovaks because they weren't Slavic. Nevertheless, Slovakia sent thousands of Jews to their deaths and its army fought alongside the Nazis until it was clear that Germany would lose the war, which is when the Slovaks finally mounted an effective uprising. Although Slovakia had an anti-Nazi government in exile, plenty of Hungarians were also against the fascists. In conclusion, although Hungary was a stronger and more passionate Nazi supporter than Slovakia, Slovakia was hardly anti-Nazi.

When WWII ended, Slovaks conveniently forgot these details. They just remembered Hungary conspiring with Hitler to take one-third of Slovakia's land. Edvard Beneš, Czechoslovakia's President after WWII, summed up Slovakia's sentiments when he said, "After punishing all the delinquents who committed crimes against the state, the overwhelming majority of the Germans and Hungarians must leave Czechoslovakia. . . . Our people cannot live with the Germans and Hungarians in our fatherland."

Thus, Hungarians (and Germans) living in Czechoslovakia were slapped with the Beneš Decrees, which allowed Slovaks to confiscate Hungarian property and force Hungarian families to move. Czechoslovakia deported 90 percent of its Germans, but the Allies told them that they had to treat Hungarians differently. To kick a Hungarian out, Czechoslovakia had to let Hungary kick a Czechoslovak out. About 73,000 Hungarians and Slovaks, many who had lived for many generations in their homes, were forced to move. Zsuzsa Rodgers, a Hungarian, told me, "Very large numbers of Hungarians were murdered, and others, luckier ones, like my grandparents, were relocated to Hungary, but their lands and wealth confiscated, and all connections to relatives severed."

What Hungarians often forget is that Hungarians deported and mistreated many Slovaks (and Germans) in Hungary. Hungarians will say that they didn't *want* to kick the Slovaks out—they were just doing it because the Allies told them to do the population exchange. Besides, compared to the Slovaks, the Hungarians are convinced that they were far nicer when it came to confiscating property and deporting people.

Adults acting like children

In 2007, Slovakia's parliament reconfirmed the Beneš Decrees, using the stupid excuse that if they didn't, then would be admitting guilt and would have to compensate the victims. Meanwhile, Hungarians are equally ridiculous about the Beneš Decrees, acting like they are still being enforced. This is absurd because Hungarians in Slovakia aren't being deported or having their property stolen. The right thing to do would be for the Slovaks to repeal the Beneš Decrees and for the Hungarians to ignore them if they don't.

Instead, both sides continue to argue like brats. In 2009, Pál Csáky, the leader of the Hungarian political party in Slovakia's Parliament, said that Ján Slota (the Slovakia National Party leader) and the Beneš Decrees are "Slovakia's shame." Slota replied, "If I am considered to be the shame for Slovakia, then he is a vomit, a rotten piece of shit."²

Slota's beliefs are so extreme, it's comical. He said, "If the Slovak National Party is extremist, then Hungarians are radioactive extremists—they radiate more than Chernobyl. The best solution would be back-fill them with concrete." His solution with dealing with the Roma (gypsies) is "a long whip and a small yard." He drew a connection between the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Hitler when he compared her to "that little mustached person in a Munich cellar. He had the same rhetoric as this woman. Perhaps her mustache is also starting to grow." In addition, he's called the Hungarian Turul (the mythical Hungarian falcon) an "ugly parrot" and Saint Stephen, the first King of Hungary, "a clown on a horse."³

Although Slota's fiery tongue represents the lunatic fringe of Slovakia, the fact that many Slovaks voted for his nationalist party worries Hungarians. It's just one more indication of just how lousy Hungary-Slovakia relations are. Indeed, Hungarians and Slovaks will bicker about almost anything. For example, in 1977, their communist governments (Slovakia was part of Czechoslovakia at the time) agreed to build the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dam next to the Danube River. Hungary illegally canceled the agreement, citing environmental concerns. Meanwhile, Czechoslovakia illegally went ahead with the river diversion without Hungary's approval. In 1997, the International Court in the Hague found both Hungary and Slovakia at fault and ordered them to compensate each other—they still haven't.

Elsewhere, a Hungarian student alleged Slovaks assaulted her, writing anti-Hungarian insults on her clothing. The Slovak police said she was lying and accused her of perjury. In another incident, Slovak police beat up Hungarians during a soccer game, even though the Hungarians were allegedly not doing anything that warranted an assault. Meanwhile, in Hungary's capital, two Molotov cocktails landed (but didn't detonate) next to the Slovak embassy.

² <http://www.mkp.sk/eng/images/pdf/MINORITY%20REPORT%20-%20OCTOBER.pdf>, which cites a phone interview on September 24, 2007.

³ Ibid. Also, many of his statements have been documented on Wikipedia.org, just search for *Ján Slota*, who is the leader Slovak National Party (SNS).

Slovakia's Language Law

In 2010, the latest idiotic fight was over Slovakia's Language Law. The law gives Slovak priority over other languages in road signs, ads, and government affairs (such as contracts, postal services, police, and fire departments). The law does not apply in communities where minority language speakers (like Hungarians) make up over 20 percent of the population. For instance, if you live somewhere where only 10 percent of the population is Hungarian, then you must speak Slovak in the post office, unless, of course, you don't know any Slovak. On the street, in restaurants, and bars you're free to talk in Hungarian, Japanese, or Swahili.

The law seems pretty harmless, except that after a written warning, violators could be fined up to 5,000 euros (\$7,500 dollars). Although Slovaks aren't enforcing the law (nobody has been fined), Hungarians are so hysterical over it that they're distorting reality. For example, several Hungarians (who don't live in Slovakia) assured me that "in Slovakia, it's illegal to speak Hungarian in public. Slovaks will beat you up if they hear you speaking it." Hoping to start a fight when I was roaming the streets of Slovakia, I merrily yelled out "*köszönöm*" ("thank you" in Hungarian), but nobody cared.

Hungarians are right that Slovakia's Language Law is asinine. Slovaks should re-write the law to match the standard language laws that several EU countries have. Thanks to EU pressure, Slovakia's Prime Minister took the teeth out of the law when he promised that "no individual will be fined in Slovakia for using their own language."⁴ It's a pity that Slovaks are so insecure about their language that they feel they even need such a law. If their language could survive 1,000 years of Hungarian rule, it will do just fine in their independent country without any silly Language Law. In fact, it should be even easier now to keep their language since there are fewer Hungarians than ever. In 1910, the Kingdom of Hungary estimated that about 30 percent of those who live in what is now Slovakia were Hungarian. Over the last 100 years, that number has eroded to less than 10 percent today.

Krisztina Szirmai, a well-traveled Hungarian, told me that "to introduce a fair and inclusive language and minority policy, you need to be confident in yourself, your history and so on. It's not enough to have a language, traditions, and folk songs that are 1,000 years old, you must have a stable state, a long-existing constitution, a long history of literature and others. Slovakia lacks these things. It's quite usual that when a new country is being born, having nothing to hold onto, can only find itself in abusing other nationalities, especially the ones that previously had control over it."

Yet another immature fight broke out in 2010, when Hungary offered citizenship to all Hungarians, even if they live in other countries. Slovakia saw the move as a jab and promptly made dual citizenship illegal for its citizens. These two EU countries continue their race to the bottom for the grand prize of who is the biggest baby.

What's the root cause behind these petty fights?

Part of the Slovak's anti-Hungarian mentality is rooted in vengeance. During the communist era, Hungary banned the Slovak and German languages. Before that, as we saw, Hungary was trying to

⁴ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/europe/8248097.stm>

Hungarianize Slovaks. Therefore, for Slovaks, it's payback time, especially since there are a few diehard Hungarians who believe that Slovakia belongs under Hungary. They refuse to call it *Szlovákia*, and instead use the name it had under the Kingdom of Hungary: *Felvidék* (Upper Hungary).

Indeed, these passionate Hungarians feel that everything about Slovakia is artificial. László Marácz called Czechoslovakia a "completely artificial creation."⁵ One Hungarian woman wrote to me, "The Beneš Decrees were created to exterminate Hungarian and German populations in the newly born, artificial country of Slovakia." Another Hungarian, who also wished to go unnamed, expressed a similar idea when he wrote to me, "Slovak is an artificial language to give identity to a never-existed country, Slovakia. It was during the nineteenth century that the *tót* (that's their real name) identity (*Slovakia* and the word *Slovak* appeared, to my knowledge, only after 1920) strengthened, along with their wonderful buildings and richness built by Hungarians."

Imagine you're a Slovak and you hear Hungarians saying your country and language are "artificial" and that even the name of your nationality is wrong ("Dude, you're not a *Slovak*, you're a *Tót*!"). At some point, you too might support an ultra-nationalist like Ján Slota who once promised that if Hungarians keep trying to teach Slovaks the Lord's Prayer in Hungarian, he would send tanks to "flatten Budapest."

Hungary and Slovakia ought to copy Czechia and Germany by issuing a joint apology for past misdeeds. However, in 2009, instead of saying *mea culpa*, Hungary's President tried to unveil a statue of Saint Stephen, Hungary's first king, *in Slovakia*. That's not exactly a good way to kiss and make up. Slovakia responded by not letting him in the country—which raised eyebrows in the EU since EU citizens are allowed to travel across borders freely. To apologize, you need courage and an ability to not take yourself too seriously. Hungary and Slovakia aren't there yet.

Anyone who takes himself too seriously always runs the risk of looking ridiculous; anyone who can consistently laugh at himself does not. — Václav Havel

There's hope

There's a happy ending to this Hungary-Slovakia debacle: it's not as bad as it seems. Talk to the average Slovak (or ethnic Hungarian living in Slovakia) and they probably won't bring up the issue, because it's really not that big of a deal. I only learned about it at the end of my second trip to Slovakia. And the only reason I discovered it was that I love asking provocative questions; otherwise, I would be oblivious to the tension. In fact, for many years in America, my doubles volleyball partner was a Slovak, yet he never once mentioned anything about Hungarians. In 2011, Zuzana Sedlackova, a Slovak, summed it up well in an email:

Politicians make it sound like it's the worst relationship on earth, just to build up some reputation and dramatize the situation. Let's face it, people love dramatic situations and they rather read horrible news than good ones.

⁵ László Marácz, *Hungarian Revival: Political Reflections on Central Europe* (The Hague: Mikes International), p. 63.

I don't think relationship between those two countries is dramatic; on the contrary, I think people in general really do not care and live their life together without any issues (look at the history of Slovaks, have we ever been aggressive nation?). According to the news (if we can trust them) there has been one attack on some Hungarian girl in Slovakia—and it became international issue.

Of course in every country (including Slovakia or Hungary) you have many "ultra-nationalists" who are out of their minds, but I think you can find them more in Germany or even UK . . . and they don't make it such an issue out of it.

Now there is an issue about Hungarian language to be used as an official language in Slovakia. What an issue and lovely game for politicians AGAIN! I believe that people should speak Slovak in Slovak bureaucracy; however, I don't see a reason why Hungarians could not speak Hungarian to the person if the clerk speaks Hungarian as well. Just like when an English person comes to our offices and speaks in English—if you speak the language, you explain it in his language to make it easier and understandable for him. As Slovakia is in the EU, we should have all official documents available in all EU languages. What's important is that if you are Slovak in Slovakia you should not have problem with your mother-tongue in your own country.

I deeply believe it is only a political issue. They are just playing dirty games and do not communicate on professional political level. Unfortunately it is our (Slovaks and also Hungarians) problem that we have voted those people to be in the government.

In short, Hungarians and Slovaks coexist everyday with no more trouble than you might find anywhere else. There's even a Facebook group called "Slovakia + Hungary = Peace, Love & Empathy" that has over 16,000 members—far more than all the anti-Hungary or anti-Slovak Facebook groups combined. In 2010, Ján Slota's radical political party lost over half their seats in parliament as Slovaks rejected his abrasive tactics. In conclusion, a few politicians and their followers create most of drama because it's more fun for them to stir up trouble than to do any real work.

* * *

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

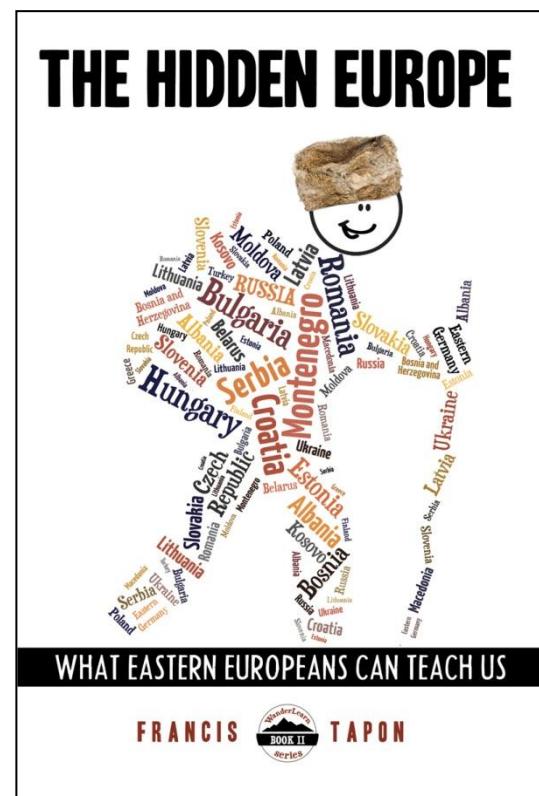
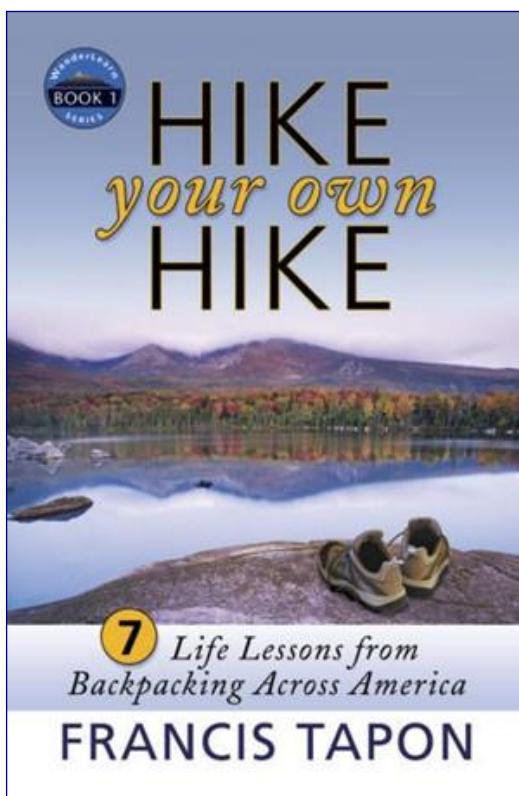
4,200 km Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to do a round-trip on the Continental Divide Trail—a seven-month journey spanning 9,000 km. In 2008-2011, he visited over 40 European countries, but focused on revisiting all the Eastern European ones. In 2009, he climbed up Mont 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>



CHRONICLE

Report of the International Czuczor-Fogarasi Conference

Budaörs, October 6 7, 2012

The International Cultural Centre Czuczor Fogarasi conference took place in Budaörs, at the Jókai Mór Cultural Centre on 6-7 of October, 2012.

The conference was dedicated to the memory of The Great Academic Hungarian Dictionary published 150 years ago.

The conference showed the works of the Hungarian researchers based on The Dictionary and the similar international scientific studies, as well as the practical application of the results in teaching, which was started in Budaörs, at the Mindszenty József Roman Catholic Primary School for the first time in the country.

The conference was a great success; the conference centre was full on both days. The two days presentations were received with genuine interest of domestic and foreign researchers, and by the hundreds of audience present.

The patronage of the conference was Abbot Dr. Várszegi Asztrik OSB Pannonhalma.

The following papers were presented:

Speaker, author	Organization	Topic
Marácz László	<i>Amsterdam University</i>	The place of Czuczor-Fogarasi dictionary in the European language research
Molnár Zsolt	<i>Hungarian LanguageResearch and Teaching Development Ltd.</i>	The truth of Czuczor and Fogarasi based on cognitive science
Shoko Hamano and Takashi Sugahara	<i>George Washington University</i>	Identifying and teaching Japanese mimetic verbs
Kimi Akita	<i>Osaka University</i>	Frame Phonosemantics: A Frame-Semantic Approach to Japanese Mimetics
Iraide Ibarretxe-Antunano	<i>Zaragoza University</i>	Sounds with meaning: An overview of Basque ideophones
Hornyánszky Simon	<i>Mathematician, Miskolc</i>	The universal basic meanings of our phonemes

Speaker, author	Organization	Topic
Neumann László and Neumann Attila	<i>Barcelona, ICREA, Mathematician, Budapest</i>	Non-linear verb-tense derivators and their sound-symbolism in the Hungarian language
Kontur László	<i>Budapest</i>	In the name of Varga Csaba
Marácz László	<i>Amsterdam University</i>	The one syllabic Hungarian roots. The root-system in the Hungarian language
Angela Marcantonio	<i>La Sapienza University, Rome</i>	Czuczor and Fogarasi analysis of the Hungarian root in the light of modern linguistics.
Hudy Árpád	<i>Magyar Jelen Literature magazine</i>	The theoretical and practical questions of determination and delimitation of the roots.
Gulgaisha Sagidolda	<i>Turkish Academy, Kazakhstan, Astana</i>	Morphological system of the Altaic languages: parallel verbs and their root-stem
Magripa Yeskeyeva	<i>Turkish Academy, Kazakhstan, Astana</i>	V model forms in the monosyllabic system of Turkic languages
Mukusheva Raushangul	<i>Szeged University</i>	Presented the above two papers.
Kubra Kuliyeva	<i>Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences Nasimi Institute of Linguistics</i>	Some roots and their phenomena in different language systems
Ilaha Gurbanova	<i>Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences Nasimi Institute of Linguistics</i>	The alternation of \ p - m-n \ in Azerbaijani dialects and speeches, as elements of Kipchak
Vasi Krisztina	<i>Pázmány Péter Catholic University</i>	The life and works of Czuczor Gergely
Molnár Zsolt	<i>Hungarian LanguageResearch and Teaching Development Ltd.</i>	Teaching the Hungarian concept system and language on the bases of cognitive science
M. Czeglédi Cecília	<i>Mindszenty József Roman Catholic Primary School</i>	The meaning based language teaching system
Boncz Tamás	<i>Magyar Műhely ÁMK Primary School</i>	The teaching experiences with the Molnár-Czeglédi system
Szabóné Márta	<i>Magyar Műhely ÁMK Primary School</i>	Reasons for applying the Molnár - Czeglédi teaching system and further development possibilities
M. Czeglédi Cecília and the 4b class of the Mindszenty J. Primary School R. K. Primary School	<i>Mindszenty József R.K. Primary School</i>	Hungarian language teaching lesson

Speaker, author	Organization	Topic
Hudy Árpád	<i>Magyar Jelen Literature magazine</i>	The origin of language from the root perspective – Theory of Arnold Wadler
Czeglédi Katalin	<i>Linguist, Pécs</i>	Nature, language, thinking
Frang Gizella	<i>University of West Hungary, Sopron</i>	Meaning and philosophy in the Hungarian economic terminology
Végh László	<i>Debrecen University</i>	The system of roots and thinking
Göncziné Orbán Ildikó	<i>Molnás Angéla Foundation</i>	Care and protection of language
Csajághy György	<i>Music teacher, historian, Pécs</i>	Some linguistics and rhythmical correspondence in Hungarian folk music
Mandics György	<i>Writer, Budapest</i>	The theory of roots in the history of the Hungarian writing (rovás)
Sípos László	<i>Rovás Foundation</i>	Hungarian writing (rovás) and the roots

As a result of the conference the joint creative work began between scientists, teachers and students, it could be the starting-point of many scientific and educational achievement in the future.

We gratefully acknowledge and many thanks to Council and Municipality of Budaörs Town for this conference!

21th of December 2012.

Marácz László, Molnár Zsolt, Molnárné Czeglédi Cecília



OUR AUTHORS**CZEGLÉDI, Katalin**

Studied Hungarian-Russian-Altaic languages and literatures at the University 'József Attila' in Szeged, Hungary. She was given the title 'dr. univ' at the same University, too. As a teacher Ms. Czeeglédi taught foreign languages at all type of state schools, and linguistics at state universities. Her major research topics cover linguistic prehistory in general and applied linguistics. Currently she teaches linguistic prehistory at Private Universities called 'Nagy Lajos király' in Miskolc, Hungary and 'Kőrösi Csoma' in Budapest, Hungary. She regularly delivers scientific lectures at conferences and meetings. Ms. Czeeglédi published about 80 essays and two books: 'History of Scythian-Hunnish languages 1. Phonetics 2. Presyntaxe'. Currently she is working on the third volume of this series '3. Accidence (1. System of roots of words 2. System of forming of words.)'. Her major aim is to learn the history of our language and our people in the best possible way and to convey this knowledge to as many people as possible.

DAR, Firdous Ahmad

Mr. Dar graduated from Government Degree College Anantnag through University of Kashmir in 2002. In 2006 he received his MA degree with first division. He pursued a M.Phil degree at the Department of Center of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir. His thesis was entitled "Role of NGOs in the Development of Tajikistan" and in 2012 he did NET (National Eligibility Test for Lecturership) in Political Science. He has also to his credit a B.Ed degree, which stamps the eligibility for a good teaching profession. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. degree in Political Science at the Department of Center of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir. The topic of his research is "Development of NGOs in Central Asia: A case study of Kyrgyzstan".

FARKAS, Flórián

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

MIRABILE, Paul

After having travelled and worked for many years in Africa and in Europe, Mr. Mirabile enrolled at the University of Vincennes-Saint-Denis, Paris VIII where he obtained his doctoral thesis in 1986 in mediaeval History, literature and linguistics: *La Genèse de la Chanson de Roland: la Théorie de l'Entonnoir* under the direction of Bernard Cerquiglini. Since then he has taught languages and literature, philology and History either at universities or secondary schools in Turkey, South India, China, Ireland and Russia whilst doing research on the Mediaeval Eurasian Koine. He has contributed articles and essays on mediaeval History, religions and philosophy in *Stratégique* (F.E.D.N), *Contrastes*, *Liber Mirabilis*, *Nietzsche-Studien*, *Journal of Armenian Studies*, *Journal of Dravidic Studies*, *Armenian International Reporter*, *La Chine au Présent*, *Al Amanecer* (Istanbul: Judio-Spanish journal), *Chasse-Marée* and in university reviews in China and Russia. He is currently teaching in Istanbul.

MOLNÁR, Zsolt

Received a doctor univ. degree in Management and Organization from the Budapest University of Technology, Faculty of Social and Natural Sciences in the field of "Cognitive Modeling of Organizations". Currently he is working in the field of cognitive sciences focusing on the research of creation of meaning. His special interest is the investigation of the Hungarian language based on the meaning principle. In line with his research he is also working on new language teaching methods based on theoretical findings.

MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

Born in 1971, Budapest, Hungary. Received her diploma (M.Sc.) in Agricultural Sciences and her Doctorate (Ph.D.) in Plant Physiology, in 1995 and 2001, respectively, both from the Szent István University of Gödöllő, Hungary. In 2003 she graduated as an engineer in Plant Protection at the University of Veszprém, Hungary and worked for the Hungarian Plant and Soil Protection Service. Between 2004 and 2005 she worked as a postdoctoral student at the Technopôle Brest-Iroise in Brest, France. She is specialized in the physiology and molecular biology of halophyte plants. Between 2007 and 2012 she studied fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands until her graduation in 2012. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

PLÁJÁS, Ildikó Zongá

Received a B.A. degree in Hungarian ethnology and cultural anthropology and Hungarian language and literature at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania in 2005. In 2006 she received an M.A. degree in Complex Cultural Research from the same university. Her main areas

of research include the visual representation of the Roma people — racist, discriminatory and exclusionary practices in the construction of visual discourses in Eastern European societies (2008-present) and the visual representation of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania (Romania) in documentaries (2005-present). Ms. Plájás organized several conferences and she is the author of numerous articles.

STEINBACH, Sandro

Mr. Steinbach has pursued the following academic curriculum to date:

- 2012- Graduate Student in Agricultural and Resource Economics, University of California, Davis (CA) [Majors: Trade Economics and Transition Economics]
- 2012- PhD Student in Economics, Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Central and Eastern Europe (IAMO), Halle [Topic: Food Trade in Transition Economies]
- 2011-2012 M.Sc. Agricultural Economics, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin [Majors: Trade and Development Economics]
- 2011- Graduate Student in Economics (M.Sc.), Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- 2007-2011 B.Sc. in Horticultural Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- 2006-2010 B.Sc. in Agricultural Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Next to that he took part on numerous international conferences and seminars where he presented papers, of which several were later published.

SZABÓ, Christopher

Christopher Szabó is a general assignment freelance journalist. He covers a wide range of subjects including international affairs, the military and aviation and also writes historical articles for magazines and newspapers. He has worked in newspapers, radio, television and the Internet. Born in 1959 in London of Hungarian refugee parents, raised in South Africa and then studying in America, he received his B.Sc. (Hons) degree in Communications with a minor in Journalism in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1988. He considered going into the world of academe, but decided to stay with "reality" and journalism. His lifelong fascination with all things historical, notably Hungarian and Eurasian history has resulted in the ongoing study of especially the military history of Eurasian nomads.

TAMBOVTSEV, Yuri

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

TAPON, Francis

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

TÓTH-UBBENS, Magdi

Studied history of art, archeology and history of the Middle Ages at the University of Amsterdam. She was, after her study, research-assistant at the Mauritshuis in The Hague. She is the author of the catalogue of painting and sculpture of the 15th and 16th centuries of this museum (1968), as well as together with A.B. de Vries, director of the Mauritshuis and Prof. W. Froentjes 'Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis' (1978) and several articles. She devoted attention to the role of uncurably infectious diseased people, as lepers, in visual art in her book 'Verloren beelden van miserabele bedelaars' ('Lost pictures of miserable beggars'), 1987. At this moment she deals with painting in the period of 'Waning of the Middle Ages' in the Low Lands, especially with its main painter, Jan van Eyck (ca. 1395-1441).

WANI, Mohd Younus

Mr. Mohd Younus Wani holds a B.A degree from the Kashmir University, Srinagar, India. From the same university he obtained the following degrees: M.A. (History), a B.Ed., M.Phil. History, (Centre of Central Asian Studies). He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in History, (Centre of Central Asian Studies), Kashmir University, Srinagar, India. Mr. Wani taught for several years in various secondary schools and colleges and spent 18 months in the Research Institute of Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, Srinagar, India.