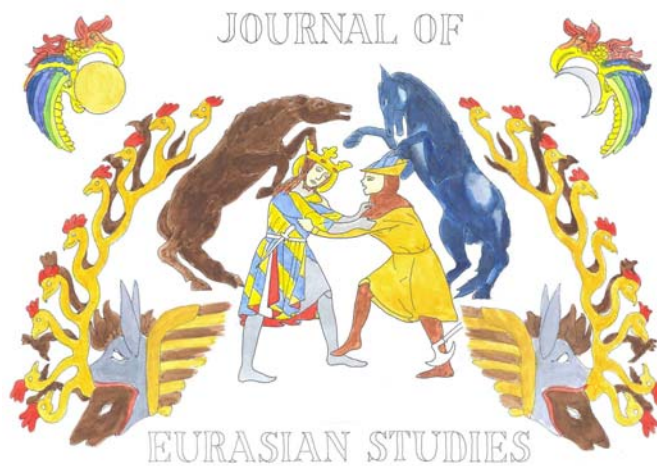


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Can be written in any language. However, if written in a language other than English, please provide an English summary of at least A4 length.

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

NEWS BRIEF

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

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CONTENTS

Dear Reader,.....	7
Our Authors	8
NEWS BRIEF	13
HISTORY	22
BENCZE, Mihály	
Katyn Seen with Hungarian Eyes.....	23
MARÁ CZ, László	
Multilingualism in the Hungarian Kingdom (1867-1918): Language Policy and Practice .	27
OBRUSÁ NSZKY, Borbála	
Silk Road – Then and Now	62
LINGUISTICS	69
WINTERS, Clyde	
Greek Influence on Sanskrit Language.....	70
LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODOLOGIES	78
MOLNÁ R, Zsolt & MOLNÁ RNÉ CZEGLÉ DI, Cecília	
The Creative Hungarian Language and Its Special Teaching Method	
Part 5.: Relators in the Structure of Sentences.....	79
ANCIENT WRITING SYSTEM RESEARCH	84
MELLÁ R, Mihály	
From a Kafkania Pebble to the Staff of Asclepios.....	85
ETHNOGRAPHY	90
TODORIKI, Masahiko	
Tuwa-Ren: The Emerging Ethnic Identity of the Altai-Tuvans in Xinjiang.....	91
GEOSTRATEGY	104
ABILOV, Shamkhal	
Historical Development of the Azerbaijan Oil Industry and the Role of Azerbaijan	
in Today's European Energy Security.....	105

MAHAPATRA, Debidatta Aurobinda Post-Cold War World Order and Ideal Human Unity: A Perspective from Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy	142
LITERATURE & ARTS.....	153
EKUKLU, Bülent Zeki Demirkubuz ve "Kader"	154
EKUKLU, Bülent : Zeki Demirkubuz	158
MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia A propos d'une exposition: Hans Bellmer – Louise Bourgeois Double Sexus	159
TRAVELOGUE	163
TAPON, Francis The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us	164
BOOK (P)REVIEW.....	175
BÉRCZI, Szaniszló Etruscan, Roman and Toscan Art.....	176
CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON EURASIA.....	183
HIRTH, Friedrich Die chinesischen annalen als Quelle zur Geschichte asiatischer Völker.....	184

DEAR READER,

PALIMPSEST

This is the title of Gore Vidal's famous memoir. The author identifies its way of writing his memoir with the definition of the word, which is: "1. Paper, parchment, etc., prepared for writing on and wiping out again, like a slate. 2. A parchment, etc., which has been written upon twice; the original writing having been rubbed out." Thinking of the history and heritage of Eurasia (and of the world in general), it is probably the best term to use.

This beautiful and exciting nature of mankind's history and cultural heritage was oversimplified and shadowed during the Cold War in the 20th century. In the battle of good versus evil (depending on where you stood or where you were placed) there was not too much room left for subtle nuances, at least in the open public space. With the end of it the situation changed dramatically. Since the 1990s more and more people are searching for their roots. History does not show any sign of ending, neither in a Marxist nor in a Fukuyama manner; in fact never did. History, culture, race, language, heritage and alike are all aspects of human existence that count heavily again. Not for nothing can we witness a real identity renaissance throughout Eurasia and beyond.

When we launched our Journal of Eurasian Studies in March 2009 we envisioned a free journal that would cater to a wide intelligent audience that expects a combination of scientific articles of high quality and other material, which is topical, interesting and readable. Both our readers' and the volunteer authors' reactions surpassed our wildest expectations. The journal, after almost two years, contains more material from newcomers than from its original founders. It could not be better!

There is another fact that proves that we were right in launching our journal: Elsevier, the publishing powerhouse, launched in January this year, one year after our journal's launch, a periodical with exactly the same name as ours. Despite the differences in scope, frequency of publication (theirs is published twice a year) and the way it is edited and marketed, Elsevier's journal too shows the changing of times. And this can not be by accident. It is *Zeitgeist*.

Flórián Farkas

Editor-in-Chief

The Hague, November 28, 2010

OUR AUTHORS

ABILOV, Shamkhal

Born in Yardimli, Republic of Azerbaijan in 1985. Received a BA degree in International Relations from Qafqaz University (Baku, Azerbaijan) in 2008. Currently he is studying for a MA-Double Degree in the field of Global Studies. He already completed the first year in 2009 at the University of Lepizig. At present he is completing the second year at the University of Vienna. Mr. Abilov's main research areas are: Azerbaijan-Conflict Studies, Caucasus, European Union, International Relations Theories & Globalization; in these fields he authored several articles. He is native speaker of Azeri and Turkish, fluent in English and has a reasonable working knowledge of German.

BENCZE, Mihály

Mathematician, teacher, poet. Born in Négyfalu in Transylvania in 1954. Graduated from the Babeş-Bolyai University, Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg (Transylvania), Faculty of Mathematics in 1978. Since his graduation he is teaching mathematics in high schools, currently in the Áprily Lajos High-School in Brassó/Braşov/Kronstadt (Transylvania). Next to teaching his activities cover the following fields: he was involved in the establishment of a Hungarian high-school system in Brassó/Braşov/Kronstadt; founded the Hungarian Mathematics Competition in Transylvania; founded the *József Wildt International Mathematical Competition*; mentor of students who create student periodicals; editor-in-chief of the international mathematical journal OCTOGON MATHEMATICAL MAGAZINE; founder of the publishing house *Fulgur* (1993), which specializes in publishing Hungarian books. He is author of several books including poetry and mathematics and several hundreds mathematical papers.

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

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

EKUKLU, Bülent

Was born in 1973 and graduated from the Middle East Technical University, Computer Engineering Department. In 1998 he started his MA studies at the Cinema-TV Department at Yeditepe University; he did further research in cinema in 2001 in Italy. In 2003 he successfully completed his master degree education with the thesis "Change of Cultural Society of Turkey in post-1980 and Cultural Construction of Yavuz Turgul Cinema". Since then he has been working in various TV series, short films, radio programs, documentary films as script writer and consultant. Starting from 2005, he attended a master class called "Playwriting Workshop" for a period of one year at Mehmet Ergen management. After that class, he finished his first play entitled "Amber-eyed woman". Since 2006, he is giving lectures called "Dramatic Writing and Script Writing Workshop" at Sinematek Association. Since 1998 he has been working in different roles in the IT sector and currently is working as IT consultant.

HIRTH, Friedrich (1845-1927)

German-American sinologist who was born at Gräfen-tonna, Saxe-Gotha. He was educated at the universities of Leipzig, Berlin, and Greifswald. He was in the Chinese maritime customs service from 1870 to 1897. In 1902, Professor Hirth was appointed to the professorship of Chinese in Columbia University, New York. He is the author of numerous books and articles.

MAHAPATRA, Debidatta Aurobinda

Received a Ph.D. degree from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is currently part of research faculty at Centre for Central Eurasian Studies, University of Mumbai, India. He is also associated with the Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast, International Mediating and Negotiating Operational Agency, Rome, Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies Network, and Journal of Alternative Perspectives in Social Sciences, Florida. Mr. Mahapatra was a research fellow at Moscow University in 2003-2004. He has written two books, co-authored two and co-edited one. He has contributed over hundred papers to various national and international journals and magazines. His prominent works include *India Russia Partnership: Kashmir, Chechnya and Issues of Convergence* (2006), *Central Eurasia: Geopolitics, Compulsions and Connections* (2008) and "The Peace Process and Prospects for Economic Reconstruction in Kashmir," *Peace & Conflict Review* (United Nations University of Peace, Fall 2008). His areas of expertise are conflict and peace building, Kashmir, terrorism and strategic aspects of Central Eurasia.

MARÁCZ, László

Born in 1960 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Received his degree from the University of Groningen. Between 1984 and 1990 he was with the University of Groningen as assistant

professor. Between 1990 and 1992 as a Niels Stensen scholar he was with MTI, MTA and CNRS as a guest researcher. Since 1992 Mr. Marác is lecturer of the East-European Institute of the University of Amsterdam. His areas of research cover general syntax, Hungarian grammar, the relationship of Hungarians and the West. Author of numerous scientific publications and books.

MELLÁR, Mihály

Mathematician, Academia of Sciences, Belgrade. Since 1980 he is living in Australia, working as Australian Aboriginal and Papua New Guinean art and craft dealer, researching organic and endogen cultures.

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.

MOLNÁRNÉ CZEGLÉDI, Cecília

Ms. Molnárné Czeglédi is working as teacher and teaching methodology developer. Currently she is working in an elementary school, does applied research, practical adaptation and effective introductions in the field of teaching methodology development. At present her main area of interest is the developmnet of a new Hungarian language teaching method, based on the theoretical findings of the meaning principle.

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. From 2007 she studies fine arts at the Academy of Fine Arts of The Hague, The Netherlands. Her special field of interest is the artistic depiction of organic growth processes.

OBRUSÁNSZKY, Borbála

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

TAPON, Francis

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

TODORIKI, Masahiko

Born in 1965, Nagano Prefecture. Received PhD of Biotechnology from Osaka University in 2007. Besides his musical career, he has been a researcher at the National Museum of Ethnology Osaka (2007-2010), the National Agricultural Research Center Tsukuba (2007-2008), and a lecturer in the Institute of Oriental Culture at the University of Tokyo (2008-2009) in the fields of biology and ethnology. Since 2009, he assumed his present post in the Department of Economics at the

Osaka University. Latest publications: *Old maps of Tuva 1—The detailed map of the nomadic grazing patterns of total area of the Tannu-Uriankhai*— (2008); *Old maps of Tuva 2—Tannu- Uriankhai Maps in 18th Century China* — (2009); “The dynamics of symbiosis: an essay on evolution from the endogenous point of view” (2009).

WINTERS, Clyde

Dr. Winters is the Director of the Uthman dan Fodio Institute’s Afro-Asian Research Project. He is a Curriculum Specialist and Linguist. Dr. Winters has taught Applied Linguistics at Saint Xavier University in Chicago and Curriculum Studies at Governors State University, University Park Illinois. He is especially interested in Archaeogenetics, Indian languages and the Indus Valley writing. Articles by Dr. Winters, have appeared in *Science*, *Papers in Japanese Linguistics*, *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, *Journal of Central Asia* and the *Central Asiatic Journal*.

ZOMBORI, Andor

Born in Budapest, Hungary. Acquired a B.A. degree in Japanese language and international relations in 2003 at the California State University, Long Beach in the United States. Also studied Japanese language, culture, and international affairs for one year at the Osaka Gakuin University in Japan and Korean language and culture for another year at the Kyungbuk National University in Korea. Mr. Zombori has been living in Japan since 2004 and working at a Japanese automotive industry consulting company as the department head of English-language publications. His primary area of specialization is the Asian automotive industry and market.

NEWS BRIEF

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This News Brief was compiled and edited by Andor Zombori.

ARCHAEOLOGY**Afghanistan: Archaeologists seek protection for Afghan treasures**

<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jf-EWqmhK3CiG7XGyGyVtOsNWZ8g>

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Armenia: Researchers find world's oldest leather shoe and more

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China: Researchers may know identity of ancient town in Xinjiang

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China: Buddha remains unveiled in east China temple

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China: Rare emerald pearl inserted in Cao Cao's mouth found

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China: Ancient voyagers tomb found in E China

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Cyprus: Ancient figurine 'factory' uncovered

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Israel: Dig reveals 3,500 yr old relics

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Israel: Ancient bees found in Israel hailed from Turkey

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India: Remains of another ancient varsity found

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Iran: Sassanid fire temple discovered in central Iran

<http://www.payvand.com/news/10/jul/1043.html>

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Jordan: 6,000-year-old statue discovered in Jordanian desert

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M&C (Jul. 21, 2010)

Jordan: Ancient City of Petra Tombs Reveal 61 Burials and Islamic Gold Medallion

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Japan: Ancient site suggests meat diet

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Kenya: Chinese archaeologists African quest for sunken ship of Ming admiral

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Korea, South: 12th century dike discovered in Nakdong River

<http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/culturesports/2010/06/21/17/0701000000AEN20100621000900315F.HTML>

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Kazakhstan: Kazakh Archeologists Discover Ancient Scythian "Sun Lord"

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Lebanon: Life in Bronze Age Levant is rediscovered

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<http://www.english.globalarabnetwork.com/201006206291/Travel/the-phoenician-archaeology-a-common-euro-mediterranean-heritage.html>

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Philippines: Boffins find mystery seafaring ancestor in the Philippines

http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/health/boffins-find-mystery-seafaring-ancestor-in-the-philippines_100375049.html

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Pakistan: Peshawar Is the “ Oldest Living City” in South Asia

<http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/metropolitan/03-peshawar-oldest-living-city-in-south-asia-ss-09>

Dawn (Jul. 03, 2010)

Pakistan: Ancient Civilization Remains Shrouded in Mystery

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Russia: Two Birch Bark Manuscripts Found

<http://www.russia-ic.com/news/show/10306/>

Russia IC (Jun. 21, 2010)

Russia: Archeologists Discover 4000-Year-Old Tombs

<http://www.russia-ic.com/news/show/10462/>

Russia IC (Jul. 28, 2010)

Syria: Clay pieces and bathtubs unearthed

<http://www.english.globalarabnetwork.com/201006086138/Related-news-from-Syria/belgian-archaeologists-unearthed-clay-pieces-and-bathtubs-in-syria.html>

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Syria: Mosaic, pillars and inscriptions unearthed

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Syria: Temple dating back to Hellenistic and Roman eras unearthed

<http://www.english.globalarabnetwork.com/201006296398/Related-news-from-Syria/syria-archaeologists-unearthed-a-temple-dating-back-to-hellenistic-and-roman-eras.html>

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HISTORY

BENCZE, Mihály**Katyn Seen with Hungarian Eyes**

Half of the lads from Hétfalu ran to Northern Transylvania, fighting through World War II as Hungarian soldiers, the other half as Romanian soldiers. Many of them stayed at the bend of the river Don, the ones who survived ran to Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) or Kolozsvár (Cluj). After the great fights, a big part of the ones who survived went home to their families. At gatherings they would tell stories about their life as soldiers and the war, remembering the ones who died. I heard from them for the first time about the tragedy in Katyn. After this came the Radio Free Europe's report about the event. After the fall of socialism and communism everyone was expecting the solution of this delicate issue, but the Russian leadership stayed hidden. Finally Gorbachev broke the silence.

Andrzej Wajda's movie Katyn drew the attention of the world again to this historical issue, which follows exactly, from the beginning, the story of the deported Polish officers and intellectuals, approaching the historical reality and lies from the point of view of the women left behind. After all of this, exactly after seventy years the second tragedy happened in Katyn, in which almost 100 members of the Polish state and church leadership lost their lives.

The Soviet Union attacked Poland, which was fighting the German army, on September 17, 1939 and occupied its Eastern region, which was made possible by the secret clause of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. During this campaign almost 15 thousand Polish officers were captured, together with many policemen and frontier-guards as well, and were brought to three huge concentration camps in Kozelsk, Starobielsk and Ostaskov. These are the places where those few Hungarian men lost their lives who were willing to fight in the Polish army as a token of the Hungarian-Polish friendship.

Stalin always looked at the Polish people suspiciously, primarily at its officers, because most of them were part of the Polish aristocracy and were heated by a strong patriotic feeling and anti-Russian emotions after the Tsarist repression. The reservists were mostly intellectuals, and Stalin thought that this layer would be in the future the core and engine of every anti-Soviet organization. The first wave of the Polish prisoners was transported on April 3, 1940 by the Soviet political police; the last group was taken on May 12 to the terminal in the woodland near Katyn, Harkov and Kalinyin. The exterminations were held in turns of 300, and the executioners of the NKVD used Walther pistols of German manufacture. A great part of the Polish citizens who were held hostage, more than 6000 people, were executed in Dergachev near Harkov in the same way. Such civilians, mostly intellectuals, died, because the Soviets expected them to fight against the Soviet occupation. The details of tragedy of many hundred Polish prisoners and civilians, who were transported by the Soviets to the Black Sea and put on two enormous fishing boats which were then sunk, are still not clear. Supposedly here was one of the two Hungarian civilians. Nearly 500 officers survived the execution; no one survived the sinking of the ships.

The news of these executions was first presented to the world by Germany in the spring of 1943, but the Red Cross was not willing to examine the situation, so the Germans set up an international commission for the clarification of the events. The famous Hungarian pathologist professor, dr. Ferenc Orsós was a member of this commission, and he was declared later a war criminal. Moscow put the guilt of the executions in Katyn on the Germans, but the event was not part of the trial in Nürnberg. The Soviet official statements tried to falsify the events that happened in Katyn during the war. After 1945, in Poland it was prohibited to talk about the executions that happened in Katyn. Only in 1956, at the time of the so-called meltdown, seemed possible that the Polish community can find out something about the stories of the victims, but Wladyslaw Gomulka, the leader of the party, was afraid of Moscow's revenge, and backed down. The silence was broken finally by Mihail Gorbachev in 1990. He made an announcement in which he said that the Soviet Union was responsible for the executions that happened in the woods of Katyn. Two years later Boris Yeltsin gave to Lech Walensa copies of many important documents about Katyn, one of them of the decision of the party dated March 5, 1940 in which Stalin agreed to the executions of the Polish officers.

Things are not in their right place even in our days.¹ Vladimir Putin, in spite of the documents and evidence that were presented, is doubtful that the Soviets killed Polish prisoners in Katyn in the spring of 1940. Hearing about the *Wajda* movie, some papers in Moscow say the same thing. The Russian military prosecutor's office started an investigation of this matter at the beginning of the 1990's, and this investigation was closed only in 2004. The documents of the prosecutor's office – in spite of Putin's opinion – do not question the fact that the Soviets executed the Polish officers and the civilians in Katyn, but they claim that that was not a crime of war and against humanity, but an ordinary crime. The exact number of the victims will be never known, and there is strong evidence that Moscow destroyed many documents related to this event in 1959. According to the research up until now 14,736 Polish officers and more than 10,600 Polish civilians were executed by the NKVD in Katyn.

This execution had two Hungarian victims as well. One of them was born in Poland in 1897, he was Hungarian-born, **Oskar Rudolf Kuehnel**. He fought against the Nazis as senior captain of the Polish army. He was imprisoned by the Soviets and sent to a camp in Koselski by the NKVD. He was murdered in April 1940 in the woods of Katyn. His body was exhumed in 1943. In his uniform they found his personal belongings and his journal, and the last date registered was April 7, 1940. The other Hungarian victim was **Emánuel Aladár Korompay**, born in Budapest in 1890, captain of the Polish army, who fought in Galicia during World War I. After the war he did not return to Hungary, but he joined Jozef Pilsudski's legion and defended the Polish homeland from the Red Army in 1920. He graduated from the Reformed School; got a degree in philosophy from the University of Budapest; then he settled in Warsaw. He is considered as a pioneer of Hungarology in Poland and he was the editor of the first Hungarian-Polish dictionary. He worked at the University of Warsaw as a lecturer and in the same time he was the cultural attaché of the Hungarian Embassy. He was mobilized in September 1939. He could have asked for his acquittal for having double citizenship and being an employee of the embassy. However, he did not do such thing. He was imprisoned and taken by the NKVD to a camp in Starobelski. Although the body of

¹ Very recently, on November 26, 2010 the Russian Duma, Russia's lower house of parliament has condemned Joseph Stalin by name for the mass execution of Polish officers and civilians at Katyn during World War II. The Duma declared that the Soviet dictator and other Soviet officials had ordered the "Katyn crime" in 1940. — *Ed. Journal of Eurasian Studies*.

Emánuel Aladár Korompay was never identified, his name can be found amongst the ones executed in Harkov. On the wall of his home in Warsaw a plaque was placed in 1992; in 2002 the University of Warsaw also commemorated him by placing his name on a plaque. From his family, only his eldest daughter Ilona survived World War II. His daughter Márta was killed in September 1939 in Warsaw by a German bomb, Elzbieta, as a prisoner of the Gestapo, in 1943 committed suicide; his wife, Mieczyslawa lost her life in a concentration camp.



Emánuel Aladár Korompay

As a third victim of Katyn we can refer to **Ferenc Orsós**, who was born on August 22, 1879 in Temesvár. He graduated from the Medical University of Budapest in 1903; then during World War I he was imprisoned by the Russians. After his captivity, starting from 1918 he was an employee of the University of Debrecen, where he showed a great interest towards pathology. From 1921 he was the head of the Institute for Forensic Medicine, where he made an active and scientific contribution, so in 1928 he became a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and from 1940 until his exclusion a full member. In 1935 he became professor at the Medical University of Budapest and the head of the Forensic Institute, too. As a delegate of the Medical Chamber he was a member of the Hungarian Parliament's Upper House. In December 1944 he left for Germany. Until his retirement he worked as a professor at the University of Mainz, where he on July 25, 1962.

Dr. Orsós was a well-known pathologist, the Germans asked him to examine the bodies of the victims from Katyn in April 1943. The German leadership knew very well that the murders were committed by the Soviets, so they asked for professional studies from different people. They asked the presence of their immediate allies, the neutral countries and the representatives of the Polish and International Red Cross. With a little pressure they also took the imprisoned Anglo-Saxon officers to the scene, and they asked the Polish resistance and the exiled Polish government in London, too. The committee which made the examination chose Dr. Orsós as the leader of the group. The exhumation lasted from the April 29, 1943 until July 4; they revealed eight mass graves, and identified 2730 bodies. Dr. Orsós examined 150 bodies

himself. The graves were filled up during the retreat of the Germans. At Stalin's command, after the recapture of the land, the Soviets also asked for examination, asking some 'outstanding experts'. Aleksei Tolstoi, the writer and many metropolitans came to the conclusion that the Nazis are responsible for the murders.

The story of Katyn after that is known, the relationship between the Polish government in London and the Soviets went from bad to worse and came to an end. The allies supported the lies of Stalin; kept the silence about the affair, and made sure that those who conducted the examinations disappear. After the war the Polish lawyer Roman Martini, who urged an inquiry, was murdered. The murder was well-known to George VI and Churchill as well, via the British officers who participated in the examination, but these leaders only admitted it at the start of the Cold War.

Ferenc Orsós was a *very important* scientist for the NKVD so he had to escape to the West in December 1944 where he got American protection, but he had to stay quiet. A dedicated Soviet group is looking for him in Budapest. They impound, confiscate his files and test results, and the occupiers take everything. Ferenc Orsós diagnosed the exact time of the murders with his pollen study, by the lime deposition thickness in the skull and by the size and breed of the corpse insects. The time is certified by the witnesses, the found documents, the papers and the trees which were planted on top of the mass graves. Orsós was excluded from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the same time as Bálint Hóman. Ferenc Orsós' rehabilitation is still waiting to happen. By presenting his work to the world would not only mean his recognition as an important scientist, but would also help the recognition of the Hungarian science.



Dr. Ferenc Orsós

Translated by Andrea Muerth



MARÁCZ, László

Multilingualism in the Hungarian Kingdom (1867-1918):

Language Policy and Practice

Abstract

With the Compromis of 1867, the Hungarian kingdom received an equal status within the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy. Hungary became a sovereign entity within the Hapsburg Monarchy. Next to a common monarch from the House of Hapsburg who had the title of 'emperor' in Austria and that of 'king' in Hungary, three ministries were in common, including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finances and Defence. The Compromis marking the autonomous position of Hungary in the Double Monarchy ended in 1918 with the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire. Hence, the time framing from 1867 until 1918 of this study.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a clear multilingual state in which fourteen languages were officially recognized, including Croatian, Czech, German, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Ruthanian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, Ukrainian and Turkish. Although not all the languages were spoken throughout the empire and sometimes very much restricted to certain regions and local areas multilingualism was regulated by law.

In this paper, I will concentrate on the Hungarian, i.e. the Transleithanian part of the Dual Monarchy paying credit to the pioneering studies of Goebel (1994) and especially Rindler-Schjerve (2003) who insightfully analysed multilingualism in the Cisleithanian part, i.e. Austria adopting a sociolinguistic framework.¹ I will break with post World War I tradition in historiography claiming that multilingualism was severely restricted in the Hungarian kingdom and that the non-Hungarian state languages were suppressed being the only reason for causing harsh language and ethnic conflicts.² Rather the analysis of multilingualism in the Hungarian kingdom is more complex than

¹ This paper appeared in Jolán Róka (ed). 2010. Concepts & Consequences of Multilingualism in Europe. Budapest: Századvég Kiadó. 55-96. It is my conviction that the phenomenon of multilingualism and the phenomena related to it in both parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, i.e. Cisleithania and Transleithania cannot be studied separately. It is obvious that the relation between Vienna, Budapest and the regions in both parts are a kind of power triangle that was inherently connected. In the case of Bosnia or Croatia, Vienna and Budapest were even in competition. Here I am indebted to Nikola Rasic for bringing this to my attention. To get deeper insight into Cisleithania and Transleithania and their mutual relation these cases must be studied in a comparative framework. Also comparing separate case studies, like the multilingual cities of Trieste and Fiume in both parts of the empire would offer an interesting insight into the policy and practice of multilingualism in the whole empire.

² It is not easy to find unbiased historic studies of the Hungarian kingdom under dualism. The reason for this is that historiography of the non-Hungarian successor states of dualist Hungary has been dominated by the nationalist paradigm. This favors a bipolar analysis of all the nationality conflicts in the Hungarian kingdom in terms of the Hungarian versus non-

setting up a simple, bipolar opposition in terms of 'Hungarian' versus 'non-Hungarian'. In fact, it will be argued that the language and ethnic conflicts in the Hungarian kingdom can be studied more insightfully by employing a layered and overlapping model as the 'flower configuration of languages' that has been developed in De Swaan (2001). The relation between languages and their speakers in the Hungarian kingdom did not display a bipolar structure but rather an intersecting one.

The language policy of the Hungarian kingdom stipulated in 'Nationality Law' XLIV (1868), although declaring Hungarian the language of the state did allow the use of any other official language than Hungarian at the local level, both in government, judiciary, church organizations and schools. In present-day terminology, we may say that language use was organized in terms of *subsidiarity* in the Hungarian kingdom. It must be admitted that even the application of this principle did not prevent however the outbreak of language and ethnic conflicts in the period under study. Our analysis incorporates this fact. The paper concentrates on the school system in Transylvania where next to Hungarian, Romanian and German was being spoken and taught (see, Bíró 1992). We will conclude our efforts by making some comparisons with the Cisleithanian case and referring to lessons to be learned from the experiences of the Hapsburg Empire for present-day language policy within the European Union.

1. The Hungarian kingdom in the Dual Monarchy

During the Hapsburg domination of the Hungarian kingdom lasting from the roll back of the Ottoman Empire from Central Europe by the end of the eighteenth century and the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire at the end of the World War I, the Hungarian kingdom enjoyed a specific position in the framework of the Hapsburg Empire. Although this specific position, including the Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown of Saint Stephen, named after the first king of Hungary was not always respected by the ruling Hapsburgs it was clear that the Hungarian kingdom had its own legal system, its own territorial division based on the Hungarian county system and had its own social stratification and ethnic distribution. The Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown of Saint Stephen included Hungary Proper, the Principality of Transylvania, Croatia-Slavonia and the free royal city of Fiume (present-day's Rijeka in Croatia). This peculiar structure also formed a territorial unity displaying a peculiar geographically and social-cultural entity in the centre of Europe.³ In the age of Enlightenment it was the Austrian Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790), the son of Empress Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary (1740-1780) who tried to conduct an ambitious centralization policy to modernize the Hapsburg Empire. Consequently, the Hungarian kingdom was governed from Vienna and next to Latin that was the traditional state language the so-called 'patria lingua' of the Hungarian kingdom, German received the status of official language in Hungary.

Hungarian nationalities involved. An additional problem is the fact that Marxist historiography in Hungary is biased towards the Hungarian kingdom under dualism for ideological reasons as well. In some cases, the position of the Hungarian Marxist tradition matches with those of nationalist historiography in the non-Hungarian successor states.

³ See Count Teleki (1923).

The Hungarian kingdom under Hapsburg rule was a feudal society in which the social stratification of the empire played an important role in the struggle for power. At the core of this power struggle stood the Hungarian king, an Austrian Hapsburg and the Hungarian nobility.⁴ The Hungarian nobility enjoyed traditionally a strong position in the Hungarian kingdom because it controlled the main sources of economic activities, i.e. the agricultural sector.⁵ The different nationalities of Hungary, including most of the ethnic Hungarians, were subordinated as villeins to the Hungarian nobility. The Hungarian king tried to restrict the power of the Hungarian nobility by forming a coalition with the upper ranks of the nobility, the magnates and the lower echelons of the society, i.e. the villeins. With the slow disappearance of the feudal society and the awakening of modern nationalism in the beginning of the nineteenth century, this constellation of social power in the Hungarian kingdom started to change.⁶ The Hungarian nobility, especially the members of the Hungarian Royal Noble Guard that was established by Empress and Queen Maria Theresa opposing the centralization and Germanization efforts of Joseph II launched a program of Hungarian Renewal. The catalyst of this program became Count István Széchenyi who initiated a number of modernization projects in the first half of the nineteenth century. One of his projects was to make the Hungarian language suitable for the country's administration. For this purpose, the Hungarian Diet of Pozsony (today's Bratislava) honored a proposal of Count Széchenyi to establish the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825. One of the goals of the movement of National Renewal was to replace Latin and German as official state languages by Hungarian.⁷ In a series of language acts the Hungarian Diet ordered step-by-step the Hungarian language as the official language of administration.

The Diet communicated with the king in the forms of addresses. The language of these addresses was Latin until 1805. From 1805, the Diet ordered that both Latin and Hungarian could be used (compare, act IV. 1805 § 1). Civil servants and act-student's final examination before being called to the Bar had to be done in Hungarian (see act VIII. 1830 § 4 and 5). The language of the registry had to be Hungarian and priests had to know the Hungarian language (compare act VI. 1840 § 7 and 8). From 1840, the Estates of the Realm could only address the king "in accordance with the will of his Majesty" in Hungarian (compare, act VI. 1840 § 1). The same act specified that the municipalities could address the Diet only in Hungarian (see, act VI. 1840 § 2). The acts itself were phrased in Latin and Hungarian but the Diet ordered in 1836 that the Hungarian language version (act III. 1836 § 1) was to be considered as the original. Act II. 1844 § 1 stated that the king had to communicate with the Diet in the Hungarian language. With the language act of 1840 and the one of 1844 the language of communication between the king and the Diet became officially the Hungarian language. From 1844 onwards, (see act II. 1844 § 2) the language of legislation was Hungarian exclusively because Hungarian served already as the language of legislation. In fact, act II. 1844 made the language of communication of the Diet only Hungarian. However, the members of the Diet from the other Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen were exempted from this act for another six years. These members were allowed to address the Diet in Latin (see act II. 1844 § 3). The Diet ordered that the language of instruction in Hungarian schools became Hungarian (compare act II. 1844 § 9). However, this act was only operative in Hungary proper, the other Lands of Saint Stephen's Crown

⁴ See Cadzow, John, F. et al. (1983).

⁵ See Rady (2000).

⁶ Bogdan (1989, 88-93).

⁷ Mikó (1944, 20-28).

were exempted from this act. The Hungarian language became a compulsory subject of instruction in 1792 (see act VII. 1792). But in primary and secondary education of the other Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown of Saint Stephen this happened only 52 years later (see, act II. 1844 § 8). The municipal authorities were still allowed to correspond in Latin six years after the Hungarian language had become the official state language in 1844. However the series of language laws declaring the Hungarian language the official language of the state were only a few years operative. After the crushing of the anti-Hapsburg Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848/1849 Hungarian legislation and the Diet itself were abolished.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the traditional social stratification of the Hungarian kingdom became less relevant and the concept of the nation was embraced by the different ethnic groups of the Hungarian kingdom. Instead of manipulating the social classes the Hapsburg rulers of Hungary started now to play off the different ethnic “nationalities” against each other in order to maintain control over the Hungarian kingdom. The Hapsburgs had employed this strategy with much success already in the Austrian parts of the Empire. In the Hungarian part, one of the first successful cases of Austrian “ethnic divide and rule” was the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-1849.⁸ Vienna organized the Serb, Croat and Romanian forces in order to crush the Hungarian ambitions for a more democratic and independent Hungary. These engineered antagonisms between Hungarians and non-Hungarians formed the roots of the ethnic conflicts between these groups. The hierarchies between the ethnic groups were sometimes reversed. In the period of dualism after the Compromise of 1867, for example, the Hungarians became the *primus inter pares* when the Viennese Court and the representatives of the Hungarian nobility divided power in the framework of the Dual Monarchy. The non-Hungarian nationalities of the Hungarian kingdom had to accept Hungarian supremacy in the Transleithanian parts.⁹

After the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-1849 by the Austrian forces with help of the Tsarist army the ambitions for a restoration of Hungarian autonomy within the Austrian empire were frustrated for a few decades. The Hungarians were harshly punished by the Austrian government for their rebellion. Thirteen of their leading generals were executed at Arad and martial act was imposed on the country. Vienna appointed an Austrian governor, Alexander Bach representing the king who ruled and Germanized the country with a rod of iron. Bach had even the intention to Germanize the language of communication of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A desperate Count Széchenyi wrote even a letter of protest in exile in 1858 against the plans to Germanize the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.¹⁰ During the so-called Bach-era the Hungarians moved into passive resistance. Both camps, the House of Hapsburg and the Hungarians led by the aristocracy were willing to conclude a compromise in 1867, however. For Austria a compromise with Hungary became urgent because Prussia had defeated Austria in 1866 and because Austria was excluded from the German Customs Union that was dominated by Prussia. The Hapsburgs were looking to the East of their Empire for compensating the loss of power in the West.

⁸ Bideleux, Robert and Ian Jeffries (1998).

⁹ Bogdan (1989, 113-126).

¹⁰ See Marác (1996, 67).

The **Ausgleich** of 1867 turned the Empire into a dual structure. The Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy consisted of two parts, i.e. Austria the so-called Cisleithanian parts of the empire and Hungary, the so-called Transleithanian part of the empire, i.e. the Hungarian kingdom. The Dual Monarchy was headed by one and the same monarch, Franz Joseph Emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, abbreviated as K. und k. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Finance were incorporated, but apart from that Hungary's status remained equal to Austria's. Consequently, the kingdom of Hungary became a sovereign state within the framework of the Dual Monarchy. Transylvania and Vojvodina were integrated into Hungary proper. Croatia-Slavonia enjoyed a separate status that was confirmed by the Ausgleich between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia in 1868. The third equal constituting part of the Hungarian kingdom was the free royal city of Fiume.

We will restrict our study of multilingualism in the Hungarian kingdom to the period between the Ausgleich and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1920. Hence, the restriction in time, i.e. the era of dualism has a well-defined starting-point and an end point. In space, the Hungarian kingdom is defined during dualism as the Transleithanian parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However highly relevant is that dualism brought long term stability in the Central European area which in turn stimulated economic growth. This was a pre-condition for the modernization of the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire but also in particular of the kingdom of Hungary. The Hungarian kingdom though it perpetuated the conservative, semi-feudal structure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as the lack of universal suffrage developed during dualism into a modern Hungarian state. Thanks to dualism legislation and institutions to set up education, health care, infrastructure, the development of urban dwellings, industries, mechanization of agriculture and the development of the army improved enormously. The development of the modern state caused also new types of social stratifications in the Hungarian kingdom. A new class consisted of more educated, literary civilians that had enjoyed education and could send their children to school. In this multinational, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual state the legislation of multilingualism, the institutions for which multilingualism is relevant, like the school system can be studied insightfully. The results can be compared with the case of the Cisleithanian parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire but also with contemporary cases of multilingualism in the area itself or with those in the present-day European Union.

2. Multilingualism in the Hungarian Kingdom

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a multi-ethnic, multilingual state in which multilingualism was officially recognized by law. In the Transleithanian part of the Empire the following thirteen languages were officially recognized and used as vehicular languages, including Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Ruthenian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, Bunjevac (Stokavian dialect of Serbian or Croatian), Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Roma and Italian.¹¹ As we can observe from the diagrams 1 and 2 all these languages were

¹¹ Lökkös (2000, 28).

spoken in the three constituent parts of the Hungarian kingdom, i.e. Hungary proper, Croatia-Slavonia and in the free royal city of Fiume, although the distributions are different:¹²

Diagram 1: The distribution according to mother tongue in the Hungarian kingdom in the 1910 census

Mother tongue	Hungary proper	Fiume	Croatia-Slavonia	Total
Hungarian	9.938.134	6.493	105.948	10.050.575
German	1.901.042	2.315	134.078	2.037.435
Slovak	1.946.165	192	21.613	1.967.970
Romanian	2.948.049	137	846	2.949.032
Ruthenian	464.259	11	8.317	472.587
Croatian	181.882	12.926	1.638.354	1.833.162
Serbian	461.091	425	644.955	1.106.471
Slovenian	75.062	2.336	15.776	93.174
Bunjevac	88.204	5	0	88.209
Bulgarian	22.945	1	321	23.267
Czech	31.198	238	32.376	63.812
Polish	38.179	46	2.312	40.537
Roma	108.825	0	108.825	121.097
Italian	5.037	24.212	4.138	33.387
Other	4.655	496	648	5.772
Non Hungarian total	8.276.593	43.313	2.516.006	10.835.912
Total population	18.214.727	49.806	2.621.954	20.886.487

¹² Lökkös (2000, 197)

Diagram 2: The distribution according to mother tongue in the Hungarian kingdom in the 1910 census in percentages

Mother tongue	Hungary proper	Fiume	Croatia-Slavonia	Total
Hungarian	54.56	13.04	4.04	48.12
German	10.44	4.65	5.11	9.75
Slovak	10.68	0.39	0.82	9.42
Romanian	16.18	0.28	0.03	14.12
Ruthenian	2.55	0.02	0.32	2.26
Croatian	1.00	25.95	62.49	8.78
Serbian	2.53	0.85	24.60	5.30
Slovenian	0.41	4.69	0.60	0.45
Bunjevac	0.48	0.01	0	0.42
Bulgarian	0.13	0	0.01	0.11
Czech	0.17	0.48	1.24	0.31
Polish	0.21	0.09	0.09	0.19
Roma	0.60	0	0.47	0.58
Italian	0.03	48.61	0.16	0.16
Other	0.03	0.94	0.02	0.03
Non Hungarian total	45.44	86.96	95.96	51.88
Total population	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Before we comment on these statistical data it is important to clarify the notions like 'nation', 'nationality', 'ethnicity' and 'language' and their mutual relations in the Hungarian kingdom.

The Hungarian kingdom recognized one nation, the political Hungarian nation. Consider the introductory part of Law on the Equality of Nationalities Act XLIV. 1868:¹³

¹³ See for the English version of act 1868: XLIV in Seton-Watson (1972, 429-433), for the German version Faluhelyi (1946, 5-12) and for the Hungarian version the official website of the Hungarian Parliament (www.1000ev.hu). The provisions of this law were only valid for Hungary proper (compare § 29).

Since all citizens of Hungary, according to the principles of the constitution, form from a political point of view one nation – the indivisible unitary Hungarian nation – of which every citizen of the fatherland is a member, no matter to what nationality he belongs: since, moreover, this equality of right can only exist with reference to the official use of various languages of the country, and only under special provisions, in so far as is rendered necessary by the unity of the country and the practical possibility of government and administration; the following rules will serve as standard regarding the official use of the various languages, while in all other matters the complete equality of the citizens remained untouched.

The nationality law of 1868 tried to combine a ‘civic’, i.e. a Western European interpretation of the nation and an ‘ethnic’, i.e. Central and Eastern European interpretation of the nation.¹⁴ Consequently, the Law on the Equality of Nationalities not only distinguishes a ‘political civic nation’ but also the concept of nationality, i.e. ethnicity. This latter originates from the view characteristic for nineteenth century’s Central and Eastern European nationalism that the ‘nation’ is first and foremost a community of common descent and a member is organically connected to it.¹⁵ Note further that this law introduces a special relation between ethnicity, nationality and language. The most important marker of ethnicity, nationality is in fact one’s mother tongue. This has to do with the fact that in early nineteenth century’s Central and Eastern European nationalism the place of law in the Western civic model is taken by vernacular culture, usually languages and customs in the ethnic model. Following Smith (1991, 11-13, 20), we will adopt the generalization that in Central and Eastern Europe there is a strong correlation between vernacular language and culture on the one hand and ethnicity, nationality on the other hand. Observe that **Smith’s generalization** for Central and Eastern Europe stipulates the following correlation between ethnicity and language:

Smith’s generalization for Central and Eastern Europe:

If you are of X ethnicity, then language X is X’s mother tongue

This expresses the fact that nationality in this area of Europe was determined quite often on the basis of mother tongue.¹⁶ The five censuses that were held in the Hungarian kingdom during dualism, i.e. 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910 only inquired about the mother tongue of the persons interviewed and not about their nationality.¹⁷ Although Smith’s generalization is always true when it goes from left-to-right it is not always the case vice versa. There are a number of exceptional cases due to the fact that there is no one-to-one matching between ethnicity and mother tongue language or sometimes this matching is not relevant for determining ethnicity. Bi- or multilingual speakers can have more than one mother tongue. This was true in the Hungarian kingdom as well. In case of the Serbs and Croats it was hard to decide on the basis of the language criterion only Serbian or Croatian ethnicity for the languages are quite similar. In

¹⁴ Compare Smith (1991, 11-13).

¹⁵ See Smith (1991, 11).

¹⁶ See Faluhelyi (1946, XLV).

¹⁷ See Lökkös (2000, 27)

those cases also religious criteria were employed. Serbs having a Greek Orthodox faith and Croats being Roman Catholics.¹⁸ Sometimes there is no strong connection between ethnicity and language as in the case of Roma. Although these cases exist, I will consider them as an exception to Smith's generalization for Central and Eastern Europe. Hence, with respect to the diagrams 1 and 2 the data on mother tongue reflect the ethnicity, nationality of the speakers. Let us consider these diagrams again.

Firstly, note that the total population of the Hungarian kingdom was 20.886.487 persons and that the biggest group, the Hungarians with 10.050.575 had an absolute majority in Hungary proper of 54.56 percent and only had a relative majority of 48.12 percent compared to the other nationalities in the Hungarian kingdom. The non-Hungarian nationalities together had an absolute majority of 51.88 percent in the Hungarian kingdom. In the remainder of this paper, we will concentrate on the case of Hungary proper only. The absolute majority of Croatian within Croatia with 62.49 percent was much clearer than the absolute majority of Hungarian in Hungary proper. Furthermore, Croatia had its own jurisdiction in agreement with the Compromise of 1868 with Hungary. The free city of Fiume (today's Rijeka) is also an interesting case for the study of a multilingual city. The following five languages, including Italian, Croatian, Hungarian, German and Slovene were vehicular languages in Fiume but the language of business and trade was Italian. I will leave the linguistic situation in the city of Fiume as a case for further research.

Secondly, let us discuss the distribution of the languages. The ethnic map of the Hungarian kingdom displayed a heterogeneous picture. Although there were a number of mixed regions it was clear that in biggest part of the country there was an absolute or relative majority of some of the nationalities. From the data it can be observed that in 34 and 36 percent, i.e. 70 percent in total, of the territory of historic Hungary there was a bigger than two-third majority of the Hungarian nationality and the non-Hungarian nationalities respectively.¹⁹

The Hungarian kingdom was divided in eight regions:

- 1) Transdanubia
- 2) Western Upper Hungary
- 3) Between the rivers Danube and Tisza
- 4) Eastern Upper-Hungary
- 5) East of the river Tisza
- 6) Between the Rivers Tisza and Maros
- 7) Transylvania
- 8) Croatia and Slavonia

¹⁸ See Lökkös (2000, 29).

¹⁹ Lökkös (2000, 57).

In these regions, the Hungarians dominated the central areas of Hungary proper, i.e. (1), (3) and (5). The Germans lived mostly in the Western part of (1) and the southeastern part of (7). The Slovaks lived in (2) and (4). The Romanians lived mainly in (6) and (7), i.e. historic Transylvania. The Ruthenians in the eastern parts of (5). The Croats dominated (8). The Serbs lived mainly in (3), (6) (in the areas of the Banat and Vojvodina) and (8). The Slovenes in the southern parts of (1).²⁰ The Hungarians had an absolute majority in (1), (3), (4) and (5). The Slovaks had an absolute majority in (2). The Romanians had an absolute majority in (7) and a relative majority (6). The Croats had an absolute majority in (8), Croatia-Slavonia.

The regional division of the nationalities can be made more specific by looking into the counties and the cities with jurisdiction. From the 71 counties in the Hungarian kingdom 31 had a Hungarian majority, while in 28 counties there was a non-Hungarian majority. In 4 of the counties there was a Hungarian relative majority and in 8 a non-Hungarian relative majority. The Romanians had in 11, the Slovaks in 9, the Croats in 6, and the Germans and the Serbs each in 1 county an absolute majority. The Ruthenians had in two counties a relative majority. In 18 of the 31 cities with jurisdiction the Hungarians were in an absolute majority, while the Germans in 1 (Sopron), the Slovaks also in 1 (Selmecebanya) and the Croats in 2 cities (Zagreb and Varasd) respectively. Only nine towns with jurisdiction had a relative majority, including 1 Hungarian (Ujvidék), 4 German (Pozsony, Temesvár, Versec and Zimony), 1 Croatian (Eszék), 2 Serbian (Pancsova and Zombor) and 1 Italian (Fiume).²¹

Thirdly, Act XLIV. 1868 § 1 on the Equality of the Nationalities declared the Hungarian language as the official language of the state in Hungary proper. This decision was supported by the fact that the Hungarian nationality, i.e. the mother tongue speaker of Hungarian were in the majority with 54.56 (10.050.575) percent of the total population. Although the other nationalities constituted together 45.44 percent of the total population, the individual languages, including Romanian 16.18 percent, Slovak 10.68 percent and German 10.44 percent were much smaller than Hungarian. Furthermore, these minority languages were concentrated in specific area of the Hungarian kingdom, while Hungarian was the dominating language spoken throughout Hungary proper by more than 20 percent of the population in the seven regions of Hungary proper. Hungarian had an absolute majority in 31 of the 63 counties and in 18 of the 31 cities with jurisdiction. Finally, the number of Hungarian speakers was actually higher because Hungarian had also the largest number of L2 speakers, i.e. 9.29 percent, 1.939.987 in the 1910 census. This was more than the L2 speakers of German, i.e. 8.08 percent, that is 1.687.388.²² It is striking that almost one-third of the population could not speak the official language of Hungary proper, i.e. Hungarian. Nevertheless, Hungarian was in fact the only candidate for becoming the lingua franca in the

²⁰ Lökkös (2000, 238-239).

²¹ The study of multilingualism in the cities of the Hungarian kingdom requires a different approach than multilingualism in the periphery of the Hungarian kingdom. The cities in the Hungarian kingdom displayed more aspects of a modern multicultural society due to the fact that they were the points of modernization in dualist Hungary than the peripheral regions. The ethnic separatist movements in dualist Hungary, like the one of the Romanians or Serbs in Transylvania or the Banat were actually anti-modernity movements. For the languages involved this means that the relation between let us say Hungarian and German in multicultural cities was completely different than the one between Romanian and Hungarian in a peripheral region like Transylvania or Banat. Here I am indebted to Rosita Rindler-Schjerve for raising this issue. See also Mintzel (1998) for discussion of these cases in a wider perspective.

²² Lökkös (2000, 214-215).

Hungarian kingdom.²³ It was spoken by 57.41 percent of the total population, that is 11.990.562 speakers. The other candidate, German although enjoying a high status as the dominating language in the Austrian parts of the Empire was spoken by 3.724.823 persons, that is by only 17.83 percent of the total population of the Hungarian kingdom. This position of Hungarian was strengthened by the fact that country-wide organizations and companies, like the Hungarian army (*honvéd*) and the Hungarian state railway companies used Hungarian as the language of command or communication.²⁴

Fourthly, although the Hungarian kingdom acknowledged a state of multilingualism in which 12 minority languages had an official status next to the Hungarian state language, multilingualism was in fact a state of 'separate' monolingualism practiced in the different national communities. True multilingual speakers were actual a very small minority. 77 percent of the inhabitants of the Hungarian kingdom were monolingual only knowing their own mother tongue being unable to communicate with people outside of their ethnic group. The percentage of speakers not able to communicate with other ethnic speakers was even higher because the pairs, triples, etc. of languages among the bi- or multilingual speakers did not always match restricting the options for communication. Only 23 percent of the inhabitants, that is 4.880.000 inhabitants were bi- or multilingual. The rata for Hungary proper were somewhat better than the rata for Croatia-Slavonia: 75 percent only spoke its mother tongue in Hungary proper and this was true for 85 percent of the inhabitants of Croatia-Slavonia. Consequently, 25 percent of the inhabitants of Hungary were bi- or multilingual and only 15 percent in Croatia-Slavonia. Among the nationalities the percentages of bi- or multilingual speakers were rather different. A large majority of the Hungarians, the Slovaks, the Romanians, the Ruthenians, the Serbs and the Croats, i.e. 79, 46, 75, 86, 82 and 88 percent respectively did not speak any other language than their mother tongue.²⁵ The only ethnic group having a majority of bi- or multilingual speakers were the Germans with 54.26 percent, i.e. 1.105.429 of the 2.037.436. It is fair to conclude that hardly any direct communication between the ethnic groups in the Hungarian kingdom was possible. Only 12.69 percent of the Romanians could speak Hungarian, i.e. 374.106 persons, while only 3.99 percent of the Hungarians spoke Romanian, i.e. 400.674 persons. Only 21.28 percent of the Slovaks, i.e. 418.724 could speak also Hungarian, while only 5.45 percent of the Hungarians, i.e. 547.802 people could speak Slovak. This state of separate

²³ Nikola Rasic (personal communication) is of the opinion that German was the lingua franca of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. True German had a strong position in the Austro-Hungarian Empire but it was functioning only as a lingua franca among the Austrian and Hungarian elites. In Hungary proper, a general introduction of German already failed under Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790) and in the period of neo-absolutism (1848/1849-1860) under Emperor Franz Joseph I. In both periods, the Hungarians and large parts of their elites resisted the introduction of German as an official lingua franca. The introduction of German during dualism would have run counter to the spirit of the *Ausgleich*. If an ethnically bound language as Hungarian during dualism was unacceptable for the non-Hungarian nationalities was unacceptable, then Latin as a neutral language would have been an option. But Latin as the official language in the Hungarian kingdom was changed for Hungarian in the age of Hungarian Renewal in 1844. Hence the only option left was Hungarian, the best possibility which turned out to be not good enough.

²⁴ The Hungarian language was first stipulated as the language of business and command in Law V. 1890 on the *Honvéd* (Hungarian army). Consider § 18. See Faluhelyi (1946, XXVI), Rothenberg (1972) and Goebel (1994) for a discussion of the status of languages in the Austro-Hungarian army and the Hungarian army (*honvéd*) during dualism. See Law XLIX. 1907 on the Rules of Railway Service. §1 of this law specifies that only those people can be employed by a Hungarian railroad company that have a Hungarian citizenship and have a control of the Hungarian language.

²⁵ See Lökkös (2000, 71-72).

“multilingualism” was conserved by the strict organization of society. Firstly, most of the inhabitants of the Hungarian kingdom, i.e. 81 percent 16.923.000 lived in the country-side in small agricultural settlements. Only the Hungarians and the Germans remained with 71 percent and 81 percent under or at this average respectively. Almost all the other nationalities lived in the country-side, including Slovaks, Romanians, Croats and Serbs with 92, 95, 91, 90 percent respectively. Almost all the Ruthenians, i.e. 99 percent lived in the country-side.²⁶ Further, the nationalities were often organized in terms of church denominations. The Hungarian state recognized the Roman Catholic church, the Greek Catholic church, the Greek Orthodox church, the Calvinist church, the Lutheran church, the Unitarian church and the Jewish faith. These denominations enjoyed ecclesiastical autonomy.²⁷ Although the relation between ethnicity and church denominations was not a strict one-to-one matching in the Hungarian kingdom some churches were represented more dominantly than others among the different nationalities. Almost all the Croats, i.e. 99 percent were Roman Catholic. An equally high number of Serbs belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. Almost all the Ruthenians, i.e. 98 percent were Greek Catholic. Most of the Hungarians were either Roman Catholic or Calvinist, i.e. 59 and 26 percent respectively. Most Romanians were either Greek Orthodox, i.e. 61 percent or Greek Catholic, i.e. 38 percent.²⁸ These church denominations were active in fostering the identity and language of the ethnic groups they were attached to. One of their effective vehicles to do this was by being an active player in the educational system. Finally, one of the main reasons why separate “multilingualism” existed in the Hungarian kingdom was due to the liberal Law on the Equality of the Nationalities in the Hungarian kingdom, i.e. Act XLIV. 1868. The law assigned the nationalities the right to establish their own schools and choose their own language of instruction in these schools.

Fifthly, the legal situation of the nationalities was regulated in the Law on the Equality of Nationalities Act XLV. 1868. The Law counted 29 paragraphs stipulating individual and collective nationality rights referring foremost – in accordance with Smith’s generalization - to the use of the languages of the nationalities. This law next to specifying the Hungarian language as the language of the state to be used in all branches of government and administration (compare § 1) recognized individual and collective rights for the nationalities, i.e. the Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs and so on to use all registers of their own mother tongue in offices, schools, at courts and in county and communal assemblies. During the whole period of dualism the Law on the Equality of Nationalities and their provisions were almost unchanged and remained into force. It was an effective tool for protecting the identity of nationalities, also against homogenization policies of Hungarian nationalism. Consider section 3 below for more discussion.

The individual rights included the following rights among others. In county and communal assemblies, everyone had the right to speak its own mother tongue (compare § 3, §24) and to use the non-state languages of the nationalities for the minutes of the county and communal assemblies, if more than twenty percent of the deputies asked for it (compare §2, § 20). The assemblies had the right to communicate internally (compare § 5) and with higher instances of the state and each other in the language(s) of the nationalities (compare §4) in agreement with § 2 and § 20. Further every citizen had the right to use its own mother tongue before court (compare § 7), to use his own mother tongue in church

²⁶ Compare Lökkös (2000, 63).

²⁷ See the study of Hévízi (1996).

²⁸ See Lökkös (2000, 65).

assemblies (compare § 24) and to correspond with the state and ecclesiastical authorities in his own mother (compare § 23).

Churches as the main non-governmental organizations in society played a central role. This is also expressed in the Nationality Law. The churches and importantly the churches of the nationalities enjoyed full autonomy in the determining the language of their church affairs. They could freely use their language in administration, to draw up registers in their language and to use the language of instruction they wished in their schools within the limits of the Education Act (compare § 14) and to prescribe their language of business in church courts (compare § 10). Churches and congregations had the right to establish their own primary and secondary schools and choose their own language of instruction (compare § 26).

Interestingly, the provisions of the law do not only specify the linguistic rights of individual citizens and non-governmental organizations but also refer to the obligation of state servants to use languages other than the Hungarian state language. The officials of the counties and communal authorities had to employ the language of those state authorities, non-governmental organizations or private individuals (compare § 6, § 21 respectively) that used another language than Hungarian. In this case, not only the right of the individual citizen to use his own language in communication with the authorities was guaranteed but in fact real communication with the non-Hungarian speaking nationalities because the authorities had to answer in the language they were addressed in. This was also the duty of judges when pronouncing the verdicts (compare § 8). Further, the Law also explicitly refers to the non-discrimination of members of the nationalities in the judicial and administrative offices of the state, especially in the office of the governor of the county, the highest official of the state in the county system (§ 27).²⁹ The Law wanted to guarantee in this way that in each state office the languages of the nationalities were represented.

The establishment of schools was of course in the fundamental interest of the Hungarian state and the nationalities. The state, the Minister of Education had the right to prescribe the language of instruction in schools erected by the state but the state had to ensure that citizens of whichever nationality had to obtain primary and secondary instruction in their mother tongue, if living together in considerable numbers. This provision guaranteed that the language of instruction in state schools in territories where the nationalities lived was in their language (compare § 17). Apart from this, the nationalities, individual citizens, communes and congregations had the right to establish their own educational institutions at their own expenses. The language of instruction and administration in these private institutions was prescribed by the founders. In practice, the right of the nationalities to establish private schools allowed them to stress their cultural and linguistic autonomy against the state. During the period of dualism cultural and linguistic autonomy in non-state, non-Hungarian schools was guaranteed by law. The Hungarian state language was only compulsory as a subject of instruction in elementary schools from 1879 specified in the Education Act XVIII. 1879. The introduction of this law hardly affected however the linguistic autonomy of the non-state, non-Hungarian nationality schools.³⁰

²⁹ The county governor, in Hungarian *főispán*, was appointed by the Hungarian king acting upon the advice of the minister of Interior.

³⁰ See Faluhelyi (1946, 121-124) for Education Act XVIII. 1879.

3. Primary Education in the Hungarian Kingdom

Although the Hungarian legislation on the equality of the nationalities was certainly a liberal law designed by the Hungarian founding fathers of the *Ausgleich* of 1867, i.e. Ferenc Deák and Baron József von Eötvös to protect the nationalities the Hungarians and the non-Hungarian nationalities were not satisfied with it. The Hungarians could not introduce their language being the official language of the state in the whole country for the church schools of the nationalities had the right to choose their own language. By tradition the educational system was in Hungary until 1867 mainly in the hands of non-state agencies like religious denominations.³¹ The non-Hungarians on their turn feared interference from the Hungarian state in what they saw as their autonomous right, the establishment of their own schools. In order to understand this conflicting situation we will discuss the case of primary education in the Hungarian kingdom during dualism in this section.

According to the official data of 1905-1906, the total number of primary schools belonging to the state in Hungary proper was 2.045.³² This proportion was 12.34 percent of the total number counting 16.561 schools. In all the state schools the language of instruction was Hungarian, except for one in which the language of instruction was Slovak. The number of private schools mainly managed by the several church denominations was 14.516, that is 87.66 percent of all the primary schools. In 21,73 percent, i.e. 3.154 of these schools the language of instruction was non-Hungarian and in ten percent, i.e. 1.665 of these school the language of instruction was mixed, Hungarian and one of the languages of the other nationalities. These schools were not 'utraquist' or bilingual schools however.³³ There were separate classes for pupils with a Hungarian mother tongue and for pupils with non-Hungarian mother tongues. Consequently, in 31.73 percent of the cases, the language of instruction was non-Hungarian. For two reasons, it was understandable that the nationalities of Hungary constituting 48.6 percent of the population felt discriminated. First of all, the Hungarian state did not establish state primary schools, except for one, where the language of instruction was the language of a non-Hungarian nationality. According to § 17 of the Law on Nationalities (see, Law XXXVIII. 1868) the Hungarian state should have established much more state primary schools with the language of instruction being the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities in territories inhabited by them and should have taken care of their implementation in a consistent way, at least confirming to the system of parallel classes in mixed schools. Because of this neglect it is fair to criticize Hungarian educational policy during dualism.

Note however that the number of Hungarian primary schools managed by church denominations to the total number of primary schools was 9.698, that is 58.5 percent in 1905-1906. In these schools, the state could not interfere because of church autonomy. Hence, the state even if it had fulfilled its duties in the existing state primary schools and introducing the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities as the language of instruction as well would have increased the number of cases of non-Hungarian language instruction with 12.34 percent maximally. This would have resulted into 44.07 percent of all the primary schools with a non-Hungarian language of instruction at most remaining behind the proportion of the

³¹ Teleki (1923, 157).

³² See for these data Seton-Watson (1907, 439).

³³ See Rindler-Schjerve (this volume) for utraquist schools in Cisleithania.

non-Hungarian nationalities to the total population of 48.6 percent. Second, the 31.73 percent of the primary schools teaching in the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities remained under the proportion of the non-Hungarian nationalities to the total population of 48.6 percent.³⁴ This was even more striking in the case of primary schools in which the language of instruction was Slovak and Romanian alone.³⁵ These schools numbered 241, i.e. 1.4 percent and 2,440, i.e. 14.7 percent respectively of the total primary schools in 1905-1906. We observe a discrepancy at the expense of these nationalities indeed, if we compare these figures with the distribution of the population of the 1910 census where the Slovaks constituted 10.68 percent and the Romanians 16.18 percent of the total population. We hasten to add however that the discrimination of the Slovaks was much more serious than in the case of the Romanians.³⁶ This asymmetry between the Slovaks and the Romanians is also demonstrated by the fact that the number of primary schools with Slovak language instruction dropped dramatically during dualism: from 1822 in 1869, 1716 in 1880, 1115 in 1890, 500 in 1900 to 241 in 1905-1906, while the number of Romanian language primary schools remained almost unchanged: 2569 in 1869, 2756 in 1880, 2582 in 1890, 2309 in 1900 and 2440 in 1905-1906.³⁷ Probably this asymmetry is due to the fact that the Hungarians traditionally had a better relation with the Slovaks than with the Romanians not rendered difficult by religious difference.³⁸ As a consequence, the Slovaks were earlier willing to send their children to mixed Hungarian-Slovak state or denominational schools, like the Roman Catholic primary schools, whereas the Romanians clung to their exclusive Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic primary schools where the language of instruction was Romanian only.

The Hungarian educational policy was criticized in due course for being an important means of Magyarization of the non-Hungarian nationalities living in the Hungarian state. Let us discuss the arguments of the most important critic of dualist Hungary, the British author Robert Seton-Watson presented in his book 'Racial Problems in Hungary' that appeared in 1907. A whole chapter of the book is devoted to the policy and practice of the Hungarian educational system.³⁹ We get the impression from this chapter that Seton-Watson means by 'Magyarization' the establishment of state schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction only in territories inhabited by non-Hungarian nationalities and the introduction of Hungarian as a subject of instruction in the private schools with non-Hungarian language of instruction. According to Seton-Watson, the whole focus of educational policy during dualist Hungary was on Magyarization "where they [i.e. state primary school, LM] serve to develop Magyar patriotism and to extend by artificial means the boundaries of the Magyar race."⁴⁰ The British author even claimed that the extreme focus on the Magyarization policy of the successive Hungarian governments

³⁴ Note that Seton-Watson (1907, 438-439) adds the primary schools of the mixed type to the Magyar language instruction only. I do not think that is a correct interpretation of the data. Consequently, his percentage of non-Magyar language instruction is only 19.0 percent against the 31.3 percent if we do otherwise.

³⁵ See Seton-Watson (1907, 437).

³⁶ Seton-Watson (1907, 438) does only present the Slovak figures and is neglecting the cases where there was hardly any discrimination of the nationalities, like in the case of the Romanians.

³⁷ See Seton-Watson (1907, 437).

³⁸ See Teleki (1923, 152).

³⁹ Compare Seton Watson (1907, 205-233).

⁴⁰ Compare Seton-Watson (1907, 218).

resulted in a bad school system neglecting the state schools in the territories inhabited mainly by the Hungarians.⁴¹ We agree with Seton-Watson, as we spelled out above, that the Hungarian state should have done more to erect state schools with the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities as one of the languages of instruction or as the only language of instruction in mixed Hungarian-non-Hungarian territories and in territories where the nationalities lived, even if the state would have violated § 17 of the Law on Nationalities Act XLV. of 1868. Above we pointed out that in the educational system of dualist Hungary most of the schools were run by private non-state agencies, like church dominations leading in fact to a marginal influence of the state in these schools. This was made possible by § 26 of the same law stipulating that private organization, like church congregations had the right to establish schools and to choose the language of instructions in these schools. The non-Hungarian nationalities, especially the Romanians and the Serbs extensively made use of this right. This is also acknowledged by Seton-Watson stating that the Serbs and the Romanians are more favorably placed than the Slovaks.⁴² In conclusion, the Nationalities Law which was liberal in intent and content led to inconsistencies in the educational system at the disadvantage of the non-Hungarian languages as language of instruction. The state should have supported the teaching in and of the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities in state schools but because of the liberal Law of Nationalities the state only controlled 12.34 percent of the primary schools. True in these schools the state could have done more to support the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities as language of instruction.

Another asymmetrical development between the Hungarian versus non-Hungarian primary schools set in with the Law on the Education of the Hungarian Language XVIII. 1879 that made the teaching of Hungarian a compulsory subject in all primary schools (compare § 1 and § 4). The reason for this was to offer all citizens the opportunity to learn the state language, i.e. Hungarian.⁴³ Furthermore, the law also specified that schoolteachers had to have a sufficient knowledge of Hungarian to be capable of teaching in the primary school (compare § 2-3). Although this were reasonable provisions from the point of view of the state the introduction of this law violated §17 of the Nationalities Law and did violate the autonomy of the churches. Consequently, I do not agree with Seton-Watson that the introduction of the teaching of Hungarian, the official language as a compulsory subject a few hours a week was a grave mistake the Hungarian state made, for in this way the non-Hungarian citizens could have been included in the communicational networks of the state.⁴⁴ This would have served their interest as well. Rather the neglect of the parallel introduction of the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities as a language of instruction in the territories inhabited by them should have been a serious point of criticism.

However, the Education Law XVIII. 1879 did not fulfill its expectations, as Seton-Watson correctly points out admitting that Magyarization was not effective.⁴⁵ In 1890, eleven years after the introduction of the law Hungarian as an obligatory subject was either not taught at all or was taught entirely without success in 34 percent of the non-Hungary schools. The source of Seton-Watson, departmental order nr.

⁴¹ Compare Seton-Watson (1907, 209).

⁴² See Seton-Watson (1907, 214).

⁴³ See Faluhelyi (1946, 121-124) for Law XVIII. 1879.

⁴⁴ Departmental order nr. 72.000 of 1905 specified that in non-Magyar primary schools with one teacher nine hours a week must be reserved for the teaching of the mother tongue and 8 hours for Hungarian.

⁴⁵ See Seton-Watson (1907, 219).

72.000 of 1905 speaks of a percentage of failures even higher than 34 percent. According to this departmental order, the teaching of Hungarian as a subject was unsuccessful in 1340 of the 3343 non-Magyar schools, i.e. 40 percent.⁴⁶ In 1890, 1600 of the 2600 teachers in 1879 who had no sufficient knowledge of Hungarian or did not know the language in the non-Hungarian schools had still no control over the Hungarian language. In 1906, 27 years after the introduction of the Law XVIII. 1879 this was true for still 957 of the non-Hungarian teachers. Finally, in 1905 the minister of Culture and Education had to admit that still 40 percent of the population of Hungary was completely ignorant of the Hungarian language and that 83.2 percent of the non-Hungarians did not speak the official state language.⁴⁷

The successive Hungarian governments during dualism strengthened the asymmetrical developments between Hungarian and non-Hungarian schools by not introducing the compulsory teaching in the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities as well, at least in the state schools in mixed territories or territories inhabited by them. However, it would have been better to make the language of the non-Hungarian nationality compulsory language of instruction as well in all the Hungarian schools in mixed territories and in territories inhabited by the non-Hungarian nationalities. Further, the Hungarian governments intensified their efforts to introduce Hungarian as a compulsory subject of instruction after finding out that this had been unsuccessful. This educational policy suffered from inconsistencies and violated the Nationality Law of 1868. As a consequence, the introduction of Hungarian as a subject of instruction was boycotted and sabotaged in the non-Hungarian schools, mainly private schools, leading to the escalation of the conflicts in the mixed territories and the territories inhabited by the non-Hungarian nationalities. The result of this policy was that the separatist model of education was maintained and strengthened leading in the end to unbridgeable point of views between the Hungarian government and the non-Hungarian nationalities.

In this vein, act XVII. 1907 on the legal status of the non-state primary schools and the appointment of teachers in communal and denominational schools restated the introduction of the Hungarian language as a compulsory subject of instruction in non-Hungarian schools. Note that the language of instruction in the non-Hungarian schools, i.e. the languages of the non-Hungarian nationalities remained unchanged.⁴⁸ The law that was promulgated by the minister of Culture and Education, Count Albert Apponyi further implied a stricter control of the policy he wanted to implement hereby violating the Nationality Law of 1868 and the autonomy of the church denominations in the Hungarian kingdom. This led to a rising of the tension between the Hungarian government and the non-Hungarian nationalities. Let us consider the criticism of Seton-Watson concerning 'Lex Apponyi'.

Seton-Watson criticizes the linguistic provisions of the law, for the children must be taught Magyar in a manner and for the time prescribed by the minister, "so that the child of non-Magyar tongue on the completion of its fourth school year can express its thoughts intelligibly in the Magyar language in word and writing." (compare § 19). According to Seton-Watson, this provision "opens the door to all kinds of wild linguistic experiments, such as are bound to prove fatal to the general culture of the victims."⁴⁹ Here

⁴⁶ See Faluhelyi (1946, 166).

⁴⁷ See Seton-Watson (1907, 219) and departmental order nr. 72.000 of 1905 in Faluhelyi (1946, 219).

⁴⁸ See for this law Faluhelyi (1946, 187-190).

⁴⁹ See Seton-Watson (1907, 230).

Seton-Watson is simply exaggerating or he is consciously misreading the law because the law does not speak about the introduction of the Hungarian language as the language of instruction but as a subject of instruction. Hence, the language of instruction in non-Hungarian schools remained the mother tongue of the children. His point about violating §14 of the Law of Nationalities of 1868, i.e. the provision of freely choosing the language of instruction in private schools is more substantial, as we have pointed out above.

Paragraph §1 of Education Act XXVII. 1907 specifies that all teachers in communal and denominational schools are state servants. In §2 their salaries are regulated bounding the salaries of these teachers to a minimum. In this case Seton-Watson, does not credit the Hungarian state for the improvement of the social position of teachers being state officials who enjoy a fixed salary. For Seton-Watson these provisions are only meant as instances of “Magyarization” making teachers dependent on the state and giving the state a plausible excuse for interference in the autonomy of private schools.⁵⁰ So, he rejects the provisions of the Education Act of Apponyi, including that teachers must have a control of the Hungarian language (§15), that all Magyar instruction in arithmetic, geography, history, civil rights and duties must be sanctioned by the minister (compare §20); that all books of instruction must be approved by the minister (§20); that no books hostile to the state may be used in instruction; that the minister is allowed to make inquiries in the schools that neglect the instruction of Hungarian and follow a policy or using books hostile to the state or incite against confessions or social classes (compare §22 and 24). According to Seton-Watson, the right of the minister if there is a second dismissal in connection with the violation of the provisions under §22 to dissolve the school (compare §25) is an arbitrary way of the Hungarian government to put pressure on the non-Hungarian nationalities in dualist Hungary.⁵¹

An interesting provision of Lex Apponyi that is not discussed in Seton-Watson (1907) is §18. This paragraph specifies what to do when there is no Hungarian language school in a place where there is a non-Hungarian language primary church school with Hungarian children or non-Hungarian children whose parents want their children to be instructed in Hungarian. According to §18, for *these* [italics are mine, LM] children Hungarian is to be used as a language of instruction. Education in Hungarian for *these* [italics are mine, LM] children is compulsory, when their proportion to the total pupils of the school is at least 20 percent. Again in this case, the Hungarian state violated autonomy of the denominational school but even in this case we cannot speak about enforced Magyarization because the Hungarian language instruction is compulsory for Hungarian children or children who want to be instructed in Hungarian. Rather what is at stake here is that in this case again, the Hungarian state respected and even strengthened the separatist education of Hungarian and non-Hungarian pupils.

In conclusion, indeed some of the provisions of the Lex Apponyi were restricting the autonomy of church schools, violating the Nationality Law and demonstrated that the Hungarian state wanted to control matters in non-Hungarian schools as well. To suggest however that these provisions were effective tools of Magyarization as done in the work of Seton-Watson (1907) is not convincing at all. The supposed Magyarization is neither supported by a more detailed analysis of the population data of dualist Hungary.

⁵⁰ See Seton-Watson (1907, 228).

⁵¹ See Seton-Watson (1907, 229).

From the census data it appears that in a period of forty years beginning from 1869 until 1910, the population in the Hungarian kingdom increased by 35 percent, i.e. by 5.375.000 persons from 15.512.000 to 20.887.000.⁵² In a period of thirty years between 1880 and 1910, the percentage of Hungarian mother tongue speakers grew by 7.17 percent, from 40.95 percent to 48.12 percent, while in the same period the non-Hungarian mother tongue speakers dropped by 6.55 percent, from 58.43 percent to 51.88 percent. In actual numbers, the Hungarian mother tongue speakers increased by 3.605.088, that is 55.9 percent. The non-Hungarian mother tongue speakers decreased only in percentages but not in absolute numbers. In absolute figures there was an increase of non-Hungarian mother speakers as well. This group grew by 17 percent, i.e. 1.582.000 persons. Consider the following diagrams:⁵³

Diagram 3: population growth in the Hungarian kingdom on the basis of mother tongue from 1880 until 1910

Mother tongue	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarian	6.445.487	7.477.334	8.742.301	10.050.575
Non-Hungarian total	9.196.615	9.986.457	10.512.258	10.835.912
Slovak	1.864.529	1.921.599	2.019.641	1.967.970
Romanian	2.405.085	2.604.027	2.799.479	2.949.032

Diagram 4: population growth in the Hungarian kingdom in percentages of the total population on the basis of mother tongue from 1880 until 1910

Mother tongue	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungarian	40.95	42.82	45.41	48.48.12
Non-Hungarian total	58.43	57.18	54.59	51.88

From these diagrams it appears that in the period between 1880 and 1910 not only the Hungarians grew in absolute numbers but also the Slovaks and the Romanians, although the proportion of the Romanians to the total population grew harder than that of the Slovaks who suffered a minor fall back in the last ten years of this period. In any case, we can conclude that there was no substantial population drop among the larger nationalities. Hence, the growth of population among the larger nationalities does not support the accusation of Magyarization of the Hungarian nationalities by the Hungarian state during dualist Hungary. Neither does the growth of the number of nationalities speaking their mother tongue

⁵² See Lökkös (2000, 79).

⁵³ See Lökkös (2000, 222) for the data of the 1910 census.

only and the marginal growth of Hungarian L2-speakers during dualist Hungary. During dualist Hungary most speakers, but especially the non-Hungarian nationality speakers remained mainly monolingual, while the group of bi- or multilingual L2-speakers of Hungarian only increased marginally.

From the 1910 census, it appears that 77 percent of the total population of dualist Hungary spoke his/her mother tongue only. Note that during dualism the actual number of most of the nationalities who could only speak their mother tongue had increased as well. This was especially the case with the Romanians and the Serbs.⁵⁴ The Germans and the Slovaks formed an exception to this due to the fact that they lived scattered on the territory of the Hungarian kingdom. Between 1880 and 1910, among all nationalities the percentage of the mother tongue speakers knowing only their mother tongue decreased, including the Germans from 62.48 percent in 1880 to 5.74 percent in 1910, Slovaks from 85.89 percent in 1880 to 75.01 percent in 1910 and Romanians from 92.36 percent in 1880 to 85.69 percent in 1910. The absolute figures however give another picture. The number of Germans and Slovaks speaking only their mother tongue decreased from 1.220.769 in 1880 to 932.006 in 1910 and from 1.601.367 in 1880 to 1.476.100 in 1910, respectively. The actual number of Romanians however only speaking their mother tongue raised from 2.221.302 in 1880 to 2.527.014 in 1910.⁵⁵ So in 1910, among the nationalities only the Slovaks and the Germans were becoming rather slowly bi- and multilingual but the other nationalities remained mainly monolingual.

From the 1910 census, it appears that 65 percent of the population of Hungary proper could speak Hungarian and that 35 percent did not master Hungarian at all. So, in 1910, 7.310.270 persons could not speak Hungarian.⁵⁶ The percentages become even more dramatic, if we consider the numbers of Hungarian L2-speakers among the non-Hungarian nationalities only. In 1910, averagely 82 percent of the non-Hungarians could not speak Hungarian. The percentages for the Germans, Slovaks and Romanians were 60, 78 and 81 percent respectively.⁵⁷

In 1880, from the non-Hungarian speakers only ten percent, i.e. 1.597.000 persons spoke next to their mother tongue another language. By 1910, this proportion increased to 2.765.000 persons, i.e. thirteen percent of the total population. Hungarian functioned for 1.940.000 of these persons as an L2.⁵⁸

In conclusion, above we have discussed the primary school system of dualist Hungary in more depth. The educational system of dualist Hungary can be characterized best as a separatist model. This model was in line with a general feature of the Hungarian society respecting the existence of different nationalities and their languages. This was also the basis of the liberal Law on the Equality of Nationalities of 1868. Because of this, the educational system was especially controlled by private organizations based on nationality, such as the church denominations. The state was in fact a minor player in the educational field possessing only 12.34 percent of the primary schools at the end of dualist era. Hence, the Hungarian state even if it had wanted could not have changed the separatist model due to customs and Hungarian legislation. The Hungarian educational policy led to inconsistencies,

⁵⁴ See Lökkös (2000, 88-89, 230-232).

⁵⁵ See Lökkös (2000, 232).

⁵⁶ See Lökkös ((2000, 68).

⁵⁷ See Lökkös (2000, 208).

⁵⁸ See Lökkös (2000, 88, 230).

asymmetrical developments and in some cases to the discrimination of the educational options of the non-Hungarian nationalities. This contributed to the escalations of the nationality conflicts. These conflicts have been referred to by critics of dualist Hungary, like Seton-Watson as the intentional Magyarization of the non-Hungarian nationalities. Although it cannot be denied that the educational system and the implications of the educational legislation contributed to the escalation of conflicts instead of appeasing them the claim that the primary school system of the Hungarian kingdom favored Magyarization of the non-Hungarian nationalities is unmotivated. If some Hungarian policy makers thought that by establishing Hungarian language state schools in mixed territories and the territories inhabited by the non-Hungarian nationalities and that by the compulsory introduction of Hungarian as a subject of instruction in non-Hungarian language schools the non-Hungarian nationalities of Hungary could be Magyarized then this has turned out to be a fatal misconception. In Central and Eastern Europe there is indeed a specific relation between language and nationality but this language factor is 'mother tongue' and not 'L2'. With the same force however one can argue that the resistance against the introduction of Hungarian as an L2 in the non-Hungarian primary schools was motivated by the same conceptual misinterpretation. Rather this false conceptual relation between L2 and nationality has been misused for power political motivations from both sides.⁵⁹ Furthermore, from the population statistics and the data on mother tongue speakers, including the high proportion of monolingual speakers among the non-Hungarian nationalities and the marginal growth of L2-speakers of Hungarian during dualism it clearly appears that the non-Hungarian nationalities were not affected by Magyarization, i.e. the Hungarian educational policy had no serious consequences for the identity of Hungary's non-Hungarians.

4. Studying the practice of multilingualism in dualist Hungary

In the previous chapter, I have discussed the educational policy in the Hungarian kingdom by focusing on primary education as a case study. We have concluded that this policy had discriminative aspects restricting the options of the non-Hungarian nationalities but at the same time it cannot be characterized as Magyarization. Consequently, sweeping statement like the one of Seton-Watson "so today the non-Magyars of Hungary are breeding-machines whose children must be taught Magyar from their earliest age, in the hope that they may become renegades to the tradition of their ancestors" are unmotivated.⁶⁰ It is true however that dualist educational policy contributed to the escalation of conflicts between the Hungarian and non-Hungarian nationalities.

Note that we observed above that the national communities during dualism had separate institutions respected by the Hungarian state and that the proportion of the bi- and multilingual speakers to the total population was rather low. In this climate lacking reliable "bridges", stereotypes, images and self-images played an important role for fuelling further escalations between Hungarians and non-Hungarians.

⁵⁹ I agree with Seton-Watson (1907, 233) that language and nationality are not related necessarily but in Central and Eastern Europe there is an implicational relation between nationality and mother tongue as we discussed above. .

⁶⁰ See Seton-Watson (1907, 222)

Among the Hungarians, negative qualifications, images and stereotypes of the nationalities were singing around in the kingdom, like 'the Germans are pranky', 'the Romanians have a hairy sole', 'the Serbs are wild', 'the Slovaks are not men' and 'the Jews are stinking.'⁶¹ Note that some of the nationalities were referred to in these exclusive, derogatory stereotypes by names they only had in the Hungarian language, like *oláh* for Romanians that means in fact "someone originating from Wallachia", *tót* "Slovak" and *rác* "Serb."

On the other hand, negative stereotypes of the Hungarians were also to be found in the world view of the leading intellectuals of the nationalities, like in the work of Ioan Slavici (1848-1925), the editor-in-chief of the nationalist newspaper *Tribuna* that appeared from 1882 in the Transylvanian town Nagyszeben (today's Romanian Sibiu).⁶² Already in Slavici's early work 'Studies on the Hungarians' written as a young student in Vienna at the young age of 24 between 1871-1873, just four years after the *Ausgleich* we can find a collection of the traditional anti-Hungarian stereotypes.⁶³ According to Slavici, the Hungarians were unable to integrate into Europe and European culture because of their Asian origin and culture. As a consequence, they were not part of the European civilization; their state of mind was characterized by rich phantasy and emotional extremes; the Hungarians were arrogant and looking down upon the other nationalities living in the Hungarian kingdom; they did not achieved anything in the field of sciences; they were unable to spread culture, literature or arts and the Hungarians used all their energy to do politics which was dominated by their strive to Magyarize all their nationalities. Slavici concluded his studies on the Hungarians by stating that the Hungarians were unfit to play a role in the civilization of Central and Eastern Europe. Instead Slavici assigned this role to the Romanians due to the fact that they were a European nation with Latin roots; their Latin language was more beautiful than Hungarian and the Romanians were more tolerant than the Hungarian. The anti-Hungarian stereotypes and images of Slavici were not an incidental case among Romanian and other non-Hungarian intellectuals during dualism. These traditional anti-Hungarian stereotypes, 'Hungarians as Asian intruders into Europe' and 'oppressors of their nationalities who did nothing for civilization' are also reflected in poem read by the Romanian member of the Hungarian Parliament Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (1872-1950). The representative of the Romanian National Party read this poem during a session of the Hungarian Parliament in 1907:⁶⁴

Everything is in vain, in vain... you will perish/scum from Asia that tramples on all rights... /For ten cursed centuries you lived like parasites/bloodthirsty bedbugs feeding on this country./ And it has put up with a lot, but forgotten nothing/because the Romanian is cine mintye

⁶¹ In Hungarian: *a német huncut, szöröstalpú oláh, a rác vad, a tót nem ember, a zsidó büdös*. See for discussion Köpeczi (1995, 178).

⁶² See Köpeczi (1995, 161-203) for a discussion of Slavici's stereotypes and images of the Hungarians in his Studies on the Hungarians (In Rumanian: *Studii asupra Maghiarilor*).

⁶³ See for a discussion and analysis of the set of traditional anti-Hungarian stereotypes Marác (1995, 25-41; 1996).

⁶⁴ The poem that is published in Bíró (1989, 262) sounded in Hungarian: *Hiába minden, minden... el fogsz veszni, Jogtípró ázsiai söpredék..., Tíz átkos század óta élösködtök, Mint vérszomjas poloskák e hazán, És sokat türt, de semmit sem felejtett, Mert cine mintye a román.* The original Romanian expression "tine minte" written according to Hungarian pronunciation as "cine mintye" means "one who harbors a grudge", but literally it means "keep in mind." Note that Vaida-Voevod did not read this poem in Hungarian Parliament in 1908 as Bíró states but on April, 8 2007. This fact does not affect our analysis.

In fact, the nationality conflicts during dualism became gradually political power conflicts about national superiority in the Hungarian kingdom. In these conflicts nationalism and feelings of superiority run high strengthened by society structure consisting of separate ethnic groups and their institutions and the exclusive, negative stereotyping of other nationalities.⁶⁵

Illustrative of this political power struggle was the so-called Memorandum of 1892.⁶⁶ The Memorandum was a petition addressed to the Emperor Franz Joseph in which the Romanians of Transylvania and Banat complained about their bad treatment in the Hungarian kingdom. According to them, this included persecutions and the Magyarization of the educational system. The Hungarian Romanians requested his Majesty to interfere politically in the Hungarian kingdom on behalf of the Romanians. A committee of 25 Romanian leaders from Transylvania and Banat, including dr. Ioan Ratiu who was the chairman of the committee, Gheoghe Pop de Basesti, Eugen Brote, Aurel Popovici, Albin Septimius and Vasile Lucaciu signed the petition.

The Memorandum did not only contain a list of Romanian complaints about their situation in the Hungarian kingdom but the petition itself and the activities of the petitioners made clear that Hungarian Romanians questioned the legitimacy of the Hungarian state and its constitution. Firstly, the petitioners addressed Franz Joseph as the Emperor of Austria and not as the king of Hungary. In order to hand over the petition to the Emperor they traveled to Vienna and neglected Budapest as the seat of the Hungarian king and the seat of their own government. Franz Joseph was brought into a difficult position by this move of the Memorandum petitioners being forced to take sides in this affair. The Emperor skillfully managed to get out of this by forwarding the Memorandum to the Hungarian government in Budapest. Second, the Memorandum rejected the Hungarian constitution and legislation. The liberal intent of the 1868 Law of Nationalities was denied criticizing the “unitary Hungarian political nation” and the fact that the Hungarian language was introduced as the official language of the state. The Memorandum was however silent about the rights assigned to the nationalities in the same law. Further, the Memorandum wanted to undo the introduction of the Hungarian language as a subject of instruction of eighteen hours a week in non-Hungarian primary schools calling this an instance of Magyarization.

In May 1894, the petitioners were tried by the Kolozsvár Court on the basis of paragraphs 171 and 173 of the Criminal Law Code.⁶⁷ This implied that they were accused of ‘agitation against the law through the medium of the press.’ In this ensuing press trial the petitioners were sentenced to prison. Vasile Lucaciu was punished hardest, condemned for five years of prison; the other leaders to each two years. The condemned persons did not have to sit out their sentences however, since they were to benefit from amnesty after a year and a half.⁶⁸

The Romanians gave the condemned petitioners a martyr status. This was also supported by the political and cultural institutions of the Old kingdom of Romania, like the *Liga Culturala*. This prestigious organization published an occasional pamphlet called *Golgota* with a highly suggestive picture on the

⁶⁵ See Turda (2003) for further discussion.

⁶⁶ János (2004, 131-132; 135-152) for discussion of the content of the Memorandum.

⁶⁷ See Jancsó (1992, 187-197) for discussion of the Memorandum trial.

⁶⁸ See Bíró (1992, 17).

cover depicting five of the Memorandum petitioners as being crucified.⁶⁹ On the cross in the middle, Ratiu is crucified, to his right Lucaciu and to his left Pop de Basesi. A Hungarian wearing spurs being dressed in braided heyduck-clothes, i.e. a Hungarian military uniform used in the 17th century anti-Hapsburg uprising under the leadership of István Bocskai nails the feet of Ratiu onto the cross. Four other Hungarians in similar clothes hit the martyrs on the cross with a whip. The message of this publication referred to as *Golgota* with the picture of the crucified Memorandum petitioners is clear. The petitioners who are considered the personifications of the Romanians suffer as much as Jesus Christ did at the mountain Golgota where he was crucified. For their sufferings the Hungarians are responsible being personified by the Hungarian soldiers on the picture. The *Liga Culturala* distributed 100.000 copies of this political pamphlet in the Romanian kingdom and also among Hungarian Romanians in secret. It did not come as a surprise that in this political climate, anyone who professed friendship with Hungarians and showing loyalty to the Hungarian state was considered a renegade.

The Hungarians as harsh Magyarizers subjugating their nationalities was in fact a case of anti-Hungarian stereotyping, already present in the work of Slavici only four years after the Ausgleich and the Memorandum of 1892. Above we have argued that the educational policy of the Hungarian kingdom was indeed discriminating the non-Hungarian nationalities but had not the effect of Magyarizing them. Magyarization during dualism was not a consequence of the educational policy but rather of the geo-ethnic distribution of the nationalities and economic factors as the Hungarian geographer Count Teleki correctly pointed out:⁷⁰

“The density in the highlands is less numerous than the lowlands. From the highlands there is a constant emigration into the central lowlands, the lowlands are practically magyar, so there is an absolute “Magyarization” of these people who come down to the plain. The towns also have a “Magyarizing” influence. The towns themselves, which in former times were German, later became Hungarian owing to their surroundings. The Germans changed their nationality the most quickly and in towns have become Hungarian. These towns, when absorbing population “Magyarize”. These show an increase from 1869 to 1910 of nearly 43 percent, whereas in the whole land the increase of population was only 19 percent.”

The geo-ethnic distribution was mainly responsible for the spontaneous Magyarization in the Hungarian kingdom when after the Comprise economy was starting to boom and industrial and commercial centers were developing in the central lowlands and the towns. Note that especially the Germans and Slovaks were affected mostly by this spontaneous Magyarization because the Slovaks lived in the highlands neighbouring the central lowlands and the Germans mainly lived in the towns. This explains also why especially the Germans and Slovaks became gradually bi- and multilingual during dualism. The Romanians however were hardly affected by this type of Magyarization because they lived mainly in the Transylvanian area that was not continuous with the central lowlands. Furthermore, 95 percent of the Romanians lived in the villages immune to the Magyarizing effects of the towns.⁷¹

The political conflict between Hungarians and non-Hungarians had a bipolar structure which led to asymmetrical developments in the educational system. These developments triggered more tensions and

⁶⁹ Compare Jancsó (2004, 197).

⁷⁰ See Teleki (1923, 163).

⁷¹ See Lökkös (200, 63).

were reinforced by the negative stereotypes and images of the other. However, the postulation of bipolar opposition useful for a study of the dynamics of the political conflict is not fitted for studying the phenomenon of multilingualism in the Hungarian kingdom and its power political implications. Although a bipolar theory tells us something about the political intentions and the goals of the different nationalities and the character of the political antagonisms between them it obscures the analysis of linguistic diversity in the Hungarian kingdom. A bipolar approach will not provide sufficient insight into the complicated relations between the communication networks of groups of monolingual and those of groups of bi- and multi-lingual speakers. Not the languages used are in a bipolar opposition but social groups attempting to maintain and improve their position against each other. A bipolar approach restricting the political and linguistic conflicts of dualist Hungary to a Hungarian versus non-Hungarian opposition only completely neglects the fact of bi- and multilingual speakers and the political role they played in society.

Recall that in the Hungarian kingdom 23 percent of the population, i.e. 4.880.000 persons were bi- and multilingual controlling one or more languages next to their mother tongue. A bipolar model does not tell us anything about how and when these languages in communicational networks are used in daily practice. A bipolar model of study does not explain why members of regional non-Hungarian elites were against the introduction of Hungarian as a subject in primary education, although by preventing this, their peers were excluded from the Hungarian communicational networks of the state weakening the power and legal position of their clientage. A good example of this anti-Hungarian attitude violating the interests of his own peers is provided by Miron Roman, the metropolitan bishop of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church.

In 1904, an Educational Committee under the presidency of Albert Berzeviczy reporting to the Hungarian Parliament upon the reform of primary education and the teaching of Hungarian in primary schools argued for the inclusion of non-Hungarian nationalities in the Hungarian communicational networks of the state, since "without knowledge of the language of the state the citizen is not in a position to assert himself in all circumstances with equal right and equal power."⁷² The Committee wanted to achieve this by proposing Hungarian to be a compulsory subject in primary schools education. However, the Romanian metropolitan bishop, Miron Roman argued that the proposed bill violated the principles of pedagogy in establishing as the chief aim of primary education not general culture, but the acquisition of a particular language, in this instance the Magyar."⁷³ So, a bipolar approach to these conflicts does not explain why the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania clung to a strict separatist educational model excluding their Romanian peers from the communicational networks of the Hungarian state. Neither is a bipolar approach to dualist Hungary's ethnic and linguistic conflicts very helpful to understand the generalization Seton-Watson made "... foremost champions of the nationalities have received a Magyar Education and have a complete mastery of the Magyar Language."⁷⁴ To put otherwise: why was it that nationality activists like Slavici and the Memorandum petitioners were fighting against the introduction of the Hungarian language as a subject of instruction in non-Hungarian schools, while they themselves had enjoyed instruction in Hungarian schools and had received a perfect control of the

⁷² See Seton-Watson (1907, 226).

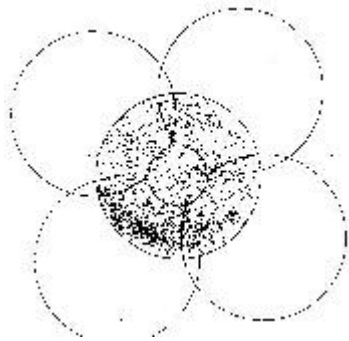
⁷³ See Seton Watson (1907, 226).

⁷⁴ See Seton-Watson (1907, 233).

Hungarian language? In fact, they were the living example that L2-instruction of Hungarian had not threatened their nationality. Rather because of this L2-instruction they had created more changes for upward mobilization in society, something they intended to deny their peers with their political activities.

It is my assumption that the so-called floral figuration model defended in the work of the Dutch sociologist De Swaan referring to the language competence of social groups that are struggling for power can give good insights in above and related questions.⁷⁵ Let us briefly introduce this model here. Consider the following figure:

Figure 1: The Floral Figuration of Languages



In the floral figuration model, the outer circles represent the speakers of the regional languages; the shaded area represents speakers of the standard language, i.e. the lingua franca of the national communication network. Those in the unshaded part of the outer circle speak only the regional language, i.e. those are the mother tongue speakers of the regional language. Those in the core star, the metropolitans speak only the standard language. Note that local or regional speech communities hardly intersecting with one another but all of them are linked to one central or national language community through the mediation of bilingual and literate local elites. The bilingual mediation elites are to be found in the overlapping areas of the shaded central circle with the outer circles. The shaded area may also be interpreted as representing all literates, the outer circles as regional communities of oral communication.⁷⁶

In the case of dualist Hungary, we will use this model in order to analyze the sociological aspects of linguistic diversity in a more insightful manner. Our analysis in terms of this model is to be considered as a first approximation of the various interest involved in the use and learning of language and the learning of alphabetization in the Hungarian kingdom. Observe that this model allows an analysis in which not only the dynamics of the conflict in terms of class is accounted for but also in terms of religion and region. In some cases, these categories are intersecting.

⁷⁵ See De Swaan (1988, 60-76).

⁷⁶ De Swaan (1988, 65).

First, the Hungarian state tried to promote the lingua franca, i.e. Hungarian on its entire territory in order to have direct communication with their citizens, i.e. to increase the power basis of the state. This served the interest of the Hungarian metropolitan elites in the capital of the kingdom, i.e. Budapest. The regional elites consisting of local gentry, church officials and notables were against the extension of the Hungarian lingua franca in their region for two reasons. First, they feared to lose the monopolistic mediation position which made them profit from the state communicational network. Secondly, at the same time this mediation position gave them power over their clientage. These were in the Hungarian kingdom quite often the monolingual peasants, especially in the case of the Romanians, Serbs, Slovaks and Ruthenians. Note that the state operated quite often in mixed territories, like Transylvania through regional Hungarian agents that had to deal with bi- and multilingual members of the local non-Hungarian elites.

Second, let us interpret the conflict over the introduction of the Hungarian language as a subject of instruction in non-Hungarian private schools in terms of the struggle for power between the social groups in the floral figuration. The state, i.e. the metropolitans and their local agents saw the introduction of Hungarian as a subject in primary schools as the first step to gain control of these schools. This was opposed however by the regional non-Hungarian elites because they did not want state involvement in matters considered to be controlled by them. As a consequence, the presence of linguistic diversity within the school building was seen as a reflection of the power relations between the Hungarian metropolitans and the non-Hungarian regional elites. The control of the schools was seen as fundamental because the struggle for power was attended with a different ideological transmission. This becomes especially clear from the different missions Slavici assigns to the nationalities in dualist Hungary.

Third, we observe inconsistencies in attitude not only on the side of the State but also on the side of the nationalities, when taking into account the floral figuration model instead of a bipolar approach. The bipolar model predicts that the non-Hungarian nationalities were the subjugated party who could only practice marginally their rights. However, local elites but certainly the local mediation elites, although opposing or completely rejecting the law in order to be on an equal footing with the metropolitans refer to the same law in order to accentuate their own position in the system and to mobilize support from their peers. For example, local elites rejecting the Law of Nationalities of 1868 refer to this law when they want to use their own language in the administrative and the judicial domain.

The Hungarian historian Bíró (1992) reports an incident on a meeting of the assembly in the county of Krassó-Szörény in 1884. The meeting was held in Lugos, the capital of Krassó-Szörény.⁷⁷ At the meeting, the Hungarian delegates were in the majority but according to the 1910 census the Romanians had a clear majority of 72.10 percent of the population in this county in the southern parts of Hungary.⁷⁸ During the meeting a discussion arose on the filling of two vacant positions in a selection committee of the assembly. The Romanian delegates demanded that their candidate was taken. This was opposed however by the Hungarian members of the assembly. One of the Romanian members of the assembly, Popovici who could not understand Hungarian wanted the Hungarian county governor to speak in Romanian. The Romanian delegate argued that Romanian is one of the languages of the registry implying that the

⁷⁷ See Bíró (1992, 102-103).

⁷⁸ See Lökkös (2000, 252).

language of communication in the assembly must be in Romanian as well. In the end, the county governor had to give in and also accepted the Romanian candidate as a member of the selection committee. According to the then account of the meeting in the Romanian press the Romanian members of the county assembly in Lugos did not only speak in their Romanian mother tongue at the meeting referring to § 2 of Law XLIV. 1868 but could afford an aggressive tone, when speaking to the county governor when referring to the law.

Another instance of inconsistency in attitude among the non-Hungarian nationalities was the case of the Memorandum trial before the Kolozsvár Court in May, 1894. At the trial in which the condemned Romanians were complaining about their rights being trampled down by the Hungarian state they exclusively spoke in the Romanian language throughout the trial. Hereby they were making use of the right to speak one's own mother tongue before court (compare, § 7 of Law XLIV. 1868)."⁷⁹

Fourth, recall that in 1910 only 23 percent of the inhabitants of dualist Hungary, i.e. 4.880.000 were bi- and multilingual. In the case of the nationalities, these figures were even more negative. Only 15.67 percent of the Romanians were bi- and multilingual, i.e. 465.000 persons. Most of the Romanian bi- and multilingual speakers had control over the Hungarian language, i.e. 12.69 percent, 374.106 persons of the total number of the Romanians. The second biggest L2 among the Romanians was German with 2.05 percent of the total of Romanians, i.e. 60.587 persons.⁸⁰ In the early decades of dualism the situation was even more dramatic. Hence, the Hungarian state had hardly the possibility of direct communication with the Romanians. This was only possible through the mediation of bi- and multilingual speakers. Two groups were available, including Hungarians that could speak Romanian as an L2. Their number counted in 1910 400.674 persons. The second group consisted of Romanians having control over Hungarian as an L2.⁸¹ The first group was not trusted by the Romanian commoners. Hence, the bi- and multilingual Romanians being a rather small group enjoyed a monopolistic position as mediators between the Hungarian state and their peer Romanians. Note that this group has hardly been studied because it does not fit into the bipolar approach of analyzing the nationality conflicts of dualist Hungary. This category is however interesting because it offers insight into the inconsistencies in attitude among the non-Hungarian nationalities. These mediators argued against the interference of the Hungarian state in the matters of non-Hungarian, mostly denominational schools and against the introduction of the Hungarian language as a subject of instruction to oppose the expansion of state power, similarly to the representatives of the private schools of the non-Hungarian nationalities. Note however that these mediators had benefited optimally from the Hungarian educational system and the instruction of Hungarian as an L2. These mediators, although all the time campaigning against "Magyarization" of non-Hungarian schools were the living examples that by learning Hungarian as an L2 one's nationality was not changed automatically. Let us here discuss two of these mediators, i.e. Ioan Slavici and Alexandru Vaida-Voevod.

Ioan Slavici (1848-1925) was born in Világos, a multinational and multilingual village in the Banat area. This area was characterized by the Hungarian geographer Count Teleki as "... one of the most mixed

⁷⁹ See Bíró (1992, 110).

⁸⁰ Lökkös (2000, 214).

⁸¹ Lökkös (2000, 214).

regions in the world.”⁸² Világos and its surrounding were typical for the Banat. Four languages were used in daily communication, including Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian and Swabian-German. Actually his mother learned Slavici as a child to respect people with another nationality:”...say good day to everyone in his own language, do not ridicule the people who belong to a different nation, rather treat the strangers as if they were your co-nationals.”⁸³ Slavici attended relatively good schools in his home village Világos and in the cities of Arad and Temesvár (today’s Rumanian Timisoara) before he enrolled the University of Vienna where he wrote his ‘Studies on the Hungarians’ in 1871-1873 full of anti-Hungarian stereotypes and images, discussed above.

Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (1872-1950) being born in Alparét close to the city of Kolozsvár (today’s Romanian Cluj-Napoca) also represents an illustrative case of a multilingual mediator. Vaida-Voevod did not only come from a multinational and multilingual setting, i.e. Hungarian-Romanian-German, like Slavici but he was actually of a mixed Hungarian-Romanian descendant. The latter fact one will search for in vain in official Romanian bibliographies not meeting the bipolar model that acknowledges only an opposition between Hungarians and non-Hungarians when analyzing the political and linguistic conflicts in the Hungarian kingdom during dualism.⁸⁴ In his memoirs, Vaida-Voevod provides some information on the ethnic background of his family.⁸⁵ His grandmother named Rozália Boér was an offspring from a well-to-do Hungarian Calvinist family. The mentor of his father Dionisie was a fine Hungarian intellectual from Kolozsvár, the scientist and Unitarian bishop of Kolozsvár, János Kriza. The father of Alexandru, Dionisie was lyrical about the Hungarian culture. The young Alexandru visited the prestigious Unitarian primary school in Kolozsvár before he attended quality schools in Beszterce and Brassó. In the latter city having a German majority he learned German before he enrolled in medicine studies at the University of Vienna. In Vienna, at the age of twenty he became politically active being the mediator between the Memorandum petitioners and the Romanian authorities of the Old Romanian kingdom. Vaida-Voevod became later member of the Hungarian Parliament for the Romanian National Party and in 1920 after the establishment of Greater Romania in 1920 he was appointed the first prime minister of the new state that was enlarged with his native country Transylvania.

In sum, both Slavici and Vaida-Voevod profited optimally of the multilingual culture and educational opportunities the Hungarian kingdom offered. However, in course of time they became the most fanatic anti-Hungarian nationalists doing everything to prevent the Hungarian state from directly communicating with their Romanian citizens and preventing their Romanian peers from enjoying what they had enjoyed in dualist Hungary, i.e. full participation in the communicational networks of the Hungarian state.⁸⁶ In this way, Slavici and Vaida-Voevod could maximally benefit from their position as being members of the Romanian bi- and multilingual mediation elite.

⁸² See Teleki (1923, 221).

⁸³ Köpeczi (1995, 165).

⁸⁴ See Serban et al. (2003, 31-34).

⁸⁵ See Vaida Voevod (2006, Vol. I, 13-14).

⁸⁶ After World War I he moderated his struggle against the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire:”During the WW I Hungarian Romanians were loyal to Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and to the House of Hapburg, ...the political struggle between Magyars and Romanians can only be considered as a dissension among brothers...” See for this quotation Teleki (1923, 153-154).

Fifth, note also that the position of the bi- and multilingual mediation elites in dualist Hungary was strengthened further by the proportion and the distribution of illiteracy. This was highly similar to the proportion and distribution of bi- and multilingual speakers among the nationalities. The proportion of illiterates, the number of persons that could neither read nor write, to the total population steadily decreased in Hungary proper, from 63.11 percent in 1869, 57.14 percent in 1880, 51.98 percent in 1890, 47.99 percent in 1900, to 43.62 in 1910.⁸⁷ However, in actual numbers this proportion was still 7.945.264 persons. The proportion of the illiterates was lowest among the Hungarians, 32.99 percent and the Germans, 39.57 percent and somewhat higher among the Slovaks, 42 percent and much higher far above the 53.48 percent average of the non-Hungarian nationalities among the Serbs, 59.67 percent and the Romanians 71.82.⁸⁸

From these data it is clear that the illiterates among the non-Hungarian nationalities who are situated in the unshaded area of the floral figuration, similarly as the monolingual non-Hungarian speakers were in need of the literate mediation elites, preferably non-Hungarian in order to communicate in writing with the central area of the Hungarian lingua franca. The metropolitans in their turn could only communicate in writing with the non-Hungarian regional illiterates through the mediation of the same bi- and multilingual regional elites. Hence, the proportion and distribution of illiteracy among the non-Hungarian nationalities strengthened the position of the same linguistic local mediation elites we already engaged in the case of oral communication.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have argued that in multilingual dualist Hungary ethnic groups being assigned the status of 'nationalities' played a dominant role. The nationalities and their languages were recognized as constitutional and legislative separate entities. Multilingualism in the Hungarian kingdom was in fact a set of separate languages. As a consequence, the number of bi- and multilingual speakers was relatively low. The educational system in the Hungarian kingdom was a reflection of this separate ethnic structure of society. Practically separatist schools alone existed. Only after 1879, Hungarian was introduced as a compulsory subject of instruction in the non-Hungarian nationality schools without much success though.

Educational policy that reinforced the separate ethnic structure of society suffered from inconsistencies and asymmetrical developments. Although Hungarian was declared the state language in the Law on the Equality of Nationalities of 1868, the same law allowed non-state schools, mostly denominational schools to choose their own language of instruction. Further, the state tried to introduce Hungarian as a compulsory subject of instruction in non-Hungarian schools but it failed to have an eye for the linguistic needs of the non-Hungarian nationalities in accordance with actual and local needs. Finally, in Hungarian schools languages other than Hungarian were being taught, especially German and Latin but not the languages of the nationalities. The Hungarian state should however have done more to stimulate the teaching of the languages of the nationalities among the Hungarians. Even in mixed schools the teaching

⁸⁷ See Seton-Watson (1907, 436) and Lökkös (2000, 67, 201).

⁸⁸ See Lökkös 2000, 201.

of the Hungarians and the non-Hungarian nationalities in their own mother tongues took place separately. In sum, the educational system hampered from the start of inherent weaknesses that could not be repaired by the educational policy. Educational policy containing liberal elements worsened the existing ethnic conflicts instead of pacifying them and stimulated embittered linguistic and political power struggles between the different nationalities and the state.

Although the Hungarian educational policy during dualism had its deficiencies it is unmotivated to label it as the Magyarization of the non-Hungarian nationalities. In this context, "Magyarization" is in fact an anti-Hungarian stereotype that was and is used by critics of dualist Hungary in order to justify the dissolution of dualist Hungary at the Peace Conference in Paris ending the First World War. It is not only incorrect to analyze the ethnic and linguistic political power constellation in terms of "Magyarization" but this term also obscures the sociological patterns of bi- and multilingualism in the Hungarian kingdom. We have argued that the so-called floral figuration model gives us more insight into the cases of unspecified bi- and multilingualism that have not been studied in a systematic way so far. By making use of the floral figuration model we were able to track down the social groups that struggled for power using language and linguistic competence as instruments in the nationality conflicts. Furthermore, the floral figuration model provides also deeper insight into the linguistic attitudes of the social groups involved in the power struggles which are characterized, just like the state policy, by inconsistencies and asymmetries.

In conclusion, not only the educational policy of dualist Hungary should have been criticized but the complete system instead because it suffered from inherent weaknesses. The claims of the separate ethnic groups of Hungary were recognized which blocked their full integration into the state system. This state of affairs yielded the worsening of the ethnic antagonisms being one of the main causes for the collapse of dualist Hungary. However, there was no rising social class strong enough that could have changed the system breaking through the fixed pattern of class, religion and regions. Hence, the educational system preserved the social and regional status quo. Although mixed schools with two or three languages possessed a separatist educational regime these schools could have been a starting point to build bridges between the different nationalities of the Hungarian kingdom. Hence, it was unfortunate that during dualism their number after a steady increase dropped radically between 1900 and 1905-1906: 1632 in 1869, 2437 in 1880, 2878 in 1890, 3251 in 1900 and 1665 in 1905-1906.⁸⁹

Multi- and bilingualism in Cisleithania, the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy has been studied in detail in the work of Rindler-Schjerve and others. On the basis of this, we are able to draw some preliminary comparisons between Cisleithania and Transleithania.

Ethnic and linguistic diversity in Cisleithania was regulated by Constitutional Decree XIX. 1867.⁹⁰ Three paragraphs specify that all nationalities are equal (compare § 1); all traditional languages are equal (compare § 2) and in the mixed *Länder* no other official language may be enforced in education (compare § 3). Although there are some differences between Hungarian and Austrian legislation in these domains these are however not conceptual ones.

⁸⁹ See Seton-Watson (1970, 436).

⁹⁰ See Goebel (1994, 109), Rindler-Schjerve (2003), Rindler-Schjerve and Vetter (2007, 51) and Rindler-Schjerve (this volume).

Observe that both the legislation of Cisleithania and Transleithania recognized the traditional nationalities and their languages as primitives of the system. True in the constituting parts of Transleithania the Law of Nationalities of 1868 postulated a hierarchy among the languages, unlike in Cisleithania. In Hungary proper, the official language was Hungarian and in Croatia-Slavonia it was Croatian.⁹¹ Note that all other traditional languages had an official status in Transleithania during the whole period and were next to the state language the dominating languages in the separatist educational system.

Note further that although Hungary proper specified a lingua franca officially, unlike the lands of Cisleithania this was motivated by two reasons mainly. Firstly, the proportion of the Hungarian mother tongue speakers to the total population of Transleithania. In 1910, Hungarian mother tongue speakers numbering 48.22 percent had a bigger majority in Hungary than the German mother tongue speakers numbering 34.83 percent in Cisleithania. Further, the domination of Hungarian was more accentuated. The second and third ethnic group were bigger in Cisleithania than in Transleithania. Compare the proportions of Czechs (22.53 percent) and Poles (17.39 percent) in Cisleithania with the ones of the Romanians (14.15 percent) and Slovaks (9.44 percent) in Transleithania.⁹² Secondly, the choice of Hungarian as a lingua franca in Hungary proper was motivated by the fact that Hungary proper during dualism had an outspoken Hungarian character. In practice, however there was no real difference in the field of multilingualism between Cisleithania and Transleithania. This was due to the fact that in Cisleithania German was functioning as a lingua franca, although not specified by legislation, for reasons of tradition and the prestige it gained from the dominant status of German in Austria proper and the support it received from the ruling dynasty of Austro-Hungary, the House of Hapsburg.

The option of a separatist model characterizing the educational system in Hungary proper by allowing separatist linguistic education that remained dominant even after state interference appeared in the Cisleithanian educational system as well. This was due to the prohibition on the enforcement of any other language in education. With the rise of ethnic conflicts in Cisleithania even the *utraquist* model, i.e. the bi- and multilingual schools in modern sense that had existed traditionally in some regions was left for the separatist model. In conclusion, separatist education was made possible in Transleithania by the freedom of choice, while in Cisleithania by the prohibition of language enforcement. In the prevailing nationalist context, this yielded a development into the same, separatist direction. The only difference was that in Hungary this development was inherent from the start.

⁹¹ In this paper, I will not elaborate on the special relation between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia during dualism and the state of multilingualism in Croatia-Slavonia putting these topics aside for further research. I am indebted to Nikola Rasic for bringing to my attention that Croatia is actually a complicated case, an "imaginary community", including Croatia proper, Srem, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Rijeka (former Fiume), some parts of Istria with some islands (KrK, Cres, Rab) and two sections of the Military Frontier (Croatian and Slavonian *Militärgrenz*), and in some periods even Medjmurje. So it is not easy to study the state of multilingualism in Croatia-Slavonia. In the framework of this paper Hungary proper does not include Croatia-Slavonia or Fiume.

⁹² Goebel (1994).

To conclude this paper let us consider what lessons the European Union can learn from multilingualism in Transleithania. The question is justified because the European Union has a multilingual structure, comparable to Austro-Hungary.⁹³

First, in Transleithania the traditional, non-state languages were recognized officially in the educational, judicial and administrative domains. We consider this as a positive value. Hence, linguistic diversity in society was not only proclaimed as a policy principle but effectively functioned in the practice. However, the Union although making linguistic diversity an official policy the implementation of this principle is mainly effective concerning state languages only.

Secondly, in Transleithania subsidiarity included also linguistic matters that enabled regional and communal groups to satisfy local needs. However, at present the Union's languages and language policy do not fall under a subsidiarity principle. Hence, the Union is insensitive to the local needs of all sorts of non-state language speakers and let individual member-states decide in these issues.

Thirdly, the Transleithanian educational policy although recognizing the multilingual character of the state reinforced the separate ethnic structure of the society by favoring the separatist educational model. This policy was contra-productive. Instead of strengthening cohesion and neutralizing the force of stereotyping separatist education became more and more a tool in the hands of nationalists undermining cohesion. The European Union should learn from this that multilingual education if implemented in a separatist manner will be a fission fungus. Instead the Union should stimulate the introduction of bi- and multilingual schools in order to strengthen cohesion in the Union.

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⁹³ See Rindler-Schjerve (this volume) for more discussion on this issue.

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Silk Road – Then and Now¹

For a long period, the great Silk Road functioned as a link between Central- and Northern-China, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. Some branches led to the eastern coast of the Black Sea, where some ports gained strategic importance for “Europe”, which meant the Hellenic world according to ancient historical sources. Another significant branch led along the the Caspian Plain, which connected Eastern Europe with the Middle East. From the 16th century onwards the sea trading overtook land-locked trade as Western-Europeans started to search for new routes to reach directly the regions rich in raw material resources. The above mentioned international land routes lost their primacy in world trade and remained regional routes in Middle East and Eastern Europe. Moreover, during the Late Middle Ages, two big city states, Venice and Genoa freighted goods from those regions, but they lost their importance gradually. When Moscow conquered Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century the official trade routes were moved to the north crossing Siberia.

Fortunately, the modern economic challenges required modernization of the ancient caravan routes, so it was time to build new routes to transport huge amounts of raw materials from land-locked Asia to Western-Europe, where the industrial capacity already existed but lacked sufficient raw material supplies. The bid to create a new Euro-Asia link was spurred by the wish to unlock the vast oil and gas reserves of the Caspian Sea. At the end of the 20th century European decision-makers realized that the European market required a stable supply of raw material for their own industries to process. Due to the permanent demand, the European countries tried to access landlocked territories like the Caucasus and the Central Asian region. In the 1990s more than 30 countries of the Eurasian region planned a new project, named TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia). Its aim was to solve the problems related to transporting energy, mining products and other raw materials to Europe. The participating nations decided to develop a modern transport corridor along the great international trading route that once linked Asia to Europe in order to ease the flow of goods across the vast region. One of the strategic points of the route is the corridor linking the Caspian Sea and Black Sea, where a new railway line was built. This is known as the Kars-Tbilisi-Baku railway project, also named as the “Iron Silk Road”, which is to provide direct connection between Turkey and Georgia, from where the line will also reach to Azerbaijan. From there the railway leads to Central Asia and far away, to the Far East to China. To understand the importance of this European initiative, we should take a look at the historical background of the Silk Road, and analyse the existing route in the region. In the past few years experts reassessed the history and importance of the Silk Road, despite the increasing commercial activities in the ports. They examined the role of logistics in a steppe region and the special knowledge of the inhabitants, namely the Scythians.

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Historical concepts

As historical sources and archaeological findings present to us, for many centuries great trading routes between the Caucasus and Europe contributed to the development of both regions. In the ancient and medieval times the Silk Road was of great importance to the transport of peoples, goods and ideas between Europe and Asia. In both directions, technologies, ideologies (especially religions) were transmitted.²

As I mentioned above, the Silk Road was not only one big highway, but a vast network of more or less important trade routes with connecting branches from present-day Central China to Western Europe. In the Caucasus region it crossed present-day Azerbaijan and went on to Georgia, and reached the Black Sea. These places were inhabited since the earliest times, and early communities settled down in river valleys or at the shores of the Black Sea.³ By the means of these roads, various kinds of goods (luxury goods, handicrafts, spices, etc.) were transported from China and Central-Asia reaching the Caucasus. The main source of most raw materials was in the Caucasus Mountains, or Scythian Mountain, as enumerated by ancient Greek sources.⁴ In some cases silk products, handicrafts were produced in the Caucasus region, too.⁵

Although the international literature often refers to this date, the great international trade routes and trading did not exist before the 2nd century B.C., or the time of the Han-dynasty. China was a closed territory for a long period, so they had no direct connection with the West; they had information about the Northern tribes belonging to the steppe civilisation who were related to the Scythians or Huns. As the Chinese scholars pointed out, the Chinese adopted many methods from them, such as metallurgy, horse-breeding, etc.⁶ They accessed western goods only through the steppe people. The first man, who reportedly reached the Western region, was Zhang Qian. He was captured by the Huns and was forced to live in their empire. He lived there for a decade. After returning to China he gave an account on his experiences and the Chinese officials, even the Chinese royal court realized that establishing trade relations with the West were of crucial importance. In order to gain control over the western territories, the Chinese waged a war against the Huns, who had ruled that territory for centuries. The above mentioned date or 2nd century B.C. refers to that period, when the Chinese Han-dynasty gained supremacy over some parts of the Silk Road along the Yellow-River bend. During that period they were involved directly in the world trade and they drove out the Huns, who ruled that vast region before them.

Some scholars support the idea that commercial activity between continents probably emerged during the Neolithic Age. As they claim, some parts of the Silk Road of that time have already functioned, and goods, mainly precious stones were transported.⁷ Due to fragmentary historical sources, we do not know the exact beginning of transcontinental commercial activities in this vast steppe region (Central Asia,

² Kuzmina, 2008. 3.

³ Christian, 1988. 82.

⁴ The great Greek authors as Hesiodus, Herodotus, Ptolemy, Strabon, etc.

⁵ Silk products appeared from only the Middle Ages, when a Christian monk stole the secret of silk-manufacturing technology.

⁶ Chang, 1974.

⁷ The main products were on first trans-continental trading was precious stones, lapis lazuli in Middle-East, and nephrite in Inner Asia.

Southern Siberia, Mongolia, Northern and Western China, etc.). We can find cultural connections between the western and eastern territories from the Early Bronze Age onwards and there are lots of similarities in material culture as far as the Ordos plateau to the Carpathian-Basin.

Routes had been operated in Inner Asia during the Neolithic culture, and the main export article was a precious stone called jade or nephrite from the Tarim-Basin. It reached the Transbaikal region and became one of the most sought-after commodities of the Longshan-culture in Eastern-China.⁸ The trend was similar in the Caucasus region, where other kinds of precious stones (lapis lazuli, ruby) were the main export articles of that period. Besides that, some Azerbaijan archaeologists found that the Caucasus was also a mining centre of copper from the 4th millenium B.C. The archaeological findings prove that trading activity functioned in the Bronze Age, too.⁹ It is likely that the first steppe tribes, the Hurrians broke through the Caspian Gate and invaded Mesopotamia. Their aim was to gain control over the branches of the Silk Road in the Caucasus region in order to access the mining centres there. Written sources state that steppe tribes, such as the Scythians or related tribes, established a well-organised "state" or tribe union and created an efficient logistics network all around the steppe belt for transporting goods from far away places. Concerning the Steppe logistical solutions, we have rather fragmentary information from the ancient period, based on Greek or Roman sources. We have detailed descriptions only from the late period, that means the Middle Ages, when external foreign sources reported how this logistic system operated. We have some archaeological evidence, and some rock painting, which preserved some special means of transport. Based on this we are more or less able to reconstruct their special communication and transport system.¹⁰ They developed an efficient communication system, which was based on relay stations covering the whole steppe. The envoys received free services there, but travellers and merchants had to pay for the meals and accommodation and horses.

In ancient times, and the Middle Ages the steppe tribes or as they called themselves "the bow stretching people" monopolized a great part of the known-world trade in landlocked territories of Eurasia. They contributed to the dissemination of the above mentioned technologies, arts and religions. Moreover, they helped to popularize significant inventions, such as equestrian warfare, horse kits, and trappings. They collected huge amounts of taxes from commercial duties. The steppe tribes offered services to foreigners as armed guards along the trading routes, and protected men and goods from bandits. As the historical sources and archaeological findings show, they ruled the great raw material sites from the Altai Mountain to the Caucasus; they sold and processed the materials. The Caucasus was one of the most important raw material centres in the region. From time to time, the world market required different kinds of raw materials. The Greeks recorded precious stones, metals as copper, silver, gold as the

⁸ Settlement around Onon-river, which is the border between Russia and Mongolia, Russian archaeologists excavated some settlements, where they discovered products from present-day Northern- or Central-China. Grishin, 1985. 85. As the Chinese excavation presented, ancient trade routes were operated between present-day Xinjiang and Ordos. In: Cosmo, 1996. 96.

⁹ Maisa, 2009. 91.

¹⁰ In the past few years huge amounts of rock paintings were discovered from Inner Asia to Caucasus, where the ancient artists carved waggons with animals, boats, and horses. The main significant ones are at Yin-shan in Northern-China, carvings at Mongolian Altay, southern part of Hovd country. The most famous such a place in Caucasus is Gobustan, Azerbaijan. The Greek authors (Hesiodus, Herodotus, Hippocrates gave report on Scythian manners and their waggons. We have remains of wagons in various Scythian tombs. Besides those evidences, we find them on the coins of Scylurus struck in Olbia. (Minns, 1913. 50)

most important raw materials. Next to these, salt and a special textile paint or minium were special export articles, too. During that period the above mentioned materials were as important as oil nowadays.

The eastern part of the Black Sea was the main strategic point which belonged to Georgia, Turkey and Abhazia, which became independent with Russian help two years ago. This region was the meeting point of the Western or Greek and Eastern or Scythian world from the early period, where the Greeks got information about the vast Eurasian region and goods. The first expedition to this region was recorded in the Argonauts' legend who reached the kingdom of Colchis searching for the Golden Fleece, i.e. they wanted to find gold there.

Significant routes

The development of the commercial routes was significantly determined by geographical conditions. The Caucasus region is a good example for that. There are restricted passes in high mountains, which are situated between two seas. It was rather difficult to travel along these routes due to lack of information. As Minns said, Greeks knew hardly anything of the inside of the Scythian country.¹¹ The mountainous places give some orientation points, but on plains, flat regions nothing helps to point out the directions. On the steppe, unregulated large rivers and marshy land caused problems for foreigners. Similar road conditions exist in some Central Asian countries, e.g. Mongolia, where it is very difficult to reach rural areas by car. Without road signs, the drivers must look at stars during night to determine their position. Daytime they always looked at the position of the Sun, at the branching paths, or rivers to identify any orientation points. This required a great routine from the drivers. Due to the difficult road conditions some peoples preferred to use only ships to reach new territories. That is why the easier transport method was shipping, and Greeks practiced that along the shores of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea. We have written records and rock carvings which prove this. Some parts of the Silk Road were not only a single path, but had several small junctions. Many people were involved in this large commercial network. Some parts are already well known, while others still wait to be explored. Let us investigate the most significant ones.

1. Eastern shore of the Black Sea – Steppe section and the Classical Silk Road

Regarding the history of Caucasus, the western region is relatively well documented from ancient times, since the first cuneiform texts. The ancient Greek and Roman authors made lots of records. The eastern Black Sea region had developed before the Greeks. The biblical texts mentioned the Japhethid (or Gog and Magog) tribes referring to the steppe tribes.¹²

The Black Sea region is significant for the Western-Eastern connections, because of its strategic position. Changes happened after the Trojan War, when the first non-Eastern peoples, the Greek sailors appeared on the Black Sea coast, crossed the Bosphorus, and for the first time settled down on the

¹¹ Minns, 1913. 10.

¹² The early expression for Gog and Magog is for the northern people, as Gimmeroi, or Cimmerians, or Scythians, or Askuzai. (Ez. 38-39) Boe, 2001.

Crimean-Peninsula, Olbia, and then Chersones and gradually moved eastwards, and they established a central port at Panticapaeum (Kerch) and beyond Cimmerian Bosphorus on Taman-Peninsula built Phanagoria. They started to trade with the Royal Scythians, whose headquarters were located close to this region. The exploration and trade activities were spearheaded by Miletos, a big Greek city in Asia Minor. Merchants from Miletos discovered raw materials or mineral sources for Greek industries, as well as food commodities. The Greek mythology preserved these journeys and discoveries.¹³

The Black Sea offered a good chance for the Greeks, who were unable to access the markets along the Mediterranean Sea. This region was dominated by the Phoenicians, who monopolised the trading of the Eastern goods. The same situation emerged at the end of the 13th century, when the crusader states of the Holy Land had been occupied by Muslims. Venice and Genoa built commercial bases on the remains of ancient Greek cities around the Black Sea.

The Greeks settled in ports and developed good relationship with the Scythians. Historians stressed the role of Greeks as culture middlemen, who introduced their civilisation to the Scythians. The early Greek sources and some scholars do not share this view. Some of them pointed out that the Scythians had already a special, independent civilisation and both nations influenced each other.¹⁴ The Steppe people transported goods from faraway territories, built logistics systems, which were based on horses and carts, and occasionally transmitted skin hoses to the mineral resources and luxury goods as well. Their main export products were slaves, grain, gold, fur, salt, etc. Many researchers believe that some technologies or luxury products came from the Altai Mountains, which was the former residence of the Scythians.

As already mentioned, one main route passed through present-day Kerch. They transferred Scythians goods from Eastern Europe. The other route was the classic Silk Road, which connected the Caspian Sea to Black Sea. It started from the eastern Black Sea coast, went on to ancient Colchis, crossed Iberia, today's Georgia and the Kür-river valley and reached Azerbaijan, where the Caucasian Albanian state existed for a long time. Its capital was Gabala, which was located along the Silk Road. In addition, other cities are built along the way, which prospered from trade. This route was integrated in the TRACECA program.

The other important regional route is less known in the western literature because it developed connections with western countries only in the Middle Ages.

¹³ The first legend regarding Mount Caucasus is Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven. As Apollodorus reported, Prometheus moulded men out of water and earth and gave them also fire, which, unknown to Zeus, he had hidden in a stalk of fennel. But when Zeus learned of it, he ordered Hephaestus to nail his body to Mount Caucasus, which is a Scythian mountain. In: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0022:text=Library:book=1:chapter=7&highlight=scythian>

According to Zaur Hasanov, the story of Cyclops in Greek sources went back to Scythian origin. These kinds of peoples are well known along the Eurasian steppe regions, among present-day Turkic and Mongolian folklore.

Mythical griffins, which guarded gold, are found in Herodotus' work.

Iphigenia's story also regarded the Black Sea region, or Crimean-Peninsula, Tauris. Her. IV. 103.

Regarding Odyssey's journeys, Dubois de Montpéroux and K. E. Baer make the Black Sea coast the scene of the Odyssey. They identify it in a grove of poplars on the Sea of Azov. In Odyssey we find some references on Cimmerians, who lived only around the coast of the Black and Azovian Seas. In: Minns, 1913. 436-437.

¹⁴ The ancient Greek sources reported their tight connections with Scythians. www.perseus.tufts.edu

2. Caspian Plain

The west coast of the Caspian Sea also belonged to the major trade routes that joined the steppe tribes of the Eastern European Plain with Mesopotamia and beyond. It operated from the Early Bronze Age, as the archaeological findings and other direct sources (rock carvings) show. Sources often say that it was a military road because the northern or Pre-Scythian peoples poured along this route into Asia. First the Hurrians arrived there, followed by northern or Scythian tribes breaking through the so-called Iron Gate and reaching the Transcaucasus. They settled down on the northern part of Mesopotamia and established states there.

Although the trading turnover was huge, there was no direct European connection, so the western literature scarcely recorded this aspect. The road was used by the Europeans since the Middle Ages during the Crusade. After this period merchants from Venice and Genoa appeared and began to trade with eastern goods from this region.

The ancient Greek sources obtained mostly indirect information about territories beyond the Black Sea, such as the Caspian Plain. They acquired data probably from their commercial partners, who lived in that region. So, the Greek sources had already known the main important raw materials and other trading goods.¹⁵ The best known legend of the Late Ancient Greeks was Iron Gate, which was built by Alexander the Great to protect the territory against the tribes of Gog and Magog. The legend refers one place along the Caspian Plain: Derbent, an ancient city located in present day Dagestan. If we check the meaning of the legend, the Iron Gate (or Turkic *Temir kapi* or Mongolian *Temür qagalga*) was a widespread expression used by the Eurasian steppe tribes, from Ordos to Carpathian-Basin, and the meaning of it was narrow passage.¹⁶ Indeed, near the city there is a 3,5 km wide gap between the Caspian Sea and the mountain. As I have already mentioned, the legendary Iron Gate was an existing geographic location in ancient times. It was not true that Alexander built it, because the first foundations of fortress system had been constructed since the 5th century AD, on behalf of the Sassanids.¹⁷

The legend mentioned that the commercial route was used for military purposes, but the sources of that time provided evidence that it was a significant trading connection between regions, used by the road caravans travelling from Mesopotamia as far as the Middle East and Egypt. Western European literature dated from the Middle Ages mentions this legend several times and always refers to it as the Iron Gate. Some travellers call the road as “the route of the Muslims”.

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¹⁵ I refer only some ancient authors, as Herodotus, Strabon, Ptolemy, etc. (www.perseus.tufts.edu)

¹⁶ Some examples: *Demir-kapi*- in Turkic runic inscription (Kul Tegin), *Temür qagalga*- Mongolian sources

¹⁷ See M. Gadjiyev's investigation.

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LINGUISTICS

WINTERS, Clyde

Greek Influence on Sanskrit Language

Controversy surrounds the relationship between Greek and Sanskrit. Most researchers believe that Greek and Sanskrit are related because of their descent from a Proto-Indo-European language. Although this is traditional view explaining the relationship between Greek and Sanskrit, what if the affinities between Sanskrit and Greek/Latin resulted from: 1) the early contact between the Indic languages when the Greeks ruled India-Pakistan; and 2) the Latin popularity and spread of Greek civilization and culture, when the Romans ruled the world?

Dr. A. Marcantonio (2010) challenges the idea that Sanskrit is derived from Indo-European (IE). She points out that there is an absence of archaeological and genetic evidence supporting an IE origin for Sanskrit or the former existence of an IE speech community.

At the end of the 18th century Sir William Jones suggested that Sanskrit was closely related to Western languages and that this could not be attributed purely to chance. Jones maintained that these Indic and European languages must be descended from a common ancestor. It was from this observation that Indo-European linguistics was born. In Sir Jones times we knew little about the history of the Greeks in India. Today we know much more about the historical evidence relating to Greek influence in India. The Greek textual material makes it clear that when Sanskrit was codified Greek was spoken by many Indians. This view is supported by the Greek inscriptions from Old Kandahar or Shahr-i Khona that predate the bilingual Greek-Aramaic edicts of King Asoka (Helms, 1982; GmbH, 1984 Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993; Singh, 2008).

The presence of Greeks in Ghandahar > Kandahar during Achaemenid times and after the conquest of India by Alexander (Billions, 1995; Mairs, 2008) suggest that, due to bilingualism, Greek elements probably used in the Prakrits and everyday speech became part of the link language: Sanskrit.

The Dravidians formerly were the major linguistic group in Central Asia and India-Pakistan. Many north Dravidian people are presently found in Central Asia. The cattle rearing Brahuis may represent descendants of the Dravidian pastoral element that roamed the steppes in ancient times. North Dravidian speaking Brahuis are found in Afghan Baluchistan, Persian Sistan and the Marwoasis in Soviet Turkmenistan (Elfenbein 1987: 229).

There are islands of Dravidian speakers in Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. There are over 300,000 Brahui speakers in Qualat, Hairpur and Hyderabad districts of Pakistan. Other Dravidian speakers are found in Iran, Russia and Yugoslavia (ISDL 1983: 227). The distribution of Northern Dravidian speaking groups outlined above, corresponds to the former spread of Harappan cultures in the 3rd millennium B.C., in Central Asia (Winters, 1990).

Many researchers have suggested that the Harappans spoke a Dravidian language (Winters, 1990). This view is supported by: 1) the numerous Dravidian place names they left in Iran (Nayar, 1977) and

Central Asia (Winters, 1986); 2) the Dravidian substratum in Indo-Aryan languages (Emeneau & Burrow, 1962) and: 3) the evidence of Dravidian influence on trade and animal domestication in Central Asia (Winters, 1991) supports the former presence of Dravidian speakers in the Indus Valley and Central Asia.

The Harappans expanded from the Indus Valley into Central Asia. The Harappans made seals, mined minerals and used black-and-red ware (BRW). The BRW pottery style was common to Dravidian speaking groups in South India.

The Harappan tradition precedes the Bactrian tradition (Francefort, 1987). Trade was the motivation behind the rise of Dravido-Harappan colonies in Central Asia. The major Harappan sites in Bactria were located near the Oxus River at Shortughai, and Altyn-Depe (Winters, 1990a; Francefort, 1987).

In Turkmenia at Altyn-Depe Harappan seals have been found. This view is also supported by the Indus culture colonies in the lazurite regions of Badakhshan (Winters, 1990a). Henri-Paul Francefort (1987) has discussed the Harappan site of Shorgtughai on the Oxus River.

The presence of Indus culture settlements within the lazurite region of Badakhshan has led many archaeologists to suggest Harappan control of the lazurite and the route to the tin and copper fields of Central Asia (Bremtjes, 1983).

Due to the early Dravidian settlement of Central Asia the Dravidian speakers influenced many languages. There is a Dravidian substratum in Indo-Aryan. There are Dravidian loans in Rg Veda, even though Aryan recorders of this work were situated in the Punjab, which was occupied around this time by Dravidians using BRW. Aryan speakers are believed to have made and used Grey ware.

Emeneau and Burrow (1962) found 500 Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit. In addition, Indo-Aryan illustrates widespread structural borrowing from Dravidian in addition to 700 lexical loans (Kuiper 1967; Southward 1977; Winters 1989).

It is therefore not surprising that the Dravidian languages lie at the base of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Pakistan and India. It is therefore not surprising that the Dravidian languages greatly influenced Sanskrit.

Many researchers reject the idea that Sanskrit was influenced by the Dravidian languages. They dispute this theory because of the Greek relationship to Sanskrit. Although researchers have used the relationship between Greek and Sanskrit in support of an Indo-European linguistic family, it is clear that the relationship between Sanskrit and Greek results from the long influence in India-Pakistan of the Greeks.

The first Greeks were deposited in Ghandahara (which was situated near the Indus River near Peshawar), Pakistan and Bactria in 494 BC (Mairs, 2008). These Greeks were descendants of the Branchidae guardians of the oracle of Apollo at Didyma near Miletos, situated on the coast of Asia Minor (Mairs, 2008).

There was a massive emigration of Greeks and Macedonians following Alexander's conquest of Asia between 335-250 BC (Billons, 1995). These Greeks settled many areas already occupied by Greeks exiled to Afghanistan by the Persians like Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kangahar) (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993). Shahr-i

Khona had been an Achaemenid fortified city before Alexander's conquest (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993).

The Greeks also built or successfully occupied many urban centres in India, especially Bactria including Ai Khanum, Begram and Arachosia (Kandahar) (Helms, 1982; Sagar, 1993; Singh, 2008). Consequently, there was a large Greek population in the area. Greek sources claim that Greek-Bactrians ruled 1000 cities (Helms, 1982).

Ancient Bactria was situated between the Middle Oxus (Amu Draya) River in the north, the Pamir mountains in the northeast, and the Hindu Kush in the south. After Alexander there was an increased number of Hellenistic sites between 3rd-2nd centuries especially Ai Khanoum maybe as a result of Greek immigration. Ai Khanoum had a Greek theatre that seated 6000 (Helms, 1993).

The epigraphic evidence suggests a long tradition of Greeks in Afghanistan. This includes Akkadian and Aramaic texts recorded in Greek (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993). The oldest monolingual Greek text found at Old Kandahar dates to the late 3rd century BC (GmbH, 1984; Mairs, 2008).

The best known Greek inscriptions were written by Asoka. There are two monolingual Asoka Edicts written in Greek, and one Greek-Aramaic rock inscriptions (Mairs, 2008). One of the inscriptions, found in 1964, was part of a public building where all of Asoka's Edicts were probably located (Singh, 2008).

The Asoka Edicts support the proposition that a large Greek population lived in Kandahar. Asoka noted the presence of *Yonas* (Greeks) and *Kambojas* (Iranians) in his Empire. It is clear from the Asokan Edicts that the Greeks were familiar with the words *bramenai* and *scamenai* – used to denote members of the Hindu priestly class (Mairs, 2008). This shows that the Greeks were fully integrated and acculturated to life in Kandahar.

The epigraphic evidence from Kandahar indicates that the Greco-Bactrians were probably mostly bilingual. Bilingualism can be induced through two methods: 1) state coercion or: 2) its ability to offer advantages to two or more populations in contact. The latter method of change usually accounts for bilingualism - people use the new language to obtain better access to status, security, ritual or goods. The Greek emphasis on direct methods of political control in Bactria forced many non-Greeks to become bilingual due to its advantage as a tool for greater upward mobility during Greek rule.

Professor Marcantonio (2010) makes a solid case that the relationship between Greek and Sanskrit is probably the result of the use of Sanskrit and Greek in the Indo-Greek states. After detailed discussion of the IE kinship terms and phonetic laws, Marcantonio (2010) demonstrates that Verner's Law is invalid. This view is in line with the fact that a large number of Greek colonies formerly occupied the Indo-Pakistan region.

The Greek colonization of Bactria made the Greek language a link language between the non-IE languages spoken in Central Asia about three thousand years ago. Many generations of bilingualism led to an inter-language phenomena that became a permanent feature of the literate speech community in this region. We can define the institutionalization of an inter-language as language recombination, i.e., the mixing of the vocabulary and structures of the substratum language (Dravidian) and the super-stratum language (Greek and later Slavic speaking Saka people) to form a new mixed language: Tocharian.

In 1908 Sieg and Siegling (1931) published their findings that Tocharian was an IE language. This discovery was accepted without any challenge.

Although Tocharian is accepted as an IE language there is disturbing linguistic evidence that makes it difficult to properly place Tocharian in the IE family. Ringe (1995) noted that "the Tocharian languages do not closely resemble any other IE languages". In other words Tocharian is a separate 'branch' of the IE family, on a par with Germanic, Greek, Indo-Iranian, etc." (p.439).

There is considerable influence on Tocharian from other languages, including Sanskrit and Iranian, due to Buddhism, but it is not closely related to the Indo-Iranian languages. Tocharian also shares many phonological, word-formation and lexical correspondences with Balto-Slavic languages. Most researchers maintain that Tocharian is closely related to the western IE languages, especially Greek (Adams, 1984, 1995; Mallory, 1989; Van Windekens, 1976).

In relation to Sanskrit and Greek, Tocharian has preserved medio-passive voice and the presence of both subjunctive and optative mood. The most important evidence of Tocharian relationship with the IE family are the Greek and Tocharian cognates: Tocharian A *natäk* 'lord', *nasi* 'lady'; Greek *wanaki* 'King', **wanakya* 'queen'. The Tocharian lexicon has also been influenced by Tibetan, Chinese and Uighur (Blazek, 1988; Winters, 1991, 1998).

The Greek culture was transplanted in Bactria by the army of Alexander the Great. It can be assumed that due to direct rule, the Greek language was well established in this region by the cultural matrix accompanying it. Possession of Greek culture and language played a major role in the upward mobility of "colonial subjects" in Bactria.

Eteo-Tocharian is a good example of the influence of Greeks in Central Asia. Eteo-Tocharian was written in a modified Greek alphabet (Maricq 1958:398). This script is a manifestation of the Greek influence in Bactria, even after the Kushana subjugation of this area.

This latter point is evident in the Grand Inscription of Kaniska (Maricq 1958).

An intruding community like the Greeks in Central Asia did not have to outnumber the colonized people in Bactria to impact on the language of the original Bactrians. The mere fact that the new speech community, although ethnically different, was now recognized as socially superior to the subject peoples of Bactria, made it useful for the Bactrians to become bilingual so they would be able to function both within their own culture and the new culture introduced by the conquering Greeks. This hypothesis is congruent with Ehret's (1988, 569) view that people make cultural choices on the basis of what appears to be most advantageous to the lives they live.

The Greeks made a conscious effort to affect the underpinnings of the native Bactrian's material world and their relations with their spirits or gods. For example, Greek influence is evident in the Gandharan Buddhist style sculptures. This art style illustrates Hellenistic influences in the modeling of the hair and facial features.

The relationship between Greek and Indic languages results from the early contact of the speakers of these languages in Northwest India and beyond during a period in which the Greeks were a major power in Central Asia.

The Greeks also ruled Pakistan and India. The Greek rule of India is discussed in the following books: F.L. Holt, *Thundering Zeus*; W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks of Bactria and India*; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*; and H. Kulke & D. Rothermund, *History of India*.

Many Pakistanis recognize Dravidian as the root language for many languages spoken in Pakistan (Rahman, 2004). They accept the fact that a Dravidian language was probably spoken by the people who formerly lived in the Indus Valley.

The Greek language was probably incorporated into Sanskrit in Ghadahara (or Kandahar) which was a major settlement place for Greeks. Many of the rules for Sanskrit were codified by Panini, who was born in Salatura, in Ghandahara, which was located in Northwester Pakistan (Panini's grammar contains 4000 rules). This shows that when Panini wrote his grammar of Sanskrit, it was spoken by elites in the area. Greek was also popular when Panini wrote the Sanskrit grammar. The Greeks were called Yunani or Yavana. Thus we learn from Agrawala (1953) that the Yavanani lipi (edict) was well known in Gandahara, and even Panini mentions the *Yavanāni* in his grammar. The term Yauna meant Ionian (Woodcock, 1966).

Panini mentions the word *yavanāni* (in 4.1.49). *Yavanāni* means 'Greek script'. The presence of this term in Panini's grammar indicates that Greeks were in Ghandahara when he wrote his grammar. When Alexander entered the HinduKush region in 327 B.C., Greek settlements were already in the area (Mairs, 2008). By 180 BC, as the Mauryas fell into decline, the Greek Kings of Bactria took control of Western Punjab and Gandhara up to the Indus River. Under King Menander (d.130 B.C.) the Greeks had their capital at Taxila. The center of Greek culture in the area was Charsadda, near Peshawar (Woodcock, 1966).

Many Greek terms were probably already incorporated in the Prakrits of Northern India-Pakistan and Central Asia. Here the Greeks minted their coins with Kharoshthi, Brahmi and Greek inscriptions.

Greek was used for commercial purposes and served as a patrician lingua franca of the Kabul valley and of Gandhara. During the rule of Pushyamitra many Greeks settled in India. Due to the long history of Greeks in India, Ashoka had some of his edicts written in Greek and Aramaic bilinguals (GmbH, 1984; Singh, 2008). In 44 A.D., Appolonius of Tyana, when he visited Taxila, found that merchants and kings learned Greek "as a matter of course" (Rahman, 2004; Woodcock, 1966). Panini's mention of *yavanāni* 'greek writing' suggests that he may have had a knowledge of Greek when he composed his Sanskrit grammar.

Given the popularity of Greek in the Ghandahara region it is not surprising that Sanskrit would show such a strong relationship to the Indic languages, since it had been spoken throughout the area as early as 494 BC (Mairs, 2008). Moreover, Greek was spoken throughout many parts of Europe after the worldwide conquests of Alexander the Great and the popularity of Greek among the Romans.

Commenting on the Greek rulers of India, Kulke and Rothermund (1998) said that "They are referred to as 'Indo-Greeks', and there were about forty such kings and rulers who controlled large areas of northwestern India and Afghanistan [...]. They appear as Yavanas in stray references in Indian literature, and there are few but important references in European sources. In these distant outposts, the representatives of the Hellenic policy survived the defeat of their Western compatriots at the hands of the Parthians for more than a century" (p.70). The greatest of the Indo-Greek rulers was Menander, who is

mentioned in the famous Milindapanho text (Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993). The Shakas adopted many elements of Indo-Greek culture which they perpetuated in India for over 100 years (Rahman, 2004).

A major IE language of Central Asia was Tocharian. It would appear that Tocharian may be a trade language (Winters, 1998). The large corpus of non-IE words in Tocharian discussed by Blazek (1988) and Winters (1991, 1998) is congruent with the hypothesis that IE elements in Tocharian, especially Greek (and Slavic) were loanwords into Tocharian after the Greek conquest of Bactria. This borrowing pattern is consistent with the spread of the Greek language into Bactria by a small politically dominant minority of Greek settlers into a far larger and previously long-established non-IE speaking majority population.

The Greek-Sanskrit relationship is probably due to the former presence of speakers of these languages in a Proto-European homeland. It is impossible to argue for a genetic relationship between the Vedic and the Greek languages, given the fact that speakers of these languages formerly lived in intimate contact in Ghandahara.

In conclusion, beginning with the Persians and especially after Alexander's conquest of Asia due to the Greek influence in Bactria and India-Pakistan, Indians and Bactrians had to acquire "Greek Culture" to enhance their position and opportunity in North India and Bactria during Greek rule.

In addition, we know that the Greek language was spoken by many Ghandarans and Bactrians. This is indicated by the Greek textual material from Ghanadara (Mairs, 2008).

Greek rule placed prestige on status elements introduced into the region by the Greeks, especially the Greek language. Status acquired by Bactrians and Indian-Pakistanis was thus centered around acquisition of Greek language and Greek culture. This is supported by the evidence that Indian elites used Greek in business and government (Rahman, 2004). This in turn added pressure onto the Bactrians to incorporate Greek terms into a lingua franca (i.e., Tocharian) (Winters, 1998).

Given the fact that Greek administrators in Bactria and Northern India-Pakistan refused to fully integrate Bactrians and Indians into the ruling elite, unless they were "well versed" in Greek culture and language, led to subsequent generations of native Bactrians and Indian-Pakistanis to progressively incorporate more Greek terms into their native language. This would explain why Tocharian has many features that relate to certain IE etymologies, and Panini's Sanskrit grammar presents many terms that are associated with Greek, but illustrates little affinity to Indo-Iranian languages which are geographically and temporally closer to Tocharian. Some researchers dispute the influence of the Greek language on Sanskrit because Panini's grammar is supposed to have been written around 400 B.C. This date for the grammar might be too early, because Rahman (2004) and Agrawala (1953) maintains that Greek was spoken in Gandahara in Panini's time — a fact supported by the mention of Greek writing (*yavanāni*) in Panini's grammar.

The influence of colonial Greeks in Central Asia would explain why the most important evidence of an IE relationship with Sanskrit and Tocharian relations within the IE family are the Greek cognates (Mallory 1989). The existence of a large Greek population in Ghandara leads to the conclusion that the IE theory can not be supported by the Sanskrit-Greek relationship.

The "elite dominance model" hypothesis would have two basic consequences in relation to Tocharian linguistics. First, it would account for the correspondence in grammar (especially agglutination) and

vocabulary between Dravidian and Tocharian on the one hand, and Tocharian and Indo-European on the other. Second, the settlement of the Sakas in Bactria after the Greeks would explain the great typological similarity between Tocharian and Balto-Slavic. The evidence of Saka and Greek conquest of Bactria / Central Asia confirms Sherratt's (1988) hypothesis that Tocharian may be a trade language, and offers a plausible solution to the "Tocharian Problem".

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*LANGUAGE TEACHING
METHODOLOGIES*

MOLNÁR, Zsolt & MOLNÁRNÉ CZEGLÉDI, Cecília

The Creative Hungarian Language and Its Special Teaching Method

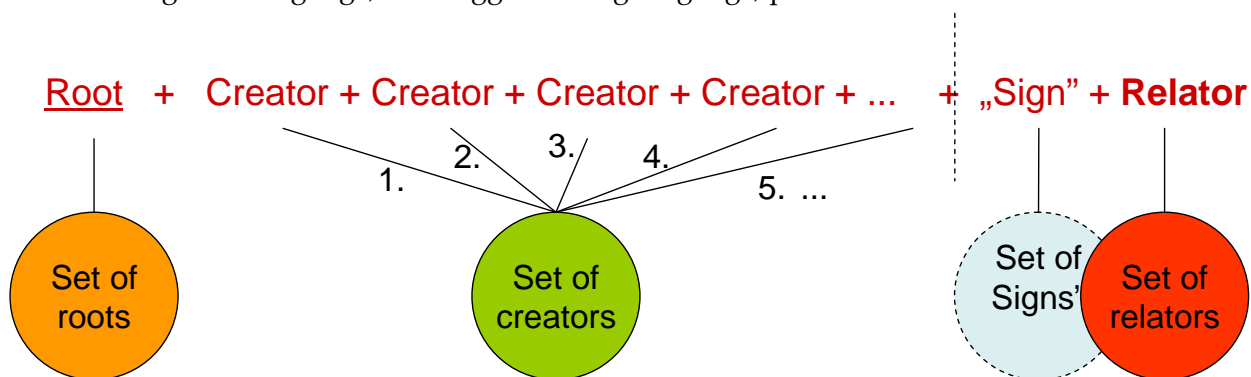
Part 5. : Relators in the Structure of Sentences¹

In the former parts of this series we generally reviewed the deeper parts of the Hungarian language; the features of phonemes, system of roots, creators, the word-creation (derivation) process, word-bushes, the main differentiating features of Hungarian language. Now we turn to a higher level and firmly describe how our language builds sentences; this is mainly the role of relators in this process.

This part of Hungarian grammar is much more discovered and better known by the public than the earlier parts of this series. Therefore we do not want to present detailed analysis here – if you are interested please turn to the generally available Hungarian language/grammar books. Here we only would like to give an overview of the topic and highlight some new viewpoints, methods. These are: that the explanation of the origin of relators, emphasizing the main parts of sentence building and – maybe more closely to language teaching – the modeling of sentence structures, relation diagrams. This latter topic leads to the question of how the knowledge in sentences is structured and could be modeled in an efficient and effective way.

Relators in the Hungarian language

The Hungarian language, as an agglutinating language, puts relators at the end of the words:



¹ Authors' homepage is: <http://www.tisztamagyar nyelv.hu/>

Relators express the relations between words and connect them to each other. Their function is to express the relations of the words in the sentence. In general only one relator can be appended to the very end of the word. (Which was created by creators from the root.) The number of relators is about 24-26. (Some researchers count more, especially those who consider personal suffixes as relators. This group is divided into two groups, the first take only the base personal suffixes as different, but the other group distinguishes the slightly different phonological forms of personal postfixes relators, too. With that the number could go up to 70-80, but according to us this does not mean different personal suffixes; only the use of the same personal suffix in slightly different phonological form. The question of personal suffixes will be discussed later.)

Basic relators generally express the following relation types:

subject,
place,
time,
ownership,
part,
way,
result,
instrument,
purpose,
etc.

These relations are not expressed only by relators (small particals postfixed to the words) but with postpositives, too. These postpositives carry the same meaning in expressing the relations, but are put after the word. Some examples:

Relation type	Expressed by relators	English	Expressed by postpositives	English
Place	házban	in the house	ház mellett	beside the house
	házon	on the house	ház alatt	below the house
	házhoz	to the house	ház köré	around the house
	háznál	at the house	ház előtt	in front of the house
Time	ebédkor	during lunch	ebéd óta	since lunch
	futáskor	during running	futás előtt	before running
Purpose/Reason	házért	for the house	ház végett	for the house
	házért	because of the house	ház miatt	because of the house

According to CzF – as we could see illustrated above – most of relators originate from words used very frequently to express relations but they are now suffixed to the word. Example: -ben (in something) originated from *bel*, *bél* (inner of something); -kor (during something) from *kor* (time period); -képp (according to) from *kép* (form, shape, figure of something); -ért (for something) from *ér* (reach something); -hoz (to something) from *hoz* (carry something), etc. This is the biggest part of relators.

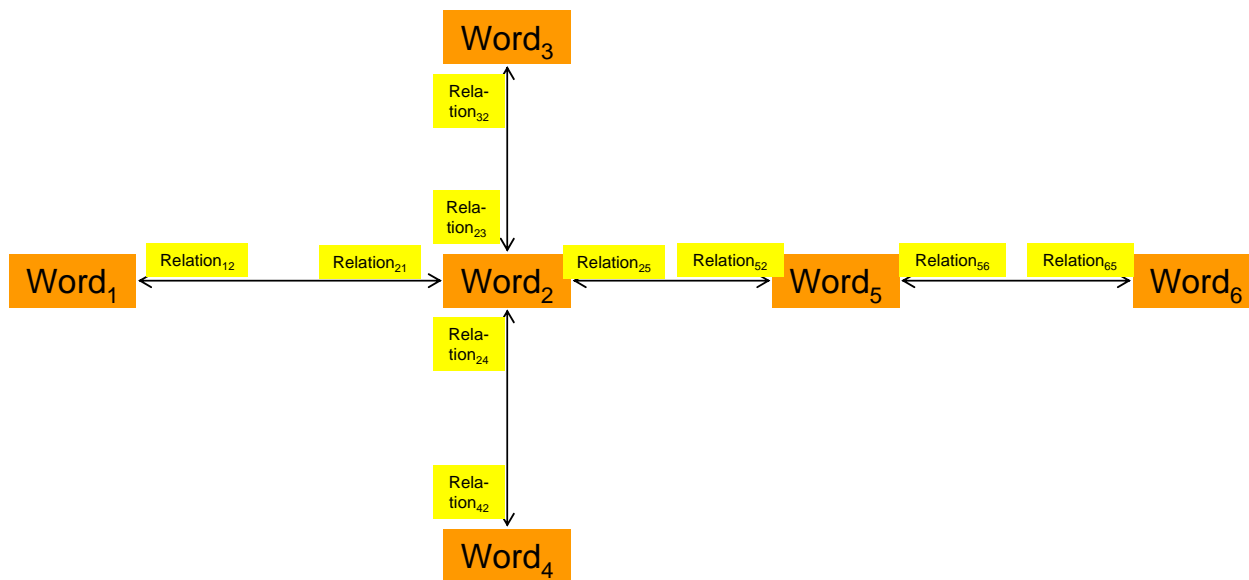
Some relators are correlated with features of the phoneme, e.g. -t (as expressing the subject of one activity) from feature of T as expressing activity creation. This is smallest part of relators.

Personal suffixes could be regarded as other group of relators. In this consideration their task is to express the personal connection to the words.

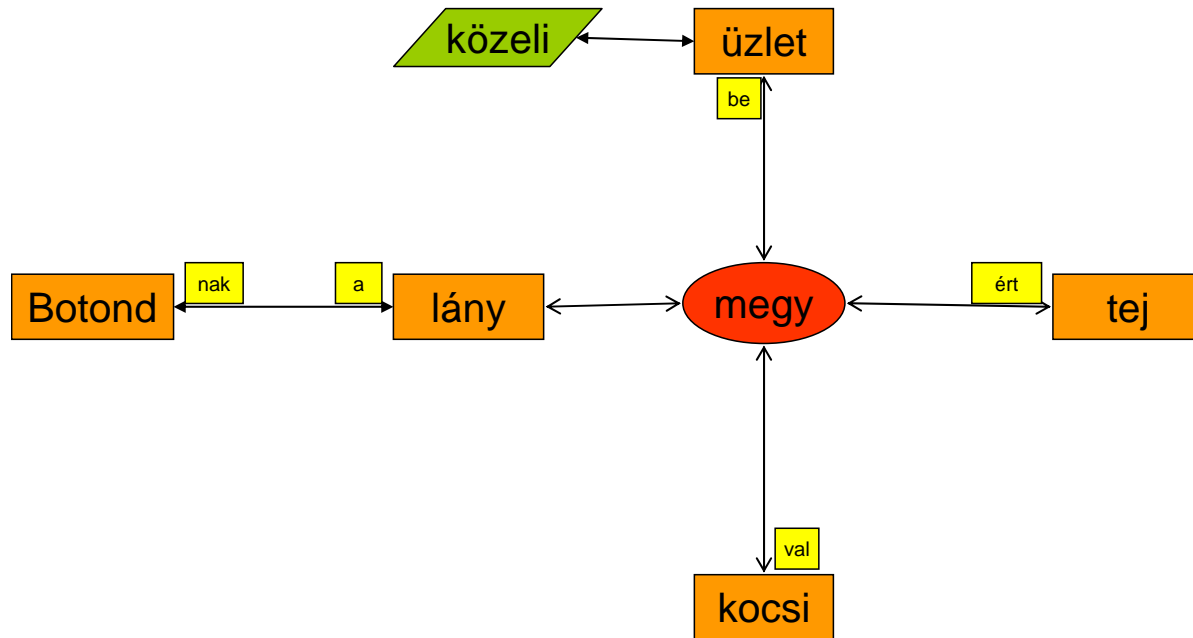
In other consideration personal suffixes could be taken as substitutes of persons (e.g. subject of the sentence), in this sense they are not real relators but personal pronouns (or originate from them). This latter statement is closer to our viewpoint.

Relation diagrams

The task of relators in a sentence could be expressed very plastically in relation diagrams.



A real example:



Note: In the above example you could see the word 'lány' where the suffix 'a' expresses the relation of property. This is considered as sign in the traditional grammatical categorization, but according to the new researches² it should be categorized into the group of relators.

The relation diagrams show the structure of relations between words in the sentence; they express the relations between conceptions which build up the situation.

Relation diagrams are very useful tools in language analysis and teaching.

² Mártonfi Attila: A magyar toldalékformák rendszere. Doktori disszertáció, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem 2006.

T. Somogyi Magda: Toldalékrendszerezésünk vitás kérdései. Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2000. Budapest

Summary

In this brief essay we discussed the relators especially focusing on their function in the Hungarian language.

We have seen that there are the basic relators, which express basic relations and (according to some researchers) personal relators, which express relations to persons or this latter group could be considered as grammatical entities originated from personal pronouns. Basic relations could be expressed not only by suffixed basic relators, but with postpositives too. The function in both cases is the same.

Relation diagrams are very useful tools in teaching; they show very plastically the relation structure of concepts / words

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(To be continued)



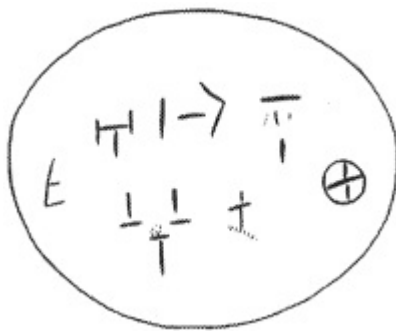
*ANCIENT WRITING SYSTEM
RESEARCH*

MELLÁR, Mihály

From a Kafkania Pebble to the Staff of Asclepios

The small pebble, excavated near Kafkania/Kavkonion, only 5 Km-s away from the ancient Olympia, enjoys enormous popularity. As it is usual with celebrities, this small pebble is surrounded with immense attention and many contradictory opinions and statements (gossips). Some people even doubt its authenticity, while others read miracle into it. Let us look into its secrets more closely.

Both faces of the only 4cm-s x 5cm-s big, 1.5cm thick flat pebble are chiseled with inscriptions. One of the paradoxes, surrounding the pebble, is its Linear B inscription which predates the oldest such known



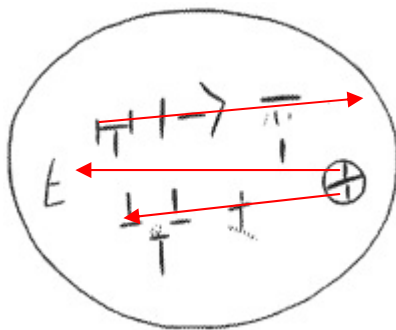
inscription with two centuries, as its origin is put to the 17th century B.C. The b. side of pebble is filled with a Minoan double axe, surrounded with “unusual” rays, three on both sides, six in all. The details stressed one by one may seem really strange, better to proceed sequentially and make everything fall in line.

Until now, all descriptions of side a. are telling that the six signs are nestled in two rows, three signs in each of the rows:

1. *a-so-na* 08-12-06
2. *qo-ro-ka* 37-02-77 or *ka-ro-qo* 77-02-37

Since the sign on the left edge, the seventh sign is not fit any of the lines, most researchers – elegantly! – brush away this sign. This regard I keep the argumentation of professor [Thomas G. Palaima](#)¹ (QVOVSQVE TANDEM?) the most definitive: it is as meaningless to hold this sign a later inscription as is assuming that it was marred with a graffito before the inscription took place. Therefore this *ra* (*60) sign is *part* of the inscription.

The solution to the paradox is simple, as always: there are not two but three rows of text. The scribe put the repeating signs in such a way that they can be included in two rows at the same time. Consequently the text has these three rows:



1. *a-so-na*
2. *ka-na ra*
3. *ka-ro-qa*

The *na* *06 sign thou doesn't reach the middle line but it definitely reaches further down than the other two.

Based on the evidence of the Cretan Hieroglyphic and the Linear A writing systems, these signs are not syllables, they merely denote consonants. The first sign being an exception: *a* denotes the generic vowel, any vowel. Transcribing the text with the corresponding letters, we get the following consonantal frame:

A/E/O/U-S/Z-N K-N R K-R-K

We can refill this frame with vowels to the following legitimate wording:

¹ <http://www.utexas.edu/research/pasp/publications/pdf/kafkania.pdf>

ASSZoNy

Woman

KéNe aRa

(I) should (have) fiancée

KÉRÖK

(I) ask (for)

"Asszony kéne, ara, kérek!" (Woman I should have, fiancée, I ask for one) a legitimate proposition ... today. However this pebble is 3700 years old and was found in a hilltop sanctuary, amongst other pebbles devoid of inscriptions. Not just here, in other locations as well, the archeologists has found and discarded an uncounted number of similar pebbles, coming from far away lands, most of the times without checking.

We have a little collection of painted *goodluck* pebbles of the Australian Aborigines, which were given to their fellow before an impending long journey, to bring good luck (to the stay in people!). It is worth mentioning that on these painted pebbles the point is not on the painted picture, but on the *act of painting*, which takes place in a fest (corrobory) as a community action. The painting/writing has meaning only in conjunction with the danced, played and told about things during the corrobory. The earth-paint disappears quickly, but the experiences of the corrobory will stay engraved in the memory. This could be the case with the pebbles of Kafkania as well, the painted on writings disappeared from the rest of the pebbles, this one exceptionally was carved, yet even on this, the signs are rather damaged. All these pebbles did formulate *wishes, expectations*, therefore they were addressed to the person the fulfillment of the wishes were expected. We'll find the addressee by putting the comma in the sentence to another place:

Asszony, kéne ara, kérek! (Woman, I should have a fiancée, I ask for one!)

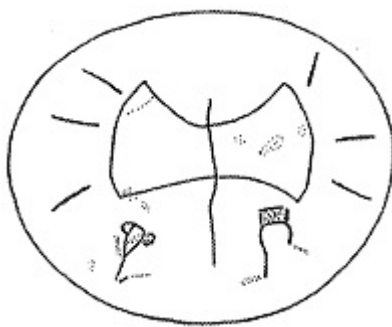
Straight wording, without any evasion, feigned politesse; loutish or goopy would be its attribute today. On a small pebble there is no place or ground for unnecessary frills. If someone would find that *na* (*60) is not stretching sufficiently enough into the second row, than there is an even goopier version of the text:

Asszony, kő' ara, kérök! (Woman, I need a fiancée, I ask for one!)

But who is the woman the text is addressed to? She is the *ŐSaNYa* (God-mother, ancestress), the mother of the whole people, *ÖSSZ-aNYa* (everybody's mother), the Queen Mother (Nagy-ASSZoNY) of Kafkania, of Olympia.

On the b. side, the six lines, arranged like rays around the axe, the hieroglyph equivalent to the *a* (*08), simply means:

a 'hat'-ban (a in-between six [lines])



The experts are saying that, under the blades of the axe, there are two signs: *qa* and *jo*, not noticing that the handle of the axe reaches down between the two signs. The usually very short, next to no handle at all; here it is wedged for some length between the two signs. This way, the axe with the phonetic value of *a* is *in* (-ban) *six, in-between* (közé-ben) the *qa* and *jo* signs, thus the brief description of the whole side is:

a 'hat'-ban qa-jo 'közé'-ben

This, in the transcription used for the Hieroglyphics, looks as follows:

AH_T-B_N K_J K_Z_-B_N


This consonantal writing can be refilled with vowels to the following meaningful reading of the text:

ÁHÍTÓ BűNE KÉJ KÖZBEN

Áhító bűne: kéj közben. (The sin of the yearning: lust in the meantime.)

Well yes, if a man badly desires a fiancée, he can fall into the sin of sexual pleasure. An explicit and sincere speech. The Queen Mother will forgive this sin for sure.

The texts perfectly fit the carrier of the writing: *wishing pebble* (KÍVÁNÓ KaVics), and the place: *kite nest on stone* (KöVi-KáNYa fészek), a mountain-top crest sanctuary, and from the goopy drafted request we did find out that the sanctuary belongs to the Queen Mather of Kafkania. Only 5 Km-s from this sanctuary of the God-mather is the sanctuary of Zeus, the supreme (male) deity of the Greeks.

Talking about gods and religion, let us deal in greater detail with the *ka*  sign, starting with its circumscription: a circle (*kör*) divided (*osztva*) into four sections. Let us now lift out the part which divides the circle: +. Yes, this is the circle divider: KÖR-oSZTó, which becomes *KöröSZT* (CRoSS, CRiST) due to the typical Hungarian vowel harmony or *KeReSZT* in Germanized form.

There are a lot of words derived this way: *rekesztő*, *malaszt*, *haraszt*, *választó*, etc. The Hungarian intelligentsia is a strange animal; it can nose about for similar words in all the languages of the known and unknown worlds but its own. Comparative linguistics is their Bible, sine qua non.



I'm reading with amusement the blog of [Zeke András](#)² about the Kafkania Pebble. While writing his blog, Zeke must have pronounced several times the word A-SO-NA, but he did not hear the word *ASSZoNYa*, pronounced 'assona (the n as in New York). He goes even further; he finds the word on two epitaphs in the cemetery of Amathus on Cyprus. He almost solves its meaning by comparing it with Etruscan word *aisuna* (divine). (Note that *aisuna* is phonetically more remote from A-SO-NA than *ASSZoNYa*.) As we could see earlier *aisuna-asona* is more than divine, she is the God-Mother herself. The epitaph from Amathus is not about the divine *Fortuna*, but about someone's Woman. I can say this extempore, that the two tombs hide the *great women*, the *princesses* of Amathus. As a matter of fact, in 311 B. C. a [graffiti](#)³ was scratched

over the glorifying marble tablet commemorating the conquering of Amathus by the Greek Aristonos: *Annyi métely eméssze imígyül illősen, Arisztonosz arató/ártó főnök/fenek, szűkös karikára tétessék, töke nyárs-sütő alá kitépető.* (Let you be digested by a lot of rot as it fits rightly, head/larse exploiter/malefic Aristanos, be put on a tight-fitting ring, your balls to be torn out under a spit-roaster.)

These are only accidental similarities; the Finn-Ugrian intelligentsia will belittle any such supposition. Nevertheless, let us look into another of Zeke's blogs: *Goddess Eileithyia and her snakes*. Here is a word for word quote from the blog: "**Eileithyia - the goddess of childbirth and labour - is perhaps the best known Greek goddess of certainly Minoan origin.**" In the linguistic twisting and turning Eileithyia is connected with freedom instead of the childbirth and labour: "**PIE stem *h1leudh- = 'free': the same stem that underlies Greek *eleutheros* = 'free', Latin *liber* = 'free', ...**", although LiBeR has the same word-frame as LaBouR. The English LiTTeR has the same word-frame as the Hungarian *LéTRe/éLeTRe* hoz = bringing to life and in both languages the root-frame of the word is that of goddess Eileithyia. What a coincidence!

EiLeiThyia is *ELLeTő* (*obstetrician*), the goddess helping at birth. (ÉLeT = life!)

² http://minoablog.blogspot.com/2010_06_01_archive.html

³ <http://osmagyar.kisbiro.hu/modules.php?name=topics&file=olvas&cikk=linearis-4a3ea00acf85d&elozo=linearis-4a9bd40ac8e7f&koveto=edeserdely-4a8e3f345d7d5>

The ei > e is not a problem, Zeke himself comforts the doubters: “**the lengthening of -e- poses no problem (remember: -ei- is not necessarily diphthongal!)**”, the -ia ending is a Greek addenda. Curiously enough, both in English and in Hungarian the *litter* and *ellik* are not applied to women anymore.

Here and now my intention wasn't the pillorization of András Zeke, merely I would like to show that with some kind of a dreadfully effective training the Hungarian school-leavers are capable of deriving the word *hattyú* (swan) from *kotang*, but cannot perceive the *asszony* in *A-SO-NA*, the *ellető* in *eileithy* [*eletü*], etc. It's a real pity that this effective training is not used by our teachers for the elimination of the 25% factual illiteracy instead of this useless, truthless, detrimental and anti-national ethymologization. *The Minoan literary corpus clearly demonstrates that there is not one Hungarian word of Finno-Ugrian origin, on the contrary: there are a lot of Magyar words in the Finno-Ugrian languages.*

Let us have a closer look at the statue of goddess Eileithyia for the sake of those who assume the before said as empty instigation. The goddess in both her hands holds out a *snake*. About the symbolic role of snakes in the different cultures one could stockpile enough material to fill a library. The keen reader could read about it in the mentioned Zeke's blog as well, we shouldn't avoid the subject either, so let us examine the statue more intimately:



EiLeiThyia eLóTT KíGYó GYüN eLóReNYú'ToTT KaRoKBól

Before Eileithyia snake is coming from forward stretching arms

It would be hard to dispute that the text in italics describes the *exceptional* and *extraordinary* on the statue by pursuing the essence very concisely. We would find probably similar – let us confess, inexpressive - descriptions in many languages and places, and with such a sketch the topic is closed, but not for us. Since we apply to the above description the *ancient Magyar vowel-shifting*, which alone can

make the statue speak:

ELLeTó eLLáT KíGYóGYú'Ni öLRe oNTToTT KóRoKBól

Ellető ellát kigyógyulni öltre ontott kórokból.

Ellető (obstetrician) provide cure on lap poured illnesses.

Therefore Ellető provides for her patient, helps her recover from illnesses affecting the laps of women, namely from the illnesses of the lower part of the abdomen, coming with childbirth and labour. No one

can expect a more explicit speech than this from a statue. Were the statue being only symbolics, than one would be able to read out of it a similarly figurative and all-important message, without knowing the language, isn't it?

So far nobody was able to do so. Consequently, the statue speaks in picture-signs (*képjel*) not in symbols (*jelkép*) ... and in Hungarian.

And what the snake is looking for on the staff of Asclepius? As we can see Asclepius leans on this, always typically gnarly staff, this is done purposely, to name the staff a *stick for aid* (*bot-gyám*). The *snake* (*kigyó*) *joins* (*egyít*) the stick, in a brief:

KíGYó eGYíT BoT-GYáMma'

(the) snake joins (the) stick for aid

By changing the vowels, using the *ancient Magyar vowel-shifting* we will get the following unmistakable portrayal of the staff's holder:

Ki GYóGYíTi BeTeGeM'



Ki gyógyítja/kigyógyítja betegem'/betegségemet
Who cures/reclaims from my illness

Here the stick for aide could be even symbolic: the aide of the sick, but its essence is the talking picture-sign. The picture conveyed a worded message to those who had spoken the language of Asclepios, to be more precise: the language of his sculptor. The Greek didn't understand the message of the talking picture-sign, for them this statue is only meaningless symbol. Unfortunately, even his followers who still speak his language cannot read their masters message, and to whom he clearly speaks about his mother-tongue won't even listen.



ETHNOGRAPHY

TODORIKI, Masahiko

Tuwa-Ren: The Emerging Ethnic Identity of the Altai-Tuvans in Xinjiang

ABSTRACT

Tuvan settlements of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUA) are located in the northern part of the Altai Prefecture, Ili Kazakh Autonomous District. In this area, the Chinese government plans to create the world's largest national park, with an investment of RNB 3 billion. This park is the expanded version of the present-day Xinjiang Khanas Travel Spot, and with a rating of 5A, it is one of the finest national tourist attractions in China (PRC). In a recent tourism development in this region, the local Tuvans have begun to redefine their ethnic identity as "Tuvan" rather than as "Mongolian."

Introduction

SPEAKERS of the Tuvan (or Tyvan) language (note 1) and the cognate Taiga-group dialects/languages (note 2), both of which belong to the South Siberian Turkic languages, are distributed in the Russian Federation (RF) (comprising Republic of Tuva, Republic of Buryat, Irkutsk Oblast, and Krasnoyarsk Krai), the western and northern parts of Mongolia, the eastern region of Kazakhstan, and XUA. The total population of native Tuvan (and sister language(s)) speakers is more than 250,000 (note 3). This report focuses on the inhabitants of XUA and is based on the findings of my field trip to the region in August 2007.

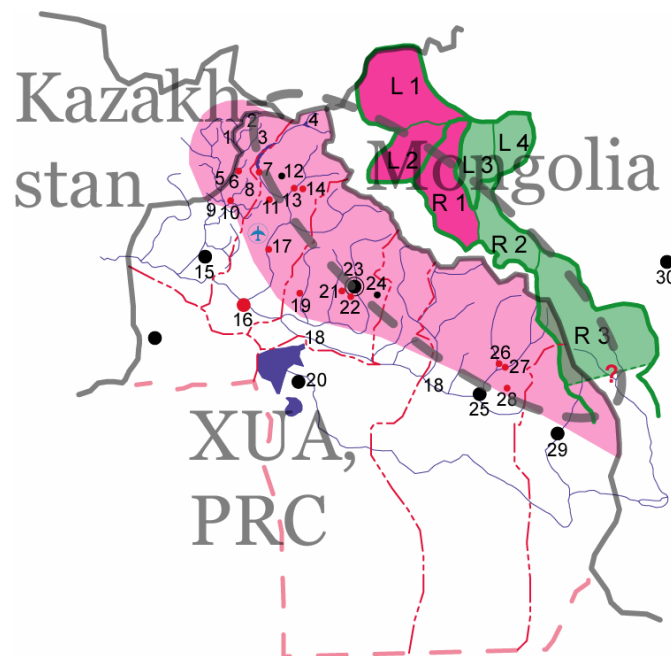


Figure 1. Tuvan population around XUA and Kazakhstan (note 4)

Tuvans have attained worldwide fame for their rich musical heritage, including their famous vocalism called *xöömey* or throat-singing (e.g., Aksyonov 1964:54–62; 171–187). However, only the forms of this music found in the Republic of Tuva has achieved renown, while foreign enthusiasm for it emerged mainly after *Perestroika*. The literature on and the recordings of the Tuvan music of XUA are still limited (note 5).

Tuvan or Mongolian?

TUVANS on both sides of the Altai Mountains (“Altai-Tuvans” hereafter (note 6)) were once members of the Altai-Uriankhai, a heterolinguistic people comprised mainly of Altai-Uriankhai Mongolians and Altai-Tuvans during the latter half of the Qing dynasty (the mid-18th century to 1911) (note 7). During this period, the Altai-Uriankhai *aymak* or province was subdivided into seven *gožuuns* or banners. The Altai-Tuvans were in the majority in three of the seven banners (Fig. 1 and note 4). The Altai-Uriankhai *aymak* was situated in present-day western Mongolia, northern XUA, and eastern Kazakhstan. Linguistically, the dialect of the Tuvans of Altai-Uriankhai is identical throughout the area and can be freely used to communicate with the Tuvans of the Republic of Tuva (note 2).

According to the official Chinese definition, the Tuvans (*Tuwa-Ren* 图瓦人 in Chinese) are classified as being Mongolians (*Menggu-Zu* 蒙古族), despite the linguistic differences between the two (note 8). Interestingly, this statement is basically accepted by the local Tuvans, at least ostensibly. Their accord may be explained by the historical facts stated above. Moreover, it seems quite natural that Tuvans sympathize with the Mongolians, as both are Tibetan Buddhists, whereas the Kazakhs are Muslims. Moreover, the Tuvans resemble the Mongolians with regard to habits, customs, and clothing. The local Tuvans identify themselves ethnically *Diba*, *Düwa*, *Tiba*, *Diba Uraanxay*, and so on. Terms such as *Kök Mončak*, *Mončak* and *Mončog*, which the local Kazakhs and Mongolians use to address them, are also accepted (note 9).

Language and social status of the Altai-Tuvans

THE first field study of the Tuvan language in XUA was carried out in the 1950s as a collaborative research conducted by the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Central Institute for Nationalities (now the Minzu University of China), and other researchers (Wu 1999:5; Geng 2000:47). More concrete inquiries were undertaken and published by Song in 1982 and 1985.

There are reports that the Kazakhs have gained predominance over the Altai-Uriankhais, including the Altai-Tuvans, both in western Mongolia (Kamimura 1996:12; Tschinag 1993; Enwall 2005:106–109) and XUA (Matsubara 1993a:8). The Kazakhs’ negative views of the Tuvans have been reported since the early 20th century at least (Kamimura 1996:12; Kamimura 1997:84–85). These Kazakhs have been accorded precedence over the local Altai-Uriankhais, and the latter have had to yield property to the former. It is conceivable that the Altai-Tuvans faced the same situation. According to the local people, Kazakhs are newcomers to the Altai Prefecture. Matsubara believes that the rise in the numbers of Kazakhs in this region led to the annexation of the Altai Prefecture by the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District in 1954 (Matsubara 1993a:9).

The ethnic subordination of the Altai-Tuvans is also apparent in their linguistic situation. Most Altai-Tuvans are trilingual, speaking Mongolian and Kazakh along with their mother tongue, Tuvan (note 10). Thus far, no language school for Altai-Tuvans has been established. Therefore, Tuvan is spoken only at home (Mongush 2002:40–41). Nevertheless, the language has been fairly well-preserved, although it has undergone several changes in a multilingual context (Mawkanuli 2005:33–48). In contrast, local Kazakhs speak only the Kazakh language or are bilingual, speaking the Mongolian language as well—something akin to the Altai-Uriankhai Mongolian’s monolingualism or the Mongolian-Kazakh’s bilingualism. The Kazakhs and Mongolians seldom speak Tuvan. It appears common that a “minor” ethnicity has to speak a greater number of languages in order to survive, at least in this region (Matsubara 1993a:9).

The Altai-Tuvans are aware of the existence of the Republic of Tuva, where their mother tongue is used as the first language. They learn about it from various sources, such as the radio programs and the visitors who arrive from there (Mongush 2002:41), as well as from the Internet. I even met a young man who actually visited the Republic of Tuva.

Tourism development and the ethnicity of local Tuvans

THE northern part of XUA, which has Tuvan settlements, is situated around Lake Khanas (or Kanas, *Ka-na-si*喀纳斯, and so on) (Fig. 1 and note 4: toponym 7). This area is referred to as the Xinjiang Khanas Travel Spot or Khanas Nature Reserve (Wang *et al.* 2010), which is among the top 66 scenic places (a ranking of 5A) in the PRC, according to a China National Tourism Administration report of June 2007 (China Hospitality News 2007a). Further, the Asia-Pacific Tourism Organization designated this area as “China’s Top Scenic Spot” on July 31, 2006 (china.org.cn 2006).

Between 2007 and 2010, the Chinese government plans to invest RNB 3 billion (ca. USD 430 million) on the infrastructure of the area (China Hospitality News 2007b). When the development activities are completed, this park will be about ten times as large it is at present, making it the world’s largest national park (Xinhua News Agency 2007). A new airport (Fig. 2) has been in service since August 2007, which provides considerably improved access to this remote area.



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Figure 2. Khanas Airport, which is yet to open (August 2007)

In line with this development, local Tuvans rely on their music, which is believed to be as rich as the music of the Republic of Tuva, to promote tourism. Further, the “historical authenticity” of the ethnicity of Altai-Tuvans has been repeatedly stressed in recent Chinese media reports (e.g., Zhong-hua jin-li wang-luo she-qu).



Figure 3. The advertisement in Khanas village says, “A living fossil of the history of Tuvan music. This is the authentic Tuvan culture.” (August 2007). As shown in this picture, *šoor* is one of the main instruments used in music performances by the Altai-Tuvans.



Figure 4. Solongo (born in 1952) plays *šoor*.

Under such circumstances, the Altai-Tuvans seek to foster their identity as Tuvans rather than as Mongolians. As matter of fact, the Altai-Tuvans in Khanas, the center of tourism, strongly distinguish themselves as Tuvans, unlike their peers in the early 1990s (Matsubara 1993b:12) and those in the present Khom village (Fig. 1 and note 4: toponym 13), who regard themselves as Mongolians. This attitude is also obvious among the dense Tuvan population of Ak-Khaba village (Fig. 1; note 4: toponym 5).

Despite the strong ethnic identity of the Altai-Tuvans, the music heard at Khanas was performed by young Tuvans on an end-blown flute *šoor* (Fig. 4)—an instrument that disappeared from the Republic of Tuva almost half a century ago—played in the Altai-Tuvan style in combination with the famous Altai-Uriankhai Mongolian song “Altain Magtaal” (a song praising the Altai mountains) (Kamimura 2000; Schubert 2007). No authentic Altai-Tuvan songs were performed. According to the Tuvans, these local songs are not suitable for stage performances. Instead, they used *karaoke*, microphones, and loud speakers to entertain Chinese tourists.

Conclusion

ALTAI-TUVANS, who once belonged to Altai-Uriankhai *aymak*, have reasons to regard themselves as both Tuvans and Mongolians. Since the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, their ethnic identification has been ambiguous; this ambiguity has been further aggravated by their social weakness vis-à-vis the local Kazakhs. However, the recent development of tourism has led the Altai-Tuvans to appreciate their culture, especially their music. This appreciation is partly an indirect effect of the worldwide fame enjoyed by the folk music of the Republic of Tuva. Therefore, Altai-Tuvans regard their ethnicity to be Tuvan and not Mongolian.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

1. This language is designated as *Tıva dil* in the Republic of Tuva. For more details about the language of the Altai-Tuvans, see Song (1982, 1985), Wu (1999), Sugahara (1999), Geng (2000) and Mawkanuli (2005). Also, for standard Tuvan in the Republic of Tuva, see Iskhakov & Pal'mbakh 1961 and Anderson & Harrison 2002. See also notes 2, 3, and 6.

2. As part of his reexamination of Turkic languages, Schönig (1997) classified the Tuvan language as one of the Sayan Turkic languages, which are an offshoot of the South Siberian Turkic languages (Schönig 1997:125). He divided the Sayan Turkic into the Tofa (Karagas) and the Tuvan languages. Zhukovskaya *et al.* (2002) provide greater detail and split the "Sayan sub-group" ("Sayan Turkic" for Schönig) into two parts: (1) the Taiga-group (Tofa, Soyot, Dukha/Tsaatan, Tozhu dialect) and (2) Steppe-group (Republic Tuvan dialects, Altai-Tuvan dialects, Tuha/Uigur-Uriankhai) [Zhukovskaya *et al.* 2002:165–166; Ragagnin 2009]. It can be assumed that the Soyot dialect/language is possibly a Tuvan language creolized by the speakers of an extinct Southern Samoyedic language, called Mator (Helimski 1997:65–67; Shoji 1988–2001); the former has also now completely died out, a fact confirmed by my findings during the field trip to Okinskii District of Buryat Republic in 2007. The local Soyot people now speak a dialect of Buryat Mongolian, the Soyot dialect (Rassadin 1996:45), which is conceivably a re-creolized Soyot dialect/language of Sayan Turkic. The Soyots have been shifting their language to those of their neighbors under the influence of commercial trade; however, they have retained their ethnic identity. The veracity of this view is attested to by the Russian designation since 18th century of Tuvan as Soyon, Soyot, and so on, and as another ethnonym for Mator (Helimski 1997:66–67). The language environment of this kind of Soyot may identical to that of other Taiga-group dialects/languages, such as Tofas and Duhas. See also notes 1, 3, and 6.

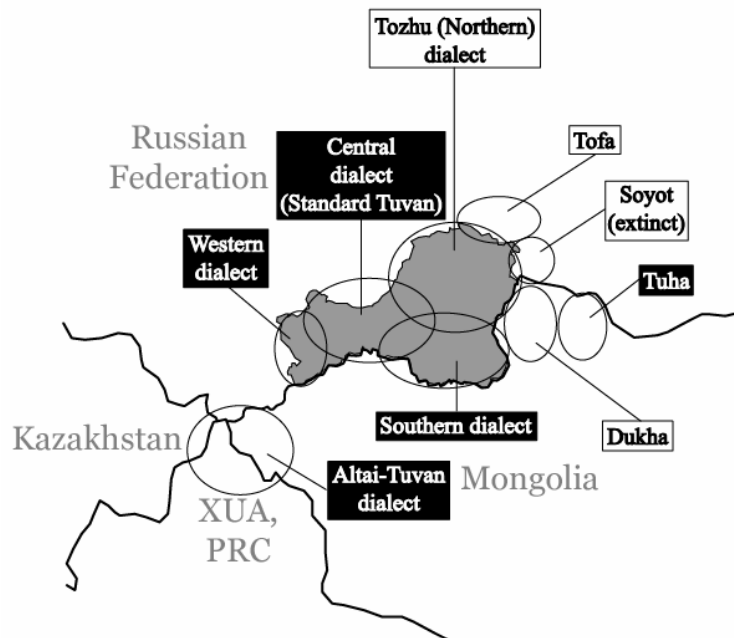


Figure 5. Distribution of the Sayan Turkic languages and dialects: the Taiga group of languages/dialects (presented in clear boxes) and Steppe group (presented in black boxes), and the Republic of Tuva (shown in gray).

3. According the Russian census conducted in 2002, the population of Tuvan speakers is *about* 250,000 (Tuvan and Tozhu Tuvan) in the Republic of Tuva and about 400 (mainly speakers of the Tofa language) in the surrounding area of the republic (Peoples and Languages of Russian Federation Statistics). According to several recent reports, the Non-RF Tuvan population is anything from several thousand (Mongush 2002:17; Anderson & Harrison 2002:2; Enwall 2005:100) to 50,000 (Kamimura 1997:85) in Mongolia and several thousand in XUA (Wu 1999:1; Mongush 2002:22; Maukanuli 2005:1). The total Tuvan population is thus between 260 and 300 thousand. See also notes 1, 2, and 6.

4. Legends

—: International boundary (present-day).

— —: Boundary of the Altai Prefecture, XUA (present-day).

— — —: Boundary of counties (present-day)

— — —: The seven banners of Altai-Uriankhai before 1907 (Hu & Yan 1863, North 3–6: West 6–7).

■: Tuvan population in XUA and Kazakhstan (present-day).

□: The seven banners of Altai-Uriankhai in 1907 (Zhong-yang yan-jiu-yuan jin-dai-shi yan-jiu-suo *et al.* 1959: Fig. 2 A-er-tai ke-bu-duo jie tu 阿爾泰科布多界圖).

■: Tuvan banners.

■: Altai-Uriankhai Mongolian banners.

●●●: Administrative units where Tuvans locate (present-day).

●●: Administrative units where Tuvans do not locate (present-day).

✈: Khanas Airport (in service since August, 2007).

- ① Chinese toponyms (pinyin) ② Mongolian toponyms ③ Tuvan toponyms ④ Kazakh toponyms
⑥ Geographical features

<Toponyms>

1. ① -- ② -- ③ Temir-Xaba ④ -- ⑤ river
2. ① -- ② -- ③ Narsin-Xaba ④ -- ⑤ river
3. ① -- ② -- ③ Nariin-Xaba ④ -- ⑤ river
4. ① 阿克库勒湖 (A-ke Ku-le Hu) ② -- ③ Ak-Köl ④ -- ⑤ lake
5. ① 喀拉哈巴河 (Ka-la Ha-ba He) ② -- ③ Xara-Xaba / Kara-Kaba ④ -- ⑤ river
6. ① 阿克哈巴南村 (A-ke Ha-ba Nan Cun) / 白哈巴村 (Bai Ha-ba Cun) ② -- ③ Ak-Xaba / Ak-Kaba ④ -- ⑤ small village
7. ① 喀纳斯湖 (Ka-na-si Hu) ② Xanas-Nuur ③ Xanas-Köl / Xanəs-Köl / Kanas-Köl / Kanəs-Köl ④ -- ⑤ lake
8. ① -- ② -- ③ -- ④ Terek ⑤ river
9. ① -- ② -- ③ Kurti-Xaba / Kurti-Kaba ④ -- ⑤ river
10. ① 铁热克提乡 (Tie-re-ke-ti Xiang) ② -- ③ Terekti Awidik (Mawkanuli 2005:11) / Ulaasta (old name) ④ Terek ⑤ village
11. ① 贾登峪 (Jia-deng-yu) ② -- ③ Čal-Ög / Čal-Oi ? ④ Čal-Öi ⑤ small village
12. ① 也买盖堤 (Ye-mai-gai-di) ② -- ③ -- ④ Yemeget ⑤ small village
13. ① 禾木喀纳斯蒙古族乡 (He-mu Ka-na-si Meng-gu-zu Xiang) ② -- ③ Xom Gista (Mawkanuli 2005:17) / Kom ③ -- ④ -- ⑤ village
14. ① 吉克普林 (Ji-ke-pu-lin) ② -- ③ Čikbilen ③ -- ④ -- ⑤ small village
15. ① 阿克齐镇 (A-ke-qi Zhen) ② -- ③ -- ③ Söl-Xaba / Söl-Kaba ④ -- ⑤ small city

16. ① 布尔津镇 (Bu-er-jin Zhen) ② -- ③ Buwuršin Awdan (Mawkanuli 2005:17, 21) ④ -- ⑤ small city
17. ① 冲乎尔乡 (Chong-hu-er Xiang) ② -- ③ Šunjur Awıldik (Mawkanuli 2005:20) ④ -- ⑤ village
18. ① 额尔齐斯河 (E-er-qi-si He) ② Erčis-Gol / Eeviin-Gol ③ Eevi-Xem / Eevi-Kem ④ Irtiš ⑤ river
19. ① 阿拉哈克乡 (A-la-ha-ke Xiang) ② -- ③ Alagak Awıdık (Mawkanuli 2005:18) / Dört-Sumun Mončok (Matsubara 1995:20, 23) / Diwa Gožuun (Matsubara 1995:23) ④ -- ⑤ village
20. ① 福海镇 (Fu-hai Zhen) ② -- ③ -- ④ -- ⑤ small city
21. ① 切木尔切克乡 (Qie-mu-er Qie-ke Xiang) ② -- ③ -- ④ -- ⑤ village
22. ① 阿苇滩镇 (A-wei-tan Zhen) ② -- ③ Aviten ? (or *Awdan* "county" (Mawkanuli 2005:230) ④ -- ⑤ small city
23. ① 阿勒泰市 (A-le-tai Shi: Altai-City) / 承化寺 (Cheng-hua Si: Chenghua Temple) (old name) ② -- ③ Aldai Xala (Mawkanuli 2005:18) ④ -- ⑤ county-level city
24. ① 汗德尕特蒙古族乡 (Han-de-ga-te Meng-gu-zu Xiang / 喇嘛召乡 (La-ma-zhao Xian) ② -- ③ Xandagaiti Awıdık (Mawkanuli 2005:18) ④ -- ⑤ village
25. ① 库额尔齐斯镇 (Ku-e-erqi-si Zhen) ② -- ③ -- ④ -- ⑤ small city
26. ① 铁买克乡 (Tie-mai-ke Xiang) ② -- ③ Temeki Awıdık (Mawkanuli 2005:19) ④ -- ⑤ village
27. ① 可可托海镇 (Ke-ke Tuo-hai Zhen) ② -- ③ Gök-Togai Awdan (Mawkanuli 2005:19) / Kök-Dugai (Mongush 1997:5) ④ Kök-Toyai ⑤ small city
28. ① 吐尔洪乡 (Tu-er-hong Xiang) ② -- ③ Turgun Awıdık (Mawkanuli 2005:19) ④ -- ⑤ small city
29. ① 青河镇 (Qing-he Zhen) ② Čingel ③ Šinŋgil Awdan (Mawkanuli 2005:21) ④ Činŋgil ⑤ small city
30. ① -- ② -- ③ Xovd ④ Xomdu ④ -- ⑤ city (Mongolia)

<Region names>

L: Uriankhai left-wing banners

R: Uriankhai right-wing banners

L1 . ① 烏梁海左翼公圖旗 (Wu-liang-hai zhuo-yi-gong Tu Qi) ② Cagaan (Ak) Soyony Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Ak-Soyan Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) ④ -- ⑤ banner

L2. ① 烏梁海左翼公桑旗 (Wu-liang-hai zhuo-yi-gong Sang Qi) ② Xar (Ulaan) Soyony Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Kara-Soyan Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) ④ -- ⑤ banner

L3. ① 烏梁海左翼公噶旗 (Wu-liang-hai zhuo-yi-gong Ga Qi) ② Züün Ambany Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Tanđi Ooršak Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) ④ -- ⑤ banner

L4. ① 烏梁海左翼副都統旗 (Wu-liang-hai zhuo-yi Fu-dou-tong Qi) ② Meerengiin Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Meeren Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) ④ -- ⑤ banner

R1. ① 烏梁海右翼公瓦旗 (Wu-liang-hai you-yi-gong Wa Qi) ② Xöx Mončogiin (Šar Dagiin) Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Mončak Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) ④ -- ⑤ banner

R2. ① 烏梁海右翼公棍旗 (Wu-liang-hai you-yi-gong Gun Qi) ② Dönxör Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Saruul Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) ④ -- ⑤ banner

R3. ① 烏梁海右翼貝子旗 (Wu-liang-hai you-yi Bei-zi Qi) ② Baruun Ambany Xošuu (Kamimura 2000:22) ③ Beesi Gožuun (Mawkanuli 2005:4-5) / Dört-Sumon (Mongush 2002:20-22) ④ -- ⑤ banner

5. Those examples are applicable: several song lyrics (Mongush 2002:122-123; Mawkanuli 2005:183-202); a two-stringed plucking chordophone *topšoor/topšuur* (*došpuluur/ došpulduur/topšuluur* in Republic Tuvan, *došpulduur* in Tuvan of western Mongolia) and an end-blown flute *šoor* (Dao-er-jia-la & Zhou-ji 1985); a two-stringed bow instrument *ilgil/ilgiil/ilkiil* (in both XUA and western Mongolia) (Dao-er-jia-la & Zhou-ji 1990), which known as *igil* in the Republic of Tuva. Altai-Tuvans and Altai-Uriankhai Mongolians essentially share the same musical environment. In consequence, Dao-er-jia-la & Zhou-ji (1985 and 1990) treated Altai-Tuvans and Altai-Uriankhai Mongolians as “Oirat-Mongolians,” and the statements on the books above mentioned are lumped the both all together. Video-CDs of *šoor* performances are now available, but only at the local gift shops. The names of Altai-Tuvan musical instrument in western Mongolia are based on my filed trip to the region conducted in May 2002.

6. The name of Tuvans, once integrated in the Altai-Uriankhai *aymak*, does not settle the question of a proper form of address. Here, I offer the name “Altai-Tuvans” tentatively. The territory where the Altai-Tuvans settled ranged from the present-day Kazakhstan (East Kazakhstan Province), Mongolia (Bayan-Ölgii, Khovd, and Uvs Provinces), and XUA (Altai Prefecture). This appellation was basically borrowed from Taube (2008:280-281) and Mawkanuli (2005:4), but embraces a wider collective, whose members speak a Tuvan of the Altai Mountains dialect (note 2). Mawkanuli also names them “Jungar Tuvan,” though this is narrower representation of the Chinese side (Mawkanuli 2005:1-2). Furthermore, the exonym of Jungar Tuvan may mislead readers to connect with them with the Dzungarian Basin, which few hundred kilometers south from their territory. “Tsengel-Tuvan” (Taube 2008:266) and “Khovd Tuvan” (Taube 2008:280), on the other hand, are the counterparts in Mongolia. The present situation of the Altai Tuvans in Kazakhstan is not reported so far. See also notes 1, 2, 3, and 7.

7. After the conquest of the Dzungar Empire, the Qing dynasty reorganized Altai-Uriankhai *aymak* or province under the Qing's banner system in 1757 or sometime later (Todoriki 2008: 4–5; Todoriki 2009:215–217; Todoriki 2010:264–273). There were two other “Uriankhai” *aymaks*: Tannu-Uriankhai, roughly corresponding to the present-day Republic of Tuva ((Todoriki 2008; 2009; 2010), and Altai-Nuur Uriankhai (or Altan-Nuur Uriankhai), roughly corresponding to the present-day Republic of Altai, RF.

8. *Ren* 人, literally “person, people,” is a rather conventional ethnic group compared to *zu* 族, which is an official ethnicity in China.

9. *Dība*, *Dīwa*, and so on, are identical to *Tīva*, the self-designation of locals of the Tuva Republic. The ethnonym of *tīva*, which suggests (Southern-) Samoyedic origins (Hajdú 1950:76–78, 98–100; Joki 1952:28–29), is considered identical to *Dou-bo* 都波 (in Old Chinese *To-pua*) in *Bei-shi Tie-le yun* 北史·鐵勒傳 (659 AD) and *Sui-shu Tie-le yun* 隋書·鐵勒傳 (629–636 AD), to *Dou-bo* 都播 (in Old Chinese *To-puat*) in *Jiu Tang-shu Tie-le yun* 舊唐書·鐵勒傳 (945 AD) and *Xin Tang-shu Hui-[gu/hu] yun* 新唐書·回鶻傳 (1060 AD), and to *Tuba* 秃巴 in *Yuan-chao mi-shi* 元朝秘史 (13th–14th centuries), considering the locations and the neighboring ethnonyms of these terms. The Altai-Tuvans in XUA widely accepted *mončak* as an exonym that originated from the Kazakh word *monšaq* or necklace (Krippes 1994:78), since they wore the *kök monšaq* or blue-beaded necklace worn by Tibetan Buddhists (e.g., Matsubara 1993a:7). Although *Monchak*, *Monchok*, *Monchog*, and other similar words, are exonyms, one of the seven banners of Altai-Uriankhai was called *Mončak Gožuun* (R1) (Fig. 1 and note 4) by the Tuvans themselves. In this regard, Enwall is critical of the Kazakh origin of *mončak* and offers a long discussion on its etymology (Enwall 2005:100–101). However, the earliest report on *Kök-Monchak* by Potanin in the late 19th century states that “the Kirgiz (meaning Kazakh) called it “Kok-munchak” (which means “blue bead” in the Kirgiz language)” (Potanin 1881:9). According to this report, the Kazakh origin of the exonym is quite firmly established. Additionally, *Mončak Gožuun* was also known as *Dīwa Gožuun* (Tuvan Banner), and the ethnonym *Monchak* has been partially assimilated through self-designation by the local Tuvans (Matsubara 1995:20). Therefore, Enwall's surmise could not be accepted. See also notes 1, 2, and 3.

10. There are even tetra-/pentalinguals with Chinese and sometimes Uyghur.

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GEOSTRATEGY

ABILOV, Shamkhal**Historical Development of the Azerbaijan Oil Industry and the Role of Azerbaijan in Today's European Energy Security**

Azerbaijan is one of the birthplaces of the oil industry and one of the first countries where people learned how to produce oil and use it for medicinal and household needs. The earliest exploration of oil in the Apsheron Peninsula goes back approximately to the 7th century BC. Beginning in the 5th century BC, oil was lifted from wells in leather buckets.¹ The information about the oil production in the Apsheron Peninsula had found its reflection also in the manuscripts of the Arabic and Iranian authors such as Ibn Miskaveykh (10th c.), Abu Dulaf (10th c.), Yakut al-Khamavi (13th c.), Khamdullakh Gazvini (14th c.) and others.² The early use of oil in Azerbaijan was similar to the use of oil in America and in the Middle East during ancient times — mainly used for home, construction, medicinal and military purposes. Dg. Dyuket illustrates the first use of oil in Baku as:

"One can observe a strange occurrence near the town - striking quantity of acid refined oil rises here which is popular in the remote part of Persia; it serves for illumination of houses throughout the country. This acid refined oil is black and called 'oil'. It is transported throughout the country on mules and donkeys that can frequently be met in caravans of 400-500 at the same time. Near the above mentioned Baku city there is also another kind of oil, of white and very valuable, and it is assumed that it is the same what we call petroleum".³

Considering the ancient past of the emerging oil industry in Azerbaijan, this research paper aims at scrutinizing the historical development of the oil industry: from its very onset to the contemporary period. Hence I outline the structure of the paper according to the following periodization: from the middle of the 19th century until the end of the Soviet Union; Azerbaijan after independence and the second oil boom – massive inflow of foreign investment (1991-1994); contemporary international oil and gas deals/projects (1994 up until our days).

After the independence, Azerbaijan put forward an independent energy policy, which has been a central factor in an uneasy competition among regional as well as global actors. Hereby the ever

¹ Farid Alakbarov, "Baku: City that Oil Built", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2002 (10.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai102_folder/102_articles/102_overview_alakbarov.html). Accessed on 10 September 2010.

² "Oil Industry of Azerbaijan", *Caspian Energy*; (http://www.old.caspenergy.com/19/oilindustry_e.html). Accessed on 10 September 2010.

³ Ibid, "Oil Industry of Azerbaijan".

increasing global significance of oil and gas has driven the very interests of international powers. Tapping to Azerbaijani energy resources has become particularly important for the European Union, questing for secure energy routes to overcome Russian monopoly. In this sense, the paper concentrates also on the EU-Azerbaijan relationship in the energy field as well as on the analysis of the role of Azerbaijan in the energy security of Europe.

Early history of oil in Azerbaijan

The history of Azerbaijan and its capital Baku is linked with oil from ancient times. Even in the third millennium BC, people of this territory were aware of the value of oil. Charle van der Leeuw, in his book "Oil and Gas in the Causasus and Caspian: a history", writes:

"Oil and its uses were also known on the Western Caspian shore well before the coming of Alexander the Great, who managed to defeat the masse armies of the Persian emperor Darius III thanks to the governor of the then Persian province of present-day eastern Azerbaijan".⁴

Oil and fire have been a defining force in Azerbaijan for thousands of years and important symbols of Zoroastrianism, a "fire worshipping"⁵. If we look at the history of the Zoroastrian religion and Baku as one of the centres of this religion, we can easily understand the history of oil and its use in Azerbaijan. Natiq Aliyev, in his article "The History of Oil in Azerbaijan", in this sense, cogently puts:

"The Absheron Peninsula was famous for its eternal fires - the underground fire gases rising to the earth's surface. Zoroaster established fire worshipping and Baku became one of the most sacred sanctuaries. People from throughout the world wished to visit and bow before the eternal flame. In the Baku region there were three cult hearts or "Temple of Fire" - one in Surakhany, another at Pirallahy Island, and the third one at Shubanu Mountain".⁶

Even though there were a lot of memories about the first use of oil in Baku in ancient times, the first reliable information of the extraction of oil for commercial exploitation dates back to the 7th or 8th century.

⁴ Charle van der Leeuw, *Oil and Gas in the Caucasus and Caspian: A History*, (Great Britain, Curzon Press, 2000), p. 29.

⁵ Note: Zoroastrianism is one of the world's oldest monotheistic religions. Founded by the Prophet Zoroaster (or Zarathustra) in ancient Iran approximately 3500 years ago, it has been one of the most powerful religions of the world for more than 1000 years. Between 600 BCE and 650 CE it was the official religion of ancient Persian Empire. Today it is one of the smallest religions of the world. According to the *New York Times* reports of 2006 estimated number of Zoroastrian believers is approximately 190,000 worldwide. Zoroastrians believe there is one God called Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord) and He created the world. Zoroastrians are not fire-worshippers, it is wrong interpretation, but they believe that fire is pure and it represents God's light or wisdom. The Zoroastrian book of Holy Scriptures is called *The Avesta*; (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/zoroastrian/>). Accessed on 10 September 2010.

⁶ Natiq Aliyev, "The History of Oil in Azerbaijan" *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 1994 (2.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/22_folder/22_articles/22_historyofoil.html). Accessed on 10 September 2010.

At that time, oil was extracted primarily by very primitive and natural ways.⁷ According to historical data, in the 10th century hand-made oil wells were already being dug in Absheron Peninsula with an average depth of 10-12 meters. Iranian Muslim philosopher Abul Hasan Ali Al-Masu'di during his visit to Baku in 915, writes:

*“Vessels sail to Baka (Baku) and (there is) a spring of white naphta and other (kinds) and there is not in the world-and Allah is the most knowing - white naphta except in this spot, and it is (on) the shore of the kingdom of Sharvan (Shirvan), and in this naphta-district (Nafata) there are chimneys (i.e., craters or vents) which are sources of fire which cease not to burn”.*⁸

The well-known Venetian traveler Marco Polo during his travel from Europe to the Far East, along the ancient Silk Route in 13th century, also notes the use of oil in Baku. According to him, oil was considered as a remedy for skin diseases in men and cattle. He also mentioned that oil was used for burning and illuminating, and exported to the neighboring countries. He describes this in his memo:

*“Near the Georgian border there is a spring from which gushes a stream of oil, in such abundance that a hundred ships may load there at once. This oil is not good to eat; but it is good for burning and as a salve for men and camels affected with itch or scab. Men come from a long distance to fetch this oil, and in all the neighborhood no other oil is burnt but this”.*⁹

According to the historical notes of the Azerbaijani geographer Abd ar-Rashid Bakuvi during the 14th and 15th century approximately 200 camel bales of oil were exported from Baku every day.¹⁰

In his book about Persia, published in 1543, the Venetian traveller Giosafat Barbaro illustrates the oil production in Baku:

*“Upon this side of the sea there is another city called Bachu (Baku), whereof the sea of Bachu taketh name, near unto which city there is a mountain that casteth forth black oil, stinking horrible, which they, nevertheless, use for furnishing of their light and for anointing of their camels twice a year. For if they were not anointed they would become scabby”.*¹¹

⁷ Ibid, Natiq Aliyev.

⁸ Bülent Gökay, “History of Oil Development in the Caspian Basin”, in Michael P. Croissant, Bülent Aras ed., *Oil and Geopolitics in the Caspian Sea Region*, (USA, Praeger Publishers, 1999), p. 4.

⁹ Marco Polo & Ronald Latham, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, (London, Penguin Classics, 1958), p. 48.

¹⁰ Ibid, Farid Alakbarov.

¹¹ Ibid, Bülent Gökay, “History of Oil Development in the Caspian Basin”.

Nevertheless, the first detailed description about the oil industry in Baku came from the memory of the Secretary of Swedish Embassy to Persia (Iran) Engelbert Kempfer in 1683. Referring to his memo, Farid Alakbarov notes in his article:

*“Baku: City that Oil Built” that, “the oil wells there were up to 27 meters deep, with walls covered in limestone or wood. During this period, Baku oil was already being exported to Russia and other countries in Eastern Europe.....Surakhani, a village alone not far from Baku, between 2,700 kg to 3,000 kg of oil was extracted daily for export. This quantity filled 80 carriages carrying 8 oil bags each”.*¹²

According to historical estimations, there were approximately 500 wells drilled in the Apsheron Peninsula at the beginning of the 17th century. Azerbaijani historian Miryusif Mirbabayev writes that oil in many European and North American countries between the 15th and 17th century was extracted in a primitive way, “a tissue was lowered inside superficial wells and lakes, and then, it was squeezed to get oil to leak into vessels”, but at the same time the people of the Baku region already were aware of how to dig oil wells and extract oil using horse traction. The depth of the wells at that time, were around 20 meters.¹³

In his memory a Turkish scientist and traveler, also gave information about the Baku oil in the second half of the 17th century. According to him:

“People extracting the oil are descending inside the wells: they extract oil day and night by accumulating it into cylinder-shaped vessels made from goatskin. Oil is found in eight colors, but the best oil is yellow colored oil”.

He writes that the extracted oil was transported to the neighboring countries, such as; Uzbekistan, Persia, Georgia and used for lighting and military purpose.¹⁴

At the eve of the 19th century an English missionary to the region John Cartwright wrote down:

“Concerning Bachu, it is a very ancient Hauen town, very commodious for ships to harbor in, as also profitable to vent commodities, by reason that Ardouill, Tauris, Eres, Sumachia, and Derbent, lie not many days thence. Near unto this town, is a very strange and wonderful Fountain under ground, out of which there springeth and issueth a marvelous quantity of black oil, which seroeth all parts of Persia to burne in their houses; and they visually carry it all over

¹² Ibid, Farid Alakbarov.

¹³ Miryusif Mirbabayev, Concise History of Azerbaijani Oil, (Baku, 2010), p. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid, Miryusif Mirbabayev, p. 9.

the country upon Kine and Asses, whereof you shall oftentimes meet three or four hundred in company".¹⁵

However, despite these facts, the methods used for the extraction of oil were very primitive, mainly hand dug wells drilled in shallow depths during those times and the drilling of oil by industrial methods was witnessed from the second half of the 19th century.

Otkupchina lease system and drilling the first oil well by industrial methods in oil's world history

With the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, the historical Azerbaijani territory witnessed a period of feudal fragmentation and divided into small independent units, which were called *khanates* in Azerbaijani historiography and regulated by the Khan. As the result of this fragmentation, the oil property of the Baku region became a direct ownership of the Khan. This situation came to an end in 1806, with the occupation of the Baku Khanate by Tsarist Russia. As the result of Russian intervention all properties of the Khan were transferred to the Tzar. Following this, royal monopoly was created and the so-called otkupchina lease system was applied to the oil industry by the Russian government, which means the monopolization of oil production by individuals. According to the otkupchina lease system, the Russian government granted the Apsheron oil wells to different lease out holders, who had no any intention than to extract as much oil as possible. This grant was given for certain time period, usually between 4-8 years with a special contract under the direct control of the government.¹⁶ According to Miryusif Mirbabayev:

"This Contract gave guarantees to the lease-out holder for almost everything: manpower for digging and repairing wells; dredging oil out of wells and its transportation to the city warehouses; as well as the right to dig and search new sources of oil. In his turn, the lease-out holder had to pay large sums for the extraction of Baku oil in conformity with the concluded Contract".¹⁷

The first lease out holder of Baku oil wells was the secretary of province, eighteen years old M.M. Tarumov, from the occupation of Baku in 1806 and the last one was I.M. Mirzoyev from 1860 until the end of otkupchina lease system in 1872.¹⁸

As the result of this system, in the oil industry in the first half of the 19th century, there was no competition between the oil companies and every four year the producers were faced with the risk of

¹⁵ James Lawson Chapman, "The Modern Great Game in Central Asia", Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography, The University of Montana, Missoula, MT, Autumn 2006; p. 9.

¹⁶ Richard Ryan Weber, "Power to the Petrol: How the Baku Oil Industry Made Labor Strikes and Mass Politics Possible in the Russian Empire (and beyond)", Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Columbia University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, May 2010; p. 9.

¹⁷ Ibid, Miryusif Mirbabayev, p. 11.

¹⁸ Ibid, Miryusif Mirbabayev, p. 11.

losing their entire investment, since there was no any guarantee that they would be granted again with a contract by the Russian government. Consequently, investors were intended to get back their money in a short time period of time, hence they tried to extract as much as oil possible.

*“The only practical method to achieve this was to maximize short-term profits, which entailed a variety of techniques and practices, such as drilling primarily for gushers and failing to properly isolate boreholes, that had detrimental effects on the longevity of individual wells”.*¹⁹

Following this, the annual production of oil had not changed in the first half of the 19th century and demand began to decrease. The estimated production was 250-30 poods (4–5 thousand tons). The number of oil wells was 116 in 1813, then 125 in 1825, 120 in 1850, and only 218 in 1860.²⁰

As I mentioned before, oil development and extraction of oil in Azerbaijan by industrial means began in the second half of the 19th century when Baku was transformed into the biggest oil field of the Tsarist Empire. In July 1847, the first viceroy of the Caucasus, Prince Mikhail S. Vorontsov wrote to Vronchenko, the Russian State Secretary that:

*“I authorized new oil exploration in the Bibi-Eibat section, Baku District, on the Caspian Sea coast, by means of earth drills, and used 1,000 rubles allocated by you for this purpose. In consequence, the director of the Baku and Shirvan mineral fields has reported that oil was found in a well drilled at Bibi-Eibat”.*²¹

In 1848, engineer Alekseev, eleven years prior to the striking of the first oil wells in United States on August 27, 1859 by "Colonel" Edwin L. Drake near Titusville, Pennsylvania, drilled a 21 meter deep well using industrial equipment in Bibi-Heybat oil field under the supervision of state advisor V.N. Semyonov. This event is considered the starting point of industrial oil extraction in Azerbaijan as well as in the whole world.²² In December 1863, Javad Melikov built a first kerosene plant in the city of Baku and used cooling stations in the refining process for the first time in history.²³

Later, however, no any serious step was taken in increasing the oil production and the development of industrial technology, because the Russian government had supported the otkupchina lease system in oil industry, which prevented mass exploration of the oil fields in Baku until 1872. Prior to this, the

¹⁹ Ibid, Richard Ryan Weber, p. 12.

²⁰ “Baku Oil: Pre-Industrial Period”, *UsakPedia*, (http://www.usakpedia.com/content/Baku_Oil:_Pre-Industrial_Period). Accessed on 12 September.

²¹ Bülent Gökay, “The Background: History and Poitical Change”, in Bülent Gökay ed., *The Politics of Caspian Oil*, (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 4.

²² Ibid, Bülent Gökay, “The Background: History and Poitical Change”, p. 4.

²³ Robert W. Tolf, *The Russian Rockefellers: The Saga of the Nobel Family and the Russian Oil Industry*, (U.S Hoover Institution Press, February 1982), p. 44.

opponents of the otkupchina lease system, mainly businessmen and technical experts, such as V.A. Kokorev and the well-known scholar in chemistry Dimitri Mendeleev, insisted on the abolishment of this system. According to them, the free enterprise in oil production was the only adequate way for the development of the petroleum industry. The year 1872 was considered the year of dramatic changes in oil development technology and abolishment of otkupchina lease system, which let the local entrepreneurs and foreign investors to extract oil in the Baku region. With the end of the monopoly system the oil fields of Baku were sold to private individuals under auction.²⁴

The first oil boom in Azerbaijan

With the abolishment of the otkupchina lease system in 1872, Baku was transformed into a huge industrial center of Russia and gained a reputation as the "Oil Capital of the World" with the investment of foreign oil companies and local oil barons. As mentioned earlier, the abolishment of the lease system, the oil industry was declared free and oil fields were given to individuals by auctions, for which they paid only once. That year marked the beginning of oil drilling on a massive scale and increase of industrial production in the Russian oil sector. The new owners of oil fields immediately applied American techniques and methods to the drilling process of oil extraction, which led to the development of oil industry at great rate. The crude oil of Baku, which was successfully processed in domestic refineries, began to compete on the world market with the illuminating and lubricating products that were exported from the United States.²⁵

Starting from 1872, the last three decades of the 19th century witnessed an increase of the output of the oil industry in Azerbaijan of more than 170 times. In 1897, production was equal to the oil production in the United States; a year later it overtook that of the United States.²⁶ At the end of the 19th century, fundamental changes had happened in the Azerbaijani oil industry and Azerbaijan became the largest oil producing country in the world. At the turn of the century, beginning from 1898 up to 1902, more than 50% of the entire world's oil production, and 95% of Russian oil was produced in Baku.²⁷ Comparing the development of the Azerbaijani oil production after 1872 until 1902 with the oil production in United States Richard Ryan Weber mentions:

"In 1873, the United States oil industry produced 7 million barrels of crude oil from over 1,000 wells within the 9 square mile area of Pennsylvania's Oil Creek valley. That same year, the Baku oil industry produced less than 400,000 barrels of crude, and featured only a handful of drilled wells scattered across 10 square miles on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Three decades later, in

²⁴ John P. McKay, "Baku Oil and Transcaucasian Pipelines, 1883-1891: A Study in Tsarist Economic Policy", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4, Winter 1984, pp. 606-607.

²⁵ *Ibid*, John P. McKay.

²⁶ Garskova I & Akhanchi P, "Discrimination in the Labour Market in the Baku Oil Industry (Late Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century)"; (http://www.hist.msu.ru/Labour/Article/Moscow_congress.htm). Accessed on 12 September 2010.

²⁷ Bulent Gokay, "Caspian Uncertainties: Regional Rivalries and Pipelines", *Perceptions, Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, Num. 1, March-May 1998.

1901, the US industry had increased its output almost tenfold to 69 million barrels of annual production....same year, Baku produced an astonishing 85 million barrels of crude oil from 1,840 active wells, and enlarged its area as well....From 1898 until 1902, the Apsheron Peninsula in the Russian province of Transcaucasia, on which Baku was situated, produced the majority of the world's petroleum products".²⁸

However, beginning from the first years of the 20th century the Azerbaijan oil industry suffered from political turbulence that spread all over Russia, culminating with the Russian revolution of 1905. The disastrous war between Russia and Japan in 1904-05,²⁹ ethnic conflict throughout Caucasus, increase of world oil production³⁰, and later in the second decade of the 20th century, with the outbreak of World War I and revolutionary change in the Russian government in 1917 were those factors that led to the decline of the oil production of Azerbaijan.³¹ Concerning the Russo-Japanese war and the 1905 strike Manfred Weissenbacher writes in his book,

"The economic crisis during this conflict further increased the tensions between two social groups working in the Azerbaijani oil industry: on the one hand, Muslim Azeris and Persians, and on the other hand, their Armenian employers....When strikes and riots erupted all over Russia in 1905....oil fields were set on fire, and over half the oil installations were destroyed".³²

The international oil crisis between 1901 and 1903 reduced the demand of oil. The number of refineries decreased from 91 to 86 and only 57 of them remained functional. The damage to the oil industry of Baku resulting from the fires of the 1905 strike is estimated at 19,500,000 rubles.³³ Hence, Russia did no longer take part in the increase of the worldwide production. The occupation of Azerbaijan by the Soviet Empire in 1920 and its nationalization policy brought an end to most foreign investors and the oil barons were forced to leave the country.³⁴

²⁸ Ibid, Richard Ryan Weber, p.1.

²⁹ "Oil Barons of Baku, 1901-1905", *Far Outliers*, 4 August 2006; (<http://faroutliers.wordpress.com/2006/08/04/oil-barons-of-baku-1901-1905/>). Accessed on 12 September 2010.

³⁰ "Attitudes of Major Soviet Nationalities", *Center for International Studies' Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, Vol. 3, June 1973.

³¹ Nazim Rza Israfiloglu, *Neft Qlobal Münaqişələr mənbəyi (Oil as a Source of Global Conflicts)*, (Bakı, Şərq-Qərb, 2009), p. 102.

³² Manfred Weissenbacher, *Sources of Power: How Energy Forges Human History*, (U.S, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009), p. 370.

³³ Firouzed Mostashari, "Development of Caspian oil in Historical Perspective", in Hooshang Amirahmadi ed., *The Caspian Region at a Crossroad: Challenges of a New Frontier of Energy and Development*, (U.S, Palgrave Macmillan, 10 June 2000); pp. 98-99.

³⁴ Khoshbakht Yusifzade, "The Development of the Oil and Gas Industry in Azerbaijan", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 1996 (4.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/42_folder/42_articles/42_socarkhoshbakht.html). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

Foreign companies and local oil barons

As mentioned earlier, during the last three decades of the 19th century, the Russian oil industry began to attract considerably interest from foreign companies and local investors and Baku became the energy-industrial capital of the world, thanks to the abolishment of the otkupchina lease system. The flow of foreign capital to Azerbaijan began with the arrival of the Nobel brothers, which was followed by the Rothschild investment in the Baku oil industry. Except them, the finance of the native bourgeoisie also played a crucial role in the oil fortunes of Azerbaijan.

Branobel (Nobel Brothers Oil Company) or Russian "Rockefeller": While talking about Azerbaijani oil in the 19th century, it is impossible not to draw the attention to the investment of the Nobel brothers, which was considered a revolutionary beginning of the Russian oil industry. The foundation of the Branobel oil company took place after the visit of Robert Nobel to Baku in 1873. He was the eldest son of Immanuel Nobel, the Swedish inventor, who moved to Russia in 1837 and created an industrial company for underwater mines. After the death of Immanuel Nobel, his second son, Ludwig Nobel was running the company. The company signed a huge contract with the Russian government for manufacturing rifles. For the provisioning of wood for rifle stock with domestic supply Ludwig Nobel sent his brother Robert to the Caucasus in order to search for Russian walnut. His arrival to Baku in 1873 coincided with the abolishment of the lease system and the period of oil development in the Baku oil sector. Daniel Yergin describes that period as follows:

"During that period the recent oil development had begun to bring great change to Baku; and Robert, immediately on his arrival in Baku, was caught up in the favor. Without consulting his brother — after all, he was the eldest and, therefore, held certain prerogatives — Robert took the twenty-five thousand rubles that Ludwig had entrusted to him for buying wood — the "walnut money" — and instead bought a small refinery".³⁵

This event was the first step by which Nobel investment penetrated the oil industry of Azerbaijan. The Branobel oil company was created on May 25, 1879. The founders of the company were the three sons of Immanuel Nobel: Ludwig, Robert, and Alfred. The total capital asset of the company was three million rubles. Prior to the 1890s the Branobel company was producing 17.7 % of Russian and 8.6% of world oil output, which played a significant role in the Russian oil industry for being the world's first country in the oil production at the turn of the century, between 1898 and 1902.³⁶ The flaw of the Nobel investment to Baku was considered a revolutionary change in the Russian oil industry. They introduced technological revolution in oil extraction, refinement, and transportation; they developed the first pipelines between oil

³⁵ Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, & Power*, (U.S, Free Press, 1 January 1993), p. 58.

³⁶ Lyubov Zheltova, "The Tsaritsyn Heritage of the Nobel Brothers", *OIL OF RUSSIA*, Num. 4, 2007; (<http://www.oilru.com/or/33/643/>). Accessed on 15 september 2010.

fields and refineries and the first steam-powered tankers for oil transportation.³⁷ In this regard, the famous Russian scholar Dimitri Mendeleev estimated the existence of the Branobel company in the oil industry of Russia as, “the Branobel Company, which began its large-scale activity only recently, has today expanded it to proportions unparalleled in our industry”.³⁸

For reducing the transportation cost the Branobel Company built a first oil tanker in the world oil history. The tanker called Zoroaster bearing the name of the ancient prophet of Zoroastrainism in the region and was built in Sweden at the Motall Shipbuilding Factory in 1877 following the design of Ludwig Nobel.³⁹ With the steel body, the tanker was 184 feet long, 27 feet wide, and 9 feet immersion. The capacity of it was 15,000 poods of kerosine.⁴⁰ After Zoroaster Ludwig Nobel ordered more tankers of the same design, which were called Buddha and Nordenskjöld. Following the success of the first tankers, the Branobel Company built an entire fleet of tankers in the Caspian Sea, which turned Baku into one of the world’s most busy port cities. According to Robert W. Tolf:

*“In November 1880 Ludwig ordered a new type of tanker which utilized the shell — the skin of the vessel itself — as the wall of the bulk cargo hold. The hold of kerosene completely filled the storage area from side to side and clear up to the deck....the ship was christened Moses and within a year of its launching Ludwig ordered seven more vessels of the same design for delivery in seven to eight month. They were named Mohammed, Tatarin, Bramah, Spinoza, Socrates, Darwin, Koran, Talmut, and Calmuck...fitting tribute to the richness of Caucasian history....”*⁴¹

In 1878 the Branobel Company built a pipeline connecting the Balakhani oil fields with the oil refinery in Baku, which reduced the expense of transportation by five times and paid for itself within a single year. It was 12 km long with pipes 75 mm in diameter. By the end of 1898 there were 230 km of pipes with an annual throughput of one million tons of oil.⁴²

Another event that the Branobel Company made was the transportation of Baku oil to Russia. Before the foundation of the Branobel Company, despite the vast energy resources of the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century, it was difficult to transport it to the regions of the empire due to lack of infrastructure. For example, until 1880 Tbilisi was just 340 miles West of Baku, but relied on kerosene imports from the US.⁴³ Before 1874, the kerosine and crude oil of Baku were transported to Russia mainly

³⁷ Douglas Frantz, “Baku Journal; How the Nobels Made a Prize of Baku”, *The New York Times*, 3 February 2001; (<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/02/03/world/baku-journal-how-the-nobels-made-a-prize-of-baku.html>). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

³⁸ Ibid, Lyubov Zheltova.

³⁹ Natig Aliyev, “The History of Oil in Azerbaijan”, *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 1994 (2.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/22_folder/22_articles/22_historyofoil.html). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

⁴⁰ Ibid, Lyubov Zheltova.

⁴¹ Ibid, Robert W. Tolf, pp. 55-56.

⁴² Nasib Nassibli, “The Independent Azerbaijan's Oil Policy”, Lecture at the University of California at Berkeley, 15 April 1998; (<http://www.zerbaijan.com/azeri/nasibzade1.html>). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

⁴³ Ibid, Richard Ryan Weber, p. 51.

by cart in wooden barrels holding 25 poods, which was more expensive than transporting it from the United States. The barrels cost from 10 to 12 rubles and the leakage was great.⁴⁴ For that reason Ludwig offered the railroad tank cars for the transportation of the Baku oil to Petersburg. These cars were put on the Gryaze-Tsaritsyn railroad and by 1881 Baku oil was delivered to Petersburg by train for the first time.⁴⁵ The construction of the Transcaucasus railroad in 1883 between Baku and Batumi was another effective access for the transportation of the Baku oil to the domestic and world market.

It is interesting that the Nobel Prize, the most prestigious award in the world, is related to the oil fields in Baku. The Prize was established in 1901 after the death of Alfred Nobel, via the execution of his will. The wealth of Alfred Nobel was valued 31 million Swedish crowns coming from his 12 percent share of the Nobel Brothers Petroleum Company and his earnings from the dynamite invention.⁴⁶ But despite its long history and deep heritage in Baku the Branobel Company came to an end after World War I. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 forced the foreign companies to shut down and their properties were confiscated. Following this, the Nobel family began to flee to Stockholm, after loosing their Russian assets to the Bolsheviks. After the occupation of Baku by the Soviet Empire, half of the Branobel Oil Company's shares were sold to Standard Oil of New Jersey.⁴⁷

The Caspian-Black Sea Oil Company or BNITO: The Rothschild family was one of the prominent foreign investors in the Baku oil industry after the abolishment of the otkupchina lease system. The penetration of Rothschild investment was due to financing the construction of the Transcaucasian railroad in 1879 in order to transport oil from Baku to the Black Sea port of Batum in Georgia and later to the world market.⁴⁸ As stated above, due to the lack of infrastructure, the transportation of the Baku oil to the world market was extremely difficult. In this sense, building the Transcaucasus railroad was in the interest of the Russian government and added another dimension to the oil industry of Russia. Firouzed Mostashari comments this as follows:

"The Russian administrations of the Caucasus were among the promoter of the railways across the region. The Grant Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich, viceroy of the Caucasus (1863-1881), saw railroads as a means of solidifying Russian control over the Caucasus....The region drawn more to its Persian and Turkish neighbors than to Russia, and in the event of a war, like Crimean War, the absence of railroads to provide troop transportation would have proven disastrous for Russia.

⁴⁴ Mira Wilkins, *European foreign investments as seen by the U.S. Department of Commerce*, (U.S, Arno Press, 1977), p. 25.

⁴⁵ Ibid, Lyubov Zheltova.

⁴⁶ Fuad Akhundov, "Legacy of the Oil Barons: Part II, The "Greening" of Baku by the Nobel Brothers", *Azerbaijan International*, Autumn 1994 (2.3); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/23_folder/23_articles/23_oilbarons.html). Accessed on 15 september 2010.

⁴⁷ Brita Asbrink, "The Nobels in Baku: Swedes' Role in Baku's First Oil Boom", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2002 (10.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai102_folder/102_articles/102_nobels_asbrink.html). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

⁴⁸ "Georgia's Oil and Gas Potential: Georgia as a Traditional Transit Country for Azeri Energy Resources", Report prepared by Transparency International Georgia, June 2008; p. 6.

So, Nikolaevich argued, connecting the region to Russia via rail was not only in the interest of the Caucasus economy, but also served Russia's strategic interests".⁴⁹

In this regard, on June 1878, the plan was made to connect the oil fields of Baku to the Transcaucasian Railroad. The construction was completed in 1883 and the railroad was put in service in the same year. This event ended the Branobel transportation monopoly and facilitated the access of the Baku oil to the world market.⁵⁰

During the 1880s, the Rothschilds made large-scale investments in production assets and refineries in the Baku oil industry. In 1886, the Rothschilds established the Caspian-Black Sea Oil Company or BNITO. By the end of 1890s, the Company was controlling 42% of the Baku oil export.⁵¹ Lately the company signed an agreement with the British entrepreneurs Markus Samuel, an Englishman of Jewish origin who later founded Shell, in order to export the Baku oil from Batumi to British and Dutch East Indies through the Suez Canal. Beginning from the 1880s, due to the increase of Russian oil export to the European market, Rockefeller, the head of Standard Oil Company, began to act aggressively in order to diminish the role of Russian oil. He began a campaign of price reduction, a traditional way that Standard Oil used in the United States to force its competitors out of business. The signing of an agreement with Marcus Samuel for selling Baku oil in the Far East, where Standard's dominance was also overwhelming, was a counter-attack made by the Rothschild family. The idea of Samuel was to build an oil tanker with sophisticated engineering and to get an allowance for passing it through the Suez Canal. Traditionally the trade vessels from Europe to Asia were sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. Passing through the Suez Canal would shorten transport routes and put them ahead of Standard Oil. In the end he was successful in realizing his idea and in 1892 the first oil tanker, built according to Samuel's design, sailed from Batum to the Far East.⁵² According to a report prepared by Transparency International Georgia:

"In spite of the limitations on navigation existing in the Suez Canal, with the support of his friends at the British Court, he gained the privilege to transport the oil by tankers through this canal and ordered the first double-hulled ocean tanker. In the Batumi port, the first such tanker appeared in 1892. It was called Murex. Until that time, only the oil of the American oil magnate Rockefeller was being sold in Southeast Asia".⁵³

Following this, Marcus Samuel founded the Shell Oil Company on October 18, 1897 in Baku. The Company owned 30 ocean-going ships and more than 340 oil terminals that were situated between Baku

⁴⁹ Ibid, Firouzed Mostashari, p. 95.

⁵⁰ Ibid, Firouzed Mostashari, p. 95.

⁵¹ "History of Development of Oil Industry", Azerbaijan.Az; (http://www.azerbaijan.az/Economy/OilStrategy/oilStrategy_02_e.html). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

⁵² Leonardo Maugeri, *The Age of Oil: The Mythology, History, and Future of the World's Most Controversial Resource*, (U.S, PRAEGER, 2006), p. 12.

⁵³ Ibid, Transparency International Georgia.

and Shanghai. Furthermore, prior to the 20th century more than 11% of the Baku oil field's management were controlled by British producers. In 1907, Shell and Royal Dutch companies were merged into the international trust Royal Dutch Shell under the leadership of Henry Deterding in order to compete with the US competitors. The output of Royal Dutch Shell up to 1914 from the Baku oil fields was 57 million pounds.⁵⁴ Transportation of the Baku oil to the Far East was one of the most important reasons that increased the Russian position in the oil export to the world market. In 1900, the oil production worldwide had reached nearly 430,000 barrels per day (bpd). Russia was producing more than 50%, around 200,000 bpd, with the United States delivering less than Russia, around 165,000 bpd. However, as aforementioned after few years due to political turmoil in Russia the oil production decreased there and the United States had dramatically jumped ahead, reaching 370,000 bpd, more than twice the Caucasian production.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the construction of the Transcaucasus railroad was not sufficient for the transportation of the Baku oil to the world market. For this reason, an American businessman in Russia, Herbert Twedle, together with his Russian business partner Lieutenant Khanykov put forward an offer to the Russian ministry of finance for the construction of a pipeline that would connect Baku with the Black Sea port Batum. The minister of state affairs M.N. Ostrovskii wrote to the minister of finance in January 1884, that the Transcaucasian railroad was not enough for the transportation of the Baku oil. Moreover, one of the main reasons of the current crisis in the oil sector was due to the lack of cheap transportation infrastructure for the transportation of oil to foreign markets and this factor did not allow the Russian producer to compete with US oil companies in the world markets. Three years later, in April 1887, the committee of ministers of the Russian government approved the project for the construction of Trans-Caucasian pipeline. In May 1887, a member of the Russian Physics-Chemistry Society I.P. Ilimov was granted the construction of the pipeline. Nevertheless, because of bureaucratic difficulties the construction of the pipeline was postponed until the first decade of the 20th century.⁵⁶

The construction of the largest pipeline in the world of that period, with a length of 560 miles, was completed from Baku to Batumi on the Black Sea Coast in 1905. The construction cost amounted to \$17,000,000. It had an 8-inch pipe and 19 pumping stations. While crossing on the Suram Mountains it reached 2,480 feet high above the level of the Black Sea. The pipeline capacity was estimated around 60,000,000 poods of oil per year, but the maximum amount of oil pumped through it was 27,700,000 poods in 1908.⁵⁷

In general, until 1917 the total amount of foreign investment in the Baku oil industry was estimated at 111 million rubles. 60% of the oil production and 75% of the trade in oil product in Russia was managed by foreign companies. According to historical data, until 1920 foreign businessmen from Great Britain, France, USA, Sweden, and Germany owned approximately 70% of the Baku oil industry. However, as

⁵⁴ Miryusif Mirbabayev, "Baku Baron Days: Foreign Investment in Azerbaijan's Oil", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2004 (12.2). (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai122_folder/122_articles/122_foreign_investment.html). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

⁵⁵ Ibid, Leonardo Maugeri, p. 13.

⁵⁶ Ibid, Firouzed Mostashari, p. 96.

⁵⁷ Ibid, Mira Wilkins, p. 28.

mentioned above the Russian revolution of 1917 at the end of World War I stopped any further flow of foreign investment into the oil capital of the world. In March 1918 the Bolsheviks established their power in Baku and two month later, on the 2nd of June they declared the Russian oil industry as a property of the people. After the occupation of Baku by the Red Army, on May 24th May 1924, the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan decreed the nationalization of the oil industry in Azerbaijan. According to that decree all oil enterprises related to production, refining, and trade were declared as a state property.⁵⁸

Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev: (1823-1924) Taghiyev was one of the wealthiest oil barons and prominent oil producers in Baku. His firm was producing 1900 bopd in 1887 and occupied the 4th place in the refining business. A son of a shoemaker, Taghiyev was born in a poor family in the Old Town of Baku and worked as mason from his early age to support his family. During the first oil boom in Baku after the abolishment of the otkupchina lease system in 1872, Taghiyev purchased a piece of land with his two partners in the Bibi-Heybat region of Baku and began drilling in 1873, but they were unsuccessful. Hence, his friend gave up and sold his share to him, but he continued drilling until 1877 when the oil gush happened on his property and instantly made him an oil baron and millionaire.⁵⁹ Later Taghiyev sold his oil fields to the British entrepreneurs for 5 million rubles, where they generated more than 7.5 million rubles in two years. It should be mentioned that he quit his oil businesses in order to diversify in other industries of the Azerbaijani economy, such as textile, civil engineering, shipyard and fishery. In 1880, he founded a shipping company after purchasing the "Kaspi" shipping society for 1,136,000 rubles.⁶⁰

He remains in the memories of Azerbaijanis as not only a local oil baron, but also a national industrial magnate and philanthropist who spent most of his money on charity projects, mainly in the field of education. He sent many talented Azerbaijani youths to the different parts of the world for getting education; he also invested in the construction of various schools. After becoming oil baron, the first thing that he made was the construction of the road to the oil field of Bibi-Heybat and later extended that road up to the "Bibi-Heybat" mosque, one of the historical and sacred places in Azerbaijan. In 1883, Taghiyev financed the construction of the First Drama Theater in Baku. Taghiyev was also founder of the first Azerbaijani girls' school where the education language was Azerbaijani. He asked permission from Tzar Alexander III for the construction of a school for the Muslim girls, but his request was rejected. After Alexander III, when Nicolas II came to power in Russia, Taghiyev sent an expensive present to his wife Alexandra Fyodorovna and asked her for helping him for the acceptance of the school project. Later the school was named after Alexandra Fyodorovna, as the Russian Muslim Alexandrian Female Boarding School. Currently that building is the house of the National Institute of Manuscripts and situated at the Istiqlaliyyat (Independence) District, outside of Old Town. It is an interesting fact that Taghiyev ordered an Arabic font from Leipzig, Germany for the translation of the Koran, the Holy book of Islam and despite all difficulties posed by the clergy he financed the translation of the Koran. They insisted that it was a Holy book and no one had the right to translate it. Next to the translation of the Koran, considering

⁵⁸ Ibid, Miryusif Mirbabayev, "Baku Baron Days: Foreign Investment in Azerbaijan's Oil".

⁵⁹ Manaf Suleymanov, "Stories of Taghiyev: Baku's Most Renowned Oil Baron", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2002 (10.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai102_folder/102_articles/102_taghiyev_residence.html). Accessed on 15 September 2010.

⁶⁰ Ibid, Miryusif Mirbabayev, p. 29.

mosques as centers of enlightenment, science, tradition, and moral upbringing, Taghiyev also invested in the building of several mosques in Azerbaijan, as well as other parts of Russia. The mosque in Petersburg for Tatars is still functioning. He also gave financial support to the construction of several churches for Russians, Georgians, and Armenians.⁶¹

When Baku was occupied by the Red Army, unlike other entrepreneurs, Taghiyev rejected to leave the country. All his properties, including his residence, were confiscated by the Bolsheviks and he lived until the end of his life in his summer home in the suburb of Baku, in Mardakan and died in 1924.⁶²

Agha Musa Naghiyev: (1849-1919) One of the most famous oil millionaires among local Azerbaijanis was Agha Musa Naghiyev. The oil company owned by Naghiyev, which was established in 1887, was one of the largest Baku oil producers. From 1904 up to 1910, his oil company ranked as the 6th or 7th oil company in Russia.⁶³ Like Taghiyev, he was also born into a poor peasant family but became the richest oil baron after the industrial boom in Baku. He was well known as a stingy person among the oil millionaires, but despite his greediness, the 19th century architecture of Baku became more adorned by the investment of Naghiyev. He financed the construction of the Muslim Charity Society in the one of the most beautiful places of Baku. In 1912, he financed the construction of the largest hospital of the city, which is still functioning today. The design of the hospital was in the shape of the first letter of his name "H" (Cyrillic "N") and was named after him. He also gave financial support to the building of the largest male technical school of the city, called Real School in that time. Today that building serves as the Azerbaijan State Economic Institute.⁶⁴

One of the most gorgeous and impressive constructions made by him was the "Ismailliye" Palace, built to honor his son. It was made in Venetian Gothic style and is reminiscent of the Palazzo Contarini in Venice. Today that building serves as the Primary Office of Azerbaijan's Academy of Sciences and is located in the Istiqlaiyyat district next to the aforementioned "Girls School", constructed with the investment of Taghiyev.⁶⁵

Shamsi Asadullayev: (1841-1913) Another local oil baron of Azerbaijan, Shamsi Asadullayev, was also born in a poor family of porters who became one of the oil millionaires during the first oil boom in Baku. During his youth, he collected harvest in the Surakhani village of Baku and transported it to Tbilisi, to the current capital city of Georgia. Following the abolishment of the otkupchina lease system, he bought a small oil field, which made him one of the leading industrialists and oil barons. His oil firm, called

⁶¹ Ibid, Manaf Suleymanov.

⁶² "The Taghiyev Museum: A Glimpse of the Opulence of an Oil Baron", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2000 (8.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/82_folder/82_articles/82_taghiyev_museum.html). Accessed on 17 September 2010.

⁶³ Ibid, Miryusif Mirbabayev, "Baku Baron Days: Foreign Investment in Azerbaijan's Oil".

⁶⁴ Fuad Akhundov, "Legacy of the Oil Barons - Part I", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 1994 (2.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/22_folder/22_articles/22_oilbarons.html). Accessed on 17 September 2010.

⁶⁵ Jon L. Rau, "Environmental and Urban Geology of Selected Cities in Central, South-West and South Asia: Baku, Almaty, Samarkand, Tashkent, Tehran, Ankara, Istanbul, Calcutta, Hyderabad-Secunderabad, Mumbai"-Part II, *Atlas of Urban Geology*, Vol. 14, p. 26.

“SH. Asadullayev”, was producing 60% of the oil and was one of the 12 leading oil producing firms in Baku. He established his own oil-fleet for oil transportation. As a member of the City Duma of Baku, like other oil barons, Asadullayev was also involved in philanthropic activities and made lots of donations to the city and to charitable societies. He died in 1913.⁶⁶

Murtuza Mukhtarov: (1865-1920) Azerbaijani oil industrialist and millionaire Murtuza Mukhtarov was also born in a poor family in the Amirajan village of Baku. Following the path of other Baku oil barons, Mukhtarov managed to be one of the most prominent drilling experts in Baku due to his ability and experience. The company that he owned was specialized in manufacturing machinery for oil derricks and well drilling. One of his specialities among other oil barons of Baku was that he was the author of various patents of drilling equipment. As a philanthropist, he financed the construction of one of the most gorgeous and magnificent buildings in the heart of Baku, which is now the Wedding Palace of the city. The residence that he ordered to be built in 1911-1912 for his wife Liza Mukhtarova by the Polish architect Joseph Ploshko was one of the most fabulous buildings and celebrated examples of the Baku Pseude Gothic architecture. He also gave financial support to the construction of several schools and mosques in Baku and its villages. In April 1920, he committed suicide while defending his own residence from the soldiers of the Red Army.⁶⁷

In general, the first oil boom in Azerbaijan following the abolishment of the lease system in 1972 influenced the architectural view of Baku. The oil millionaires were competing between each other for the construction of beautiful buildings and residences different to each other in design, which led to the transformation of Baku into one of the most marvelous and beautiful cities in the world. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, after the intervention of the Red Army in Baku in April 1920, all properties belonging to local oil barons and millionaires were confiscated and nationalized by the Bolshevik Government and the life of them ended mostly tragically.

Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918-1920) and the interests of Great Powers in Azerbaijani oil

After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the political situation changed in Azerbaijan. Baku apparently began to attract the interests of the great powers and fell into a power vacuum because of its vast energy resources and geopolitical situation. The desire to control the Baku oil industry caused intense rivalries among Russian, Turkish, German, and British forces. After the revolution, Russia regarded the Baku oil as a vital issue for the Bolshevik regime; hence it established Soviet Rule at the beginning of 1918 in Baku, nationalized the oil industry and kept the oil flowing to Soviet Russia. During that period, 165 independent oil companies were nationalized in Azerbaijan⁶⁸ and more than 1.3 million oil and oil

⁶⁶ Official information from Administrative Department of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, *PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY*, p. 114; (www.elibrary.az/docs/azerbaijan/eng/gl6.pdf). Accessed on 17 September 2010.

⁶⁷ Ibid, *PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY*, p. 115.

⁶⁸ Sabit Bagirov, “Azerbaijani Oil: Glimpses of a Long History”, *Perceptions*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June-August 1996, p. 34.

products were transported to Bolshevik Russia.⁶⁹ Due to nationalization and political changes there was a rapid reduction in oil production. Nevertheless, after the declaration of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic on 28 May 1918 the situation totally changed. On September 18, the joint military force of Azerbaijan and Ottoman Turkey seized Baku and the rule of the Bolsheviks ended.⁷⁰ The newly formed government of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR) took a decision of denationalizing the oil industry and returning all oil fields and enterprises to the owners.⁷¹ During its two years independence the ADR tried to follow an independent policy in the oil industry and made several steps for establishing a relationship with western companies. After the stabilization of the political situation the oil industry witnessed some growth and began to draw the attention of big companies. For instance, at the beginning of 1919 the Standard Oil of New Jersey signed an oil contract with the newly created Azerbaijani government in order to buy undeveloped oil field in Baku at the cost of \$320,000 and also half of Nobel interests. One year later, in March 1920, Standard Oil concluded a contract with four Baku companies for purchasing 64,000 tons of kerosine. When Azerbaijani independence came to an end due to the Soviet intervention these contracts became obsolete.⁷²

After the Russian revolution of 1917, Caucasus emerged as a strategically vital point for the interests of Great Britain in Persia, Afghanistan, and most importantly in India. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on 3 March 1918 provided a legal basis for the direct intervention of Ottoman Turkey into Caucasus. According to the treaty three strategic regions of the Russian Empire, namely Ardahan, Kars, and Batum, were merged to the Ottoman Empire. According to article IV of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty the Ottoman Empire got a right to provide military support to Azerbaijan in case of necessity in order to preserve domestic stability and national security. Following the article the Ottoman troops together with the newly established Azerbaijani army moved toward Baku in order to liberate Baku from the control of Russian Bolsheviks and Armenians, who were controlling the region since the tragic events of March 1918 of Baku. These events increased the concern of Britain of losing the valuable resources and strategic positions of Caucasus to the Turkish-Germany allayment. Britain considered that once Turks established their control in Baku, it would be easy for them to penetrate into Persia and Central Asia. Due to these fears, the head of the British forces in Persia, Major-General Lionel C. Dunsterville asked General Marshall, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force in Bagdad on 22 May to gather all available troops for the protection of Baku against Ottoman Forces.⁷³ In May 1918, the British forces successfully captured Baku temporarily. But it was difficult to stand against the Ottoman

⁶⁹ Vasif Qafarov, "Ekim 1917 Devriminden Sonra Bolşevik Rusya'nın Azerbaycan Siyaseti ve Baku Sorunu (Russian Policy on Azerbaijan and the Question of Baku after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917)", *Gazi Akademik Bakış (Journal of Gazi Academic View)*, Vol. 2. No. 3, Winter 2008, p. 149.

⁷⁰ Bulent Gokay, "The battle for Baku (May-September 1918): a peculiar episode in the history of the Caucasus", *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, 1998, p. 42.

⁷¹ Ibid, Sabit Bagirov, "Azerbaijani Oil: Glimpses of a Long History", p. 35.

⁷² Philip S. Gillette, "American Capital in the Contest for Soviet Oil, 1920-23", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4 April 1973, p. 480.

⁷³ Ibid, Bulent Gokay, "The battle for Baku (May-September 1918): a peculiar episode in the history of the Caucasus", p. 24.

troops with limited military forces. The joint Ottoman-Azerbaijani forces penetrated Baku and captured it in September 1918.⁷⁴

But later, with the signing the Armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918, the Ottoman forces were withdrawn from Transcaucasia and the British Empire seized the chance to control both Baku and Batum and all the railroads that were under the control of Ottoman forces, which was considered by General Curzon as an essential line of advance towards India. This event meant the end of Turkish, indirectly Germany interests in the region. The supporters of British military force presence in Transcaucasia were in favor of creating three independent states in the region: Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia.⁷⁵ After getting control of the Baku oil industry, the British Empire immediately ordered the repairing of the oil pumping stations and railroads, which were essential for the transportation of oil. The Foreign Secretary of Britain A.J. Balfour and the Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu were against the policy of Curzon to defend the independence of three Transcaucasian countries because that region is important for the defense of India and argued why Britain would have the responsibility to establish the independent Transcaucasian Republics. According to General Curzon the Transcaucasian Republics were against the policy of bolshevik Russia in the region and supporting the nationalistic aspiration of these countries Britain gave an opportunity to it to make Batum a free port on the Black Sea and control of the Baku oil Industry.

"I should say we are not going to send all our money and men in civilizing a few people who do not want to be civilized. We will protect Batum, Baku, the railway between them, and the pipeline", Curzon said.

As a result, on 16 December 1918, the Eastern Committee of Great Britain agreed to the creation of independent states in Transcaucasia. Beginning of 1920, three month before the Soviet penetration into the region, three countries de facto recognized by the Allied Supreme Council.⁷⁶ By April 28, 1920 Baku was occupied by the Soviet Red Army, which was estimated by Lenin as follows:

"We all know that our industries stood idle because of lack of fuel. However, today, the proletariat of Baku has toppled the Azerbaijani government and is in charge of running the government. This means that now we own a basic economy that is capable of supporting our industries".⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Donald Ewalt, "The Fight for Oil: Britain in Persia, 1919", *History Today*, Vol. 31, Issue. 9; (<http://www.historytoday.com/donald-ewalt/fight-oil-britain-persia-1919>). Accessed on 17 September 2010.

⁷⁵ Sean Kelly, "Britannia has ruled here": Transcaucasia and Considerations of Imperial Defense in Lord Curzon's Search for the Near Eastern Settlement, 1918-1923", Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Mater of Arts in the Department of History, Simon Fraser University, October 2003; p. 45.

⁷⁶ Ibid, Donald Ewalt.

⁷⁷ Ibid, James Lawson Chapman, p. 14.

Azerbaijan oil industry during the Soviet Union

In April 1920, when the Red Army captured Baku, the Soviet government realized the significance of Azerbaijani energy resources for the young Bolshevik Russia, which did not have strong economic basis and financial resources. In this regard, Soviet Russia began to take significant efforts to revitalize the oil extraction and directed the entire oil industry of Baku towards the purpose of the Soviet Union. At the beginning of 1920 the Soviet government accepted the New Economic Policy (NEP), which was essential for the revitalization of the Soviet economy and retreated from the centralized economic policy of the previous era. According to the NEP the Soviet government gave permission to limited free trade. In any case the Soviet leadership had no other choice. The idea behind the NEP was to recover the economy that was totally devastated as the result of World War I and the Civil War in Russia. According to Philip S. Gillette, granting foreign companies concessions for the exploitation of the Soviet fields had two kinds of appeal for the Bolshevik Russia:

As an instrument of the Soviet diplomacy by which greedy capitalist governments could be bribed to desist from hostile measures or set themselves quarreling among themselves over rights to exploit some piece of Russian territory.

As an aid to economic development, supplying the war-ravaged industries of Russia with needed capital and technology that could make the Marxian dream of a modern state a reality.⁷⁸

One of the controversial issues of NEP was that, it granted the foreign capitalist concessions for exploiting natural resources on Russian territory in return for payment of taxes and a portion of the profit. On 1 February 1921, a resolution was introduced by Lenin to the Council of Commissars for approving the principle that would grant oil concessions in Grozny and Baku oil fields. J.V. Stalin and M.I. Tomsku opposed the resolution and insisted that workers would never support this policy and the existence of foreign companies would raise the workers against the Soviet Union. But despite all opposition Lenin secured the passage of the resolution.⁷⁹ According to Robert Mabro — “Lenin justified the NEP on the grounds that the economy needed ‘imperialist’ technology to recover”.⁸⁰ During that period, the principal American companies, such as Standard Oil of New Jersey and Standard Oil of New York, signed an agreement for the operation in Soviet Union. On 20 September 1922, the Barnsdall company signed two contracts with the Soviet government for providing the equipment and pumping of oil wells and developing the undeveloped oil fields.⁸¹

However, the situation changed after J.V. Stalin came to power. As mentioned earlier, with the decision of the Azerbaijani Revolutionary Committee state control was established over the oil industry in 1924. Replacing Lenin's New Economic Policy, Stalin launched the Five Year Economic Plan in 1927 by which the state assumed full responsibility for central planning over all aspects of the economy, including the oil industry. Following the first and the second Five Year Plan the production of oil grew

⁷⁸ Ibid, Philip S. Gillette, p. 479.

⁷⁹ Ibid, Philip S. Gillette, p. 482.

⁸⁰ Robert Marbo, “Oil Nationalism, the Oil Industry and Energy Security Concerns”, *International Economy & Trade - ARI* 114/2007, 25 October 2007; p. 2.

⁸¹ Ibid, Philip S. Gillette, p. 487.

substantially. A large part of the oil products was provided by the Baku oil industry.⁸² In 1941 the level of oil output reached 23,482,000 tons. By 1940, Azerbaijan was producing 71.5 % of the total Soviet oil output. According to Sabit Bagirov, from the beginning of 1920s up to the first years of World War II Azerbaijan remained a center of oil technology and science in the world, where vast deposits of hydrocarbon were discovered. The construction of the 834 km Baku-Batum pipeline with the 250 mm diameter and 13 pumping stations was finished in 1925. In 1927 the immense project of filling up Bibi-Heybat, where the first industrial drilling happened in 1848, was done. In 1928 the peak of 1901 oil production was surpassed. Azerbaijani oil played a significant role in the victory of the Soviet Union over Nazi Germany. Baku was providing 63.2% of the oil output of the Union between 1941 and 1945.⁸³ Following the technological innovation in the oil industry in Baku, Yusif Mammadaliyev, an Azerbaijani scientist, invented high octane components for the aircraft gasoline in 1942.⁸⁴ He was granted the Stalin award for his innovation and later nominated for the Nobel Prize, but the Soviet Union declared that the Nobel Prize is an award of capitalism and did not let him to get it.

During World War II, the oil resources of Baku were also among the Germans' top priorities. Hitler set a plan for capturing Baku's oil fields in order to fuel his war machines. During the first years of the war 94% of Germany's oil needs was provided by Rumania. But it was not sufficient to decrease the nation's dependency on imported crude oil.⁸⁵ In this sense, capturing Baku was one of the top priorities of Germany as part of its strategy for world domination. Mark Jacobson in his article "Big Oil Comes Back To Baku" illustrates the willingness of Hitler to seize Baku as follows:

"Not everyone had forgotten the former oil capital, however, as documented in a grainy wartime home movie shot at a birthday party for Adolf Hitler. The Führer's cake is adorned by a map of the Caspian Sea, with the letters B-A-K-U spelled out in chocolate cream. Hitler eats a piece and then avidly licks his fingers. "Unless we get Baku oil, the war is lost", he would declare".⁸⁶

But despite a great effort made by the German machinery, it was not successful to bring the vast oil region of the Caucasus under the control of Nazi Germany, which was one of the main reasons of Hitler's failure in World War II.

In 1948, Azerbaijan made another innovation in the history of oil. The Neft Dashlari (Oil Rock) oil field was discovered in the Caspian Sea, 40 km from the coast of the Apsheron Peninsula. It marked the

⁸² Ibid, Bülent Gökay, "Caspian Uncertainties: Regional Rivalries and Pipelines".

⁸³ Ibid, Sabit Bagirov, "Azerbaijani Oil: Glimpses of a Long History", p. 36.

⁸⁴ Miryusif Mirbabayev, "Azerbaijan's Oil History: Brief Oil Chronology since 1920 Part 2", *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2003 (11.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai112_folder/112_articles/112_chronology.html). Accessed on 17 September 2010.

⁸⁵ Joel Hayward "Hitler's Quest for Oil: The Impact of Economic Considerations on Military Strategy, 1941-42", *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4, December 1995, p. 99.

⁸⁶ Mark Jacobson, "Big Oil Comes Back To Baku", *bnet*, March 1999; (http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1134/is_2_108/ai_54032989/?tag=content:coll). Accessed on 17 September 2010.

beginning of offshore extraction of oil and was considered the “eighth wonder of the world”.⁸⁷ For the first time in the history of oil, an offshore oil field was constructed on trestles on the open sea. Considering Oil Rock Betty Blair points out:

*“...who could imagine that Oil Rocks with its dozens of kilometers of roadway built up on trestles and piers in the Caspian, off the coast of Azerbaijan, would give birth, not only to the world’s first successful offshore venture in oil drilling [1949], but also to an art movement countering the calculated artificiality and lies of Stalin’s regime”.*⁸⁸

From its start, the Oil Rocks fields have produced more than 170 million tons of oil and 15 billion m³ of associated natural gas. According to current estimation the volume of recoverable reserves is as high as 30 million tons.⁸⁹ But despite all these innovations, since 1950 the oil production of Baku has dropped. Many oil wells were shut down by the Soviet Union that was concerned that they would fall into the hands of German troops during World War II. Later, with the discovery of huge hydrocarbon resources first in the Volga-Ural region and then in Western Siberia led the Soviet Union to move its production away from Azerbaijan. As a result, Azerbaijan’s part of Soviet oil output dropped from 39.1% in 1950 to 12.0% in 1960 to 5.7% in 1970 and 2.4% in the 1980s.⁹⁰ Since 1980, with the discovery of 700 million tons of oil and 200 billion cubic meters of gas in four new offshore fields; Gunashli (1979), Chirag (1985), Azeri (1988), and Kapaz (1989)⁹¹ and later Gorbachev’s perestroika policy resulted in the flow of foreign capital and the second oil boom in Azerbaijan after gaining its independence in 1991.

Energy policy of the independent Azerbaijan and its role in today’s energy security of Europe

Energy security has been a cornerstone of the power politics of the 21st century. It has been defined by International Energy Agency as an adequate, affordable, and reliable supplies of energy.⁹² World leading countries are aware that without guaranteeing their energy supplies it is hard to preserve their position as an affective player in global politics. The European Union (EU) pays a lot of attention to its energy policy in order to access reliable energy resources, which is considered a backbone of the EU’s economic and political performance. This part of our paper will focus on the Azerbaijani role in the energy security of the EU, while analyzing the oil contracts signed between the Azerbaijani government and Western

⁸⁷ “AZERBAIJAN - Socar & Production Background”, *ALLBusiness*, 7 July 2008; (<http://www.allbusiness.com/trade-development/international-trade-exports-imports-by/11417873-1.html>). Accessed on 18 September 2010.

⁸⁸ Betty Blair, “Oil Rocks in the Caspian: Birthplace to a New Trend in Soviet Art”, *Azerbaijan International*, Summer 2006 (14.2); (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai142_folder/142_articles/142_salahov_oil_rocks.html). 18 September 2010.

⁸⁹ Vladimir Igorev, “A Man Made Island of Oil Treasures”, *OIL OF RUSSIA*, No. 3, 2010; (<http://www.oilru.com/or/44/925/>). 18 September 2010.

⁹⁰ Ibid, Sabit Bagirov, “Azerbaijani Oil: Glimpses of a Long History”, p. 37.

⁹¹ Ibid, Khoshbakht Yusifzade.

⁹² International Energy Agency, *World Energy Outlook 2007*.

countries and projects that play an important role in transporting vast energy resources of the Caspian Basin to the European market while bypassing Russia.

As the largest energy importer in the world, the EU imports 82 percent of its oil and 57 percent of its gas,⁹³ which are mainly provided by Russia, one of the biggest energy suppliers, and Middle Eastern countries. The statistics of 2007 indicate that the EU imports 30 percent of its oil and more than half of its natural gas demands from Russia, while most of the Eastern European countries are totally dependent on Russian natural gas supply.⁹⁴ According to the estimate of the European Commission, by 2030 the amount of European energy demand will be high in comparison with the current statistics and its traditional suppliers, Russia and Middle Eastern countries will supply great amounts of that energy demand.

*“By 2030, because of growing energy demand and declining domestic production, Europe will rely on imports for two-thirds of its energy needs. Dependence on imported oil will remain extremely high, reaching 94 percent in 2030. Dependence on imported gas will rise to 84 percent in 2030, and imports of solid fuels are projected to reach 59 percent in 2030”.*⁹⁵

Europe realized that increasing dependency from Russian energy resources can cause serious challenges in terms of energy security and may lead to geopolitical turbulence. Beginning from 2006, the gas crises between Ukraine and Russia (January 2006), the Georgian conflict of 2008, later cut-offs of gas supply by Russia to Poland and the Czech Republic in preventing the agreement between these countries and the US to settle anti-missile basis in Eastern Europe, and finally the gas crises of Ukraine and Belorussia, respectively in 2009 and 2010, alarmed the European Union that Russia can use the energy factor as a political tool whenever it needs.⁹⁶ On the other hand, turning to the Middle East, political instability and the existence of OPEC in this region does not give a guarantee to the EU in the term of energy security either.

Therefore, following the energy demand increase, the EU is trying to find alternative energy sources and transportation routes in order to decrease its dependency from Russian and Middle Eastern energy monopoly and diversify its supply sources. Concerning the EU energy dependency Melissa Lu pleads that “the EU must have a comprehensive plan that includes a diversification of its sources, better relations with other source states, and the strict gas market that will restrict and prevent any Gazprom monopoly on the internal gas market”.⁹⁷ In this sense, Azerbaijan plays an important role in the energy security of the Europe Union not only as an alternative energy source for diversifying its import, but also as a

⁹³ Catalina Lupu, “Russia and EU at crossroads: The role of the Black Sea region in the European Energy security”, *Trieste*, 2009, p. 9.

⁹⁴ Zeyno Baran, “EU Energy Security: Time to End Russian Leverage”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Num. 4, Autumn 2007, p. 132.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, Catalina Lupu, p. 10.

⁹⁶ S. Kolundzig, “Eurasia, Energy Cooperation or Conflict? 3rd Part: Competiti (Impositi) on Of Projects for Oil and Gas Supply in the Light of Geopolitics”, *NAFTA*, Vol. 60, 2009, p. 322.

⁹⁷ Melissa Lu, “EU Energy Security: Challenges in Creating a Common Energy Policy”, Paper presented at 8th Annual Claremont-UC Undergraduate Research Conference on The European Union, University of Washington, 8-9 April 2010, p. 1.

significant gate to the immense energy resources of the Caspian Basin, which possesses high amounts of proven and possible energy resources, estimated between 10 and 32 billion barrels of proven and 233 billion barrels of possible oil resources.⁹⁸ Proven gas reserves are estimated to 243-248 trillion cubic feet, with the 293 tcf possible gas reserves.⁹⁹

The main oil product of Azerbaijan, as the second largest oil producer of the Caspian Basin after Kazakhstan, comes from the three off-shore fields of Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli. According to the State Statistics Committee of Azerbaijan, oil production has increased by 13.5% year-on-year in the first 11 months of 2009. Most of this output was provided by higher production levels from the Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli (ACG) field, which provided 83.3% of Azerbaijan's oil output over the mentioned period. Gas production recorded a more modest increase of 2.3% to just over 21 bn cubic meters (bcm). Over 40% of this production (9.1bcm) was provided by the Shah Deniz field and its associated gas from the ACG field.¹⁰⁰

The collapse of the Soviet Union opened a new era in the history of the Azerbaijan oil industry. As we mentioned before, beginning from the mid 1980s, after the *perestroika* policy of Gorbachev, the economic situation in the entire empire began to change. This created a favorable condition for the foreign oil companies to direct their investment for the extraction of the vast energy resources of Azerbaijan. By January 1991, the Azerbaijani government announced a decree that gave a tender for the exploration of the huge energy resources in the fields (Azeri, Chirag, and Guneshli) that were discovered in the last decade of the Soviet Union. British Petroleum, together with Statoil, Amoco, and Unocal participated at this tender and Amoco won the tender. Following the decision the Azerbaijani Amoco created a consortium, with the participation of Unocal, BP/Statoil, McDermott, and Ramco, for the exploitation of the Azeri oil field. In May 1992, Azerbaijan witnessed political changes in government and the leader of the Popular Front, Abulfaz Elchibey, came to power. The government under Elchibey's presidency began negotiations and he succeeded in attracting foreign firms and tried to involve more companies for the exploitation of the Azerbaijan oil and gas resources.¹⁰¹

The new government of Azerbaijan signed an agreement together with BP and Statoil on the Chirag field and Shah Deniz on 7 September 1992. This was followed by the signing of another draft contract with Pennzoil and Ramco on 1 October. In October 1992, SOCAR (State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic) made a decision for the establishment of a general infrastructure that would connect the aforementioned energy fields. As a result, in November five memorandums were signed with foreign companies "on the establishment of a general supply base, a common network of underwater pipelines and terminals, a common fleet and a common export pipeline". After a long negotiation process the foreign oil companies were prepared to sign an agreement with the Azerbaijani government in June 1993, which would grant SOCAR 30 % share of the project. Nevertheless, in June 1993, the political power

⁹⁸ M K Bhadrakumar, "Catalysts of conflict in Central Asia", *Asia Times*, 2 June 2005; (http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/GF02Ag01.html). Accessed on 18 September 2010.

⁹⁹ Mikhail A. Molchanov & Yuri Yevdokimov, "Regime Building as a Prime Mover of Technological Progress: The Energy Sector in the Central Asia-Caspian Region", *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, Vol. 3, Num. 4, p. 418.

¹⁰⁰ "Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli Field Production Up 17%", *BUSINESS MONITOR INTERNATIONAL*, 17 December 2009; (<http://store.businessmonitor.com/article/313934>). Accessed on 18 September 2010.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, Nasib Nassibli.

situation in Azerbaijan changed. Haydar Aliyev, the leader of the new Azerbaijani government suspended all negotiations.¹⁰² The negotiation with the western companies began again in 1994, which resulted in the signing of the “Deal of the Century” on 20 September 1994.

Deal of the Century: Also called the “Contract of the Century”, was signed on 20 September 1994 between the Azerbaijani government and the Western oil consortium for the exploration of three joint offshore fields: Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli, worth approximately \$8 billion. The estimated reserves of these three offshore fields were estimated at 4 billion barrels of oil. Three month later, in December 1994, the consortium established AIOC (Azerbaijan International Operating Company) in order to observe the daily operation of the project. The members of AIOC consisted of the representatives of the Azerbaijani government and of every company. The head of BP in Azerbaijan, Terry Adams, was elected the Head of the AIOC Board. The Azerbaijani government and the State Oil Company had 50% representation on the Board of AIOC Directors.¹⁰³

Russia, immediately after the signing of the “Deal of the Century” between the government of Azerbaijan and the Western consortium, questioned the legitimacy of the contract declaring that it cannot be enforced. The idea behind the Russian threat was that the Deal was a unilateral agreement that was signed between two sides only: the Azerbaijani government and the foreign oil companies, and violates the legal status of the Caspian Sea. But the main issue was that Russian interests were ignored while signing the Deal, the Russian energy company Lukoil was not participating in the consortium and was not given any share. Therefore in order to neutralize the Russian position regarding the contract the Consortium decided to give share in the Agreement and SOCAR, the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan, granted its 10% shares to Lukoil.¹⁰⁴

According to the “Deal of the Century” over the next 30 years 500 million metric ton of crude oil will be produced. 80 % of the shares of the Deal were given to the government of Azerbaijan and 20 % to the representatives of the consortium. The 20 % shares of the consortium were divided among its members as follows: SOCAR 20 %, BP 17.1267 %, Amoco 17.01 %, Lukoil 10 %, Penzoil 9.8175 %, UNOCOL 9.52 %, Statoil 8.5633 %, McDermott 2.45 %, Remco 2.08 %, TRAO (Turkish Petroleum) 1.75 %, Delta-Nimir 1.68 %. Later, in April 1995, TPAO was given 5 % more shares in the consortium. Exxon was also provided with 5 % share of SOCAR's share. Hence, the share of SOCAR was reduced from 20 % to 10 % of the project.¹⁰⁵ According to BP statistics, the final version of the parties to the Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli (ACG) Production Sharing Agreement are: BP (operator - 34.1 %), Chevron (10.3 %), SOCAR (10 %), INPEX (10.0 %), Statoil (8.6 %), ExxonMobil (8 %), TPAO (6.8 %), Devon (5.6 %), Itochu (3.9 %), Amerada Hess (2.7 %).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Sabit Bagirov, *Azerbaijani Oil: Revenues, Expenses and Risks (view from 2007)*, (Baku, Yeni Nesil, 2008), pp. 21-22.

¹⁰³ Emmanuel Karagiannis, *Energy and security in the Caucasus*, (London, RoutledgeCurzon, 28 March 2002), p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ Nasser Sagheb & Masoud Javadi, “Azerbaijan's “Contract of the Century”: Finally Signed with Western Oil Consortium”, *Azerbaijan International*, winter 1994; (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/24_folder/24_articles/24_aioc.html). Accessed on 18 September 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 19.

¹⁰⁶ “Phase 3 Drilling Modules And Living Quarters Arrive In Baku”, *BP Caspian*, 21 June 2006; (<http://www.bp.com/genericarticle.do?categoryId=9006615&contentId=7020647>). Accessed on 18 September 2010.

Early Oil: Signing the “Deal” for securing access to the Azerbaijani oil fields was the first issue that the international consortium has done. The challenge was of how to transport the Azerbaijani oil to the world market. According to the President of AIOC, Terry Adams, “the unlocking of the Caspian is entirely dependent on the pipeline issue. Without a regional pipeline to the West, these resources will not be developed quickly. But if an early pipeline can link to the West, the investment and pace of development will accelerate”.¹⁰⁷ There were two options for the transportation of the initial production of offshore fields of ACG, which was called “early oil” by partners, to the world market; via the Baku-Novorossiysk pipeline, which passes through Russia and Baku-Supsa through Georgia.¹⁰⁸

The contract for the transportation of “early oil” from Azerbaijan through Russia to the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk was signed in Moscow on 18 February 1996 between three parties; AIOC, SOCAR, and Transneft. The pipeline extends 1330 km with 720 mm in diameter. The construction of the Novorossiysk pipeline ended in 1997. Establishment of an alternative route to the Baku-Novorossiysk pipeline was one of the top priorities of the Azerbaijani oil strategists. Therefore in the same year, on 8 March 1996, the Azerbaijani government agreed with the President of Georgia on the construction of the Baku-Supsa pipeline. The trilateral agreement was signed between SOCAR, AIOC, and the Georgian government for the transportation of the Azeri oil from the Chirag and Guneshli fields to the Black Sea first, then to the European market. The first batch of oil was transported by the Baku-Supsa pipeline on 17 April, 1999. The Baku-Supsa pipeline extends 837 km to the Supsa, Black Sea port, with 530 mm in diameter. Between 1999 and 2005 both pipelines transported 48.7 million tons of oil to the western market.¹⁰⁹ Transportation of the “early oil” by two pipelines was entirely for political and security reasons and did not make any sense economically to use two pipelines for oil that would amount only 5 million tons per year. “The most important reason for a dual-pipeline solution was a simple one: once oil starts flowing from the Caspian towards its final destination in the West, it is unthinkable to have disruptions in the supply line. Since the security of this major economic investment was the number one concern, the foreign oil companies decided that two less-than-ideal routes were better than one less-than-ideal route”.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, transporting Azerbaijani oil via Novorossiysk was not beneficial for Azerbaijan, because while passing through this pipeline the Azerbaijani oil brand called “Azer light” was mixed with the Russian low quality oil “Ural light”, which resulted in decreasing the quality of the Azerbaijani oil and losing in price in the western market. Additionally, the Baku-Novorossiysk pipeline was passing through the war-torn region of Russia, Chechnya, which was not secured. Another facet was that next to the estimated increase of the Azerbaijani oil production, plus the possible Kazakhstan oil in the future, the capacity of both pipelines was not sufficient. The Baku-Novorossiysk pipeline was able to transport a maximum of 5 million tons of oil annually, while the capacity of Baku-Supsa was 5.5-6 million tons per

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ “Transport Routes of Azerbaijani Oil (Baku-Novorossiysk, Baku-Supsa)” *Azerbaijani Az*, (http://www.azerbaijan.az/Economy/OilStrategy/oilStrategy_05_e.html). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 26.

year. With this in mind, the idea of constructing the BTC (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan) pipeline was a reality, which could be an alternative to Baku-Novorossiysk and Baku-Supsa.¹¹¹

BTC Pipeline: The BTC Pipeline, which enjoyed the active support of the U.S. and European governments, is considered the perfect alternative for Azerbaijan and its partners in term of bypassing Russia and transporting their newly drilled oil of the ACG fields instead through Georgia and Turkey to the port of Ceyhan in the eastern Mediterranean. It was the longest pipeline in the world after Druzhba of Russia with 1,768 km and 1 million barrel capacity per day. The construction cost of the pipeline was 4 billion US dollars. The pipeline was considered as one of the most significant legs of the East-West corridor, which eliminated the need for nearly 350 cargo tankers that were passing via the Bosphorus Straight and provided Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey with a greater geopolitical space in order to maneuver in terms of energy policy.¹¹² The BTC Co Shareholders currently are: BP (30.1 %), SOCAR (25 %), Chevron (8.9 %), Statoil (8.71 %), TPAO (6.53 %), Itochu (3.4 %), Amerada Hess (2.36 %), ENI (5 %), ConocoPhillips (2.5 %), Inpex (2.5 %), Total (5 %).¹¹³ The first stage of the BTC oil export pipeline was officially inaugurated at the Sangachal terminal of Baku on May 25, 2005, by the presidents of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey.¹¹⁴

Next to transporting Azerbaijani oil, the capacity of the BTC pipeline also provides the opportunity for transporting Kazakhstan oil to the European market bypassing Russia. It is largest oil producer and exporter of the Caspian Basin with a great potential of proven and potential resources. By 2007, it produced nearly 67 million tons of oil. According to estimates, by 2015 the production will reach 130 million tons while exporting 110 million tons. However, the existing transportation infrastructure is not sufficient and restricts the export capacity of the country. Due to this reason, Kazakhstan intensified its efforts to increase the volume of its oil transportation through the BTC pipeline, which will break the Russian oil monopoly over oil transportation from Kazakhstan.¹¹⁵

Therefore, Kazakhstan officially joined to BTC in the summer of 2006. The construction of the Trans-Caspian oil pipeline was planned under the Caspian Sea in order to transfer large amounts of oil of the Kashagan offshore, the main oil field of Kazakhstan, to the European markets via the BTC Pipeline. The pipeline was planned to run from the port of Aktau to Baku in Azerbaijan that will be connected to the BTC pipeline. The Russian government opposes the construction of the Trans-Caspian pipeline declaring that it is a threat to the environment of the Caspian Sea. In reality Russia does not want to lose its monopoly over the East-West transportation route. If this pipeline becomes reality it will not

¹¹¹ Rovshan Ibrahimov, "Azerbaijan: Happiness is the Availability of Export Corridors", *USAK*, 30 October 2008; (<http://www.usak.org.tr/EN/makale.asp?id=552>). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹² Ksenia Broisocheva, "Analysis of the Oil- and Gas-Pipeline-Links between EU and Russia", *CERE*, November, 2007, p. 10.

¹¹³ Rufat Abbasov, "BTC pipeline exports 11.9 mln tons of oil in 2010", *News.Az*, 12 May 2010; (<http://www.news.az/articles/15256>). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹⁴ Tamam Bayatly, "BP Current Developments: BTC Pipeline Filling Up", *The Journal of Azerbaijan International*, Autumn 2005; (http://azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai133_folder/133_articles/133_bp_developments.html). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹⁵ Aleksandra Jarosiewicz, "Oil transport through the Caucasus is a top priority issue in Kazakh oil export policy", *CENTER FOR EASTERN STUDIES*, Issue. 6, 23 June 2008, pp. 1-2.

Russia will lose some of its control over the routes, and in the same time it will increase the importance of Azerbaijan as a transit country.¹¹⁶

South Caucasus Gas Pipeline (BTE): Azerbaijan, a predominant oil exporter, also possesses huge gas resources, which is strategically as significant as oil. As mentioned above, proven gas reserves of Azerbaijan are estimated at 243-248 trillion cubic feet, with the 293 tcf possible gas reserves, which provide it with the opportunity to push its role as a significant strategic actor in the energy security of Europe.

The year 2007 marked a crucial turning point in the energy history of Azerbaijan. After the years of dependence on Russia, Azerbaijan emerged as a net exporter of natural gas with the startup of the Shah Deniz natural gas field. A production share agreement between the Azerbaijani government and seven oil companies for the extraction and exportation of the first phase of Shah Deniz gas field was signed in June 1996, and ten years later, in December 2006, the field came on stream. According to BP, gas in the Shah Deniz field is initially estimated at 33 tcf and by 2009 the production of the field was a combined total of 137 mmboe gas and condensate.¹¹⁷ The participants of the production sharing agreement of Shah Deniz offshore are BP (operator – 25.5 %), Statoil (25.5 %), SOCAR (10 %), LUKOIL (10 %), NICO (10 %), Total (10 %) and TPAO (9 %).¹¹⁸

The production of the first phase of the Shah Deniz gas field is initially transported to the Shingachal terminal of Baku, one of the world's largest integrated oil and gas processing terminals. Later the gas is piped to the world market via the South Caucasus pipeline, also called Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipeline, to Erzurum through Georgia. With the 692 km length the pipeline is capable of transporting 20 billion cubic meters (bcm) annually.¹¹⁹ The construction of the pipeline was completed in 2006. The investors of the South Caucasus Pipeline Company are: BP (Technical Operator – 25,5 %), Statoil (Commercial Operator 25,5 %), Azerbaijan SCP Ltd. (10 %), LUKoil (10 %), NICO (10 %), Total (10 %), and TPAO (9 %). The Ministry of Industry and Energy of the Azerbaijan Republic is a non-funding shareholder.¹²⁰ In the first phase, the plan was that the pipeline would supply gas only to the Georgian and Turkish markets, but later this route was extended toward Greece and Italy as well. The construction of the pipeline gave a chance to Europe to diversify its gas routes and to build the East-West energy corridor while bypassing Russia. It is considered the first project that broke the Gazprom monopolized gas system. Additionally, the pipeline was a good opportunity for transporting the vast gas resources of Central Asia, mainly Turkmenistan, through the Caspian Sea to Azerbaijan. Then by the South Caucasus Pipeline to Turkey and later with the proposed Nabucco Gas Pipeline to the European market.

¹¹⁶ "First Signature for Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline", *TODAY.AZ*, 13 April 2007; (<http://www.today.az/news/business/39349.html>). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹⁷ "Shah Deniz and the South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP)", *Statoil*, 30 August 2007, (<http://www.statoil.com/en/About/Worldwide/Azerbaijan/Pages/ShahDeniz.aspx>). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹⁸ Rufat Abbasov, "South Caucasus pipeline exports 1.3 bn cubic meters of gas", *News.Az*, 17 April 2010; (<http://www.news.az/articles/13578>). Accessed on 20 September 2010.

¹¹⁹ "SCP Commissioning Commences", Press release, 01 June 2006; (<http://www.bp.com/genericarticle.do?categoryId=9006615&contentId=7018471>). Accessed on 21 September 2010.

¹²⁰ "Production Begins at Shah Deniz gas condensate field in the Caspian Sea", Press release, 15 December 2006, (<http://www.bp.com/genericarticle.do?categoryId=9006615&contentId=7026800>). Accessed on 21 September.

Nabucco Pipeline: As mentioned before, in January 2009 the energy crisis between Russia and Ukraine resulted in the interruption of the natural gas supply to some European countries in the middle of winter. This event led the European countries to think about alternative energy sources and also alternative energy routes to transport those energy resources to the European market. In this sense, the necessity for the establishment of the Nabucco pipeline became part of the agenda of the European countries, which will transport the Caspian Basin and perhaps Middle Eastern gas resources to Europe by passing Russia.

The first idea for constructing the Nabucco pipeline came up in 2000 and in 2003 this proposal was supported by the European Parliament and Council. Then it became one of the top European priorities following the gas crisis of 2006 between Russia and Ukraine.¹²¹ As a significant European energy infrastructure concept the idea behind the proposed Nabucco project is to strengthen European energy security by diversifying existing supply routes. If the project will be realized it will cost \$6 billion, it will be 3,300 km long and 25-30 billion m³ transportation capacity. It will be constructed as the continuation of the South Caucasus Pipeline and as mentioned before it will transport Turkmenistani and Kazakhstani gas to Azerbaijan via the proposed Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline, then by the BTC pipeline to Turkey. The western part of the Nabucco pipeline will pass through Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Austria.¹²² The shareholders of the Nabucco consortium are Austria's ÖMV, Hungary's MOL, Turkey's BOTAŞ, Bulgaria's Bulgargaz, Romania's Transgaz, and Germany's RWE.¹²³

The contract for the realization of the Nabucco pipeline was signed in May 2010 by the Turkish Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Taner Yıldız, and the Azerbaijani Industry and Energy Minister Natig Aliyev. In the same week the Turkish parliament ratified the agreement to construct the Nabucco Gas Pipeline, which would deliver 20–30 bcm of Caspian gas to Europe per year. Construction of gas pipeline was planned to begin in 2011 and the first supply of gas is expected in 2014.¹²⁴

Even though the agreement for the construction of the Nabucco pipeline was ratified by the Turkish parliament, the realization and viability of the pipeline has been questioned by various authors and analysts due to several backstage problems of the project and unless these problems are not resolved the construction of the Nabucco pipeline seems utt of reality.

One of the outstanding problems in the realization of the Nabucco project is the unstable energy policy of Turkmenistan. It is obvious that without Turkmenistani gas it is nonsense to talk about the Nabucco pipeline. For years, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the gas of Turkmenistan was transported to the European market via Russia, which gave Russia the opportunity to get the gas of Turkmenistan for a very cheap price. For that reason, beginning from 2006, Turkmenistan began an active policy in its energy sector in order to diversify its supply routes. In this regard, the Nabucco proposal was welcomed by the

¹²¹ Maureen S. Crandall, "Who is Bypassing Whom? Russian, European and Caspian Gas and Oil", Paper presented at "32nd IAEE International Conference", San Francisco, California, 21-24 June 2009, p. 10.

¹²² Igor Tomberg, "Energy Poilcy and Energy Projects in Central Eurasia", *Central Asia and The Caucasus; Journal of Social and Political Studies*, Vol.6, Num. 48, Sweden 2007, p. 49.

¹²³ Rashid Ziyadli, "Transportation of Energy Resources (Oil & Gas) From Caspian Region to Euro-Mediterranean Countries, Current Situation and Plans For", Paper presented at "The Euro-Mediterranean Student Research Multi-conference", 9 June 2009.

¹²⁴ "Nabucco Pipeline forges ahead", *Pipelines International*, 8 June 2010; (http://pipelinesinternational.com/news/nabucco_and_south_stream_forge_ahead/041261/). Accessed on 22 September 2010.

new Turkmenistan government headed by President Berdymuhamedov.¹²⁵ But Russia launched a new political attack in order to prevent Turkmenistan joining the Nabucco project. Russia understands that if Turkmenistan agrees to transport its gas via Russia, the Nabucco pipeline will simply have nothing to be filled with. Thereforeç without Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan alone will not be able to provide gas for Nabucco. For that reason, Russia proposed a European market gas price for the gas of Turkmenistan. This process was finalized with the signing of a new energy agreement between Russia and Turkmenistan in 2007. But stopping the flow of Turkmenistan gas through Russia in 2009 by the Russian government led to big losses for the Turkmenistan government and changed the condition in favor of the Nabucco pipeline that would be a strategic project diversifying the transportation routes. Such blackmail by Russia has convinced Turkmenistan to pursue an open policy of finding alternative transportation routes to the Gazprom gas system.¹²⁶ However, this was not sufficient because the current gas capacity of Turkmenistan is 60 bcm and almost 50 bcm of this amount is supposed to be transported through Russia.¹²⁷ Next to this, Turkmenistan also signed energy contracts with China and Iran concerning the transportation of Turkmenistan gas to these countries, which raised a big anxiety in Europe whether Turkmenistan will be able to fulfill all of these agreements.

Another problem in the realization of the Nabucco project is the lack of political support from the European Union. The realization of the Nabucco project needs political support from European countries. In this regard, the well-known scholar Svante E. Cornell writes:

*“The EU and its member states can do several things for energy development in the region, and by extension for itself. The first would be to strongly support the Nabucco project, understanding that this commercial project is dependent on political support and cannot be left to market forces alone; since all its competitors are politically supported and not market-oriented, and energy issues are by nature political”.*¹²⁸

But instead of giving full support to the realization of Nabucco the EU members flocked to make bilateral agreements with Gazprom in order to ensure their secure gas supply. Due to the unwillingness of the European countries in the construction of the Nabucco pipeline, Azerbaijan began to alternate its energy market. Russia used this opportunity as a remedy for the realization of its monopolized energy corridor and stressed its interest for buying Azerbaijani gas at a European price. This culminated in

¹²⁵ Rovshan Ibrahimov, “Nabucco Pipeline: Increased Actuality, but Inertia in Realization (I)”, *The Journal Of Turkish Weekly*, 17 February 2009; (<http://www.turkishweekly.net/columnist/3101/nabucco-pipeline-increased-actuality-but-inertia-in-realization-i.html>). Accessed on 22 September.

¹²⁶ Vladimir Socor, “Russia resumes gas imports from Turkmenistan”, *Asia Times*, 6 January 2010; (http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/LA06Ag02.html). Accessed on 22 September.

¹²⁷ Rovshan Ibrahimov, “Trans-Afghan Pipeline: Will Ambitions Convert into the Reality”, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 15 May 2008; (<http://www.turkishweekly.net/columnist/2903/trans-afghan-pipeline-will-ambitions-convert-into-the-reality.html>). Accessed on 23 September.

¹²⁸ Svante E. Cornell. “Trans-Caspian Pipelines and Europe’s Energy Security”, in Svante E. Cornell & Niklas Nilsson ed., *Europe’s Energy Security: Gazprom’s Dominance and Caspian Supply Alternatives*, (Central Asia – Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program, 2008), p. 152.

signing an agreement on 29 June 2009 between Azerbaijan and Russia for delivering Azerbaijani gas to Russia; the signing took place during the first visit of the Russian president Dmitry Medvedev to Azerbaijan. The sides agreed for the transportation of 500 million cubic meters of gas to Russia starting from January 1, 2010. The initial volumes of gas transportation was small, but such an agreement with Azerbaijan, a backbone of Nabucco project, was the curtail step by the Russian government in preserving its monopol position over the transportation of the Caspian Basin gas resources to western markets. It was obvious that without Azerbaijan, talking about the construction of the Nabucco pipeline is not logical. This agreement was considered by scholars as a clear message by Azerbaijan to the Western countries.¹²⁹ Even going further, on 3 September 2010, Azerbaijan renewed its gas agreement with Russia's Gazprom, which will double the amount of Russian gas purchases, from 1 billion cubic meters in 2010 to 2 billion cubic meters in 2011. The deal also provides for an even greater level of imports in 2012 and beyond.¹³⁰

All of these abovementioned factors posit an open question for the realization of the Nabucco project and stress the importance of European political support for the construction of the pipeline. Because, as mentioned before, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan are the primary suppliers of the Nabucco pipeline and if the gas resources of these countries go to Russia there is no need to talk about the realization of it.

Conclusion

Azerbaijan, a significant oil and gas producer as well as a crucial transit country from the Caspian Basin and Central Asia to Europe, has been one of the birthplaces of the oil industry. In the global history of oil the first oil well operated by industrial drilling processes was opened in Azerbaijan in 1848. The modern development of the oil industry in Azerbaijan dates back to the 1870s, when it was a colony of Tsarist Russia. Beginning from those years, after the abolishment of the *otkupchina* lease system, the first oil boom happened in the Azerbaijani oil industry, resulting in the flow of foreign investment to Azerbaijan. Consequently, Azerbaijan became a leading country as a world oil producer. At the turn of the century, it held the first place in oil production and export. But beginning from the first years of the 20th century, the production decreased due to political turbulence, within the country, as well as at international level: the 1905 revolution of Russia, outbreak of World War I, and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Azerbaijan was occupied by the Red Army in April 1920, the oil industry was nationalized and state control was established over the production and exportation of oil. During World War II, Azerbaijani oil played a significant role in the victory over Hitler's Germany, producing more than half of the world oil output and around 90 percent of Russian oil output. Later the discoveries of oil fields in other parts of Soviet Russia, Volga-Ural and Siberia, led to the decreasing of production of oil in Azerbaijan until 1980. With the Gorbachev *perestroika* policy, which freed the economy and gave a chance to western companies to explore oil on Russian soil, as well as discovering the vast energy resources of the Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli offshore field led to the flow of foreign investment to the

¹²⁹ Vladimir Socor, "Azerbaijan-Russia Gas Agreement: a Wakeup Call to Brussels and Washington", *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 6, Issue.127, 2 July 2009; (http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35216). Accessed on 17 October 2010.

¹³⁰ Shahin Abbasov, "Medvedev Visit to Baku Produces Gas Export Agreement", *EURASIANET.org*, 3 September 2010; (<http://www.eurasianet.org/node/61857>), Accessed on 17 October.

Azerbaijan oil industry. This event is considered the second oil boom in the oil history of Azerbaijan, which resulted in signing the "Deal of the Century" by the Azerbaijani government and a Western oil consortium in 1994 after a long period of negotiations. In 2005, the BTC project became reality transporting Azerbaijani oil to western markets. Parallel to the oil exports, Azerbaijan also emerged as a net gas exporter in 2007 as the South Caucasus Pipeline became reality. The development and construction of such mega projects were beneficial both for Europe and for energy producing countries. As a result of these projects and contracts the Caspian Basin developed alternative routes to the European markets bypassing the monopol position of the Russian energy transport system and gave an opportunity to the European Union to diversify its energy suppliers and decrease its dependence from Russian and Middle Eastern energy, which has been always politically vulnerable. Next to these, Azerbaijan also played an important role in transferring Central Asian energy to western markets and the proposed Trans-Caspian oil and gas pipeline and the Nabucco project will increase its role further.

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MAHAPATRA, Debidatta Aurobinda**Post-Cold War World Order and Ideal Human Unity:****A Perspective from Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy****Abstract**

This paper analyzes the emerging world order from the perspective of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, while arguing that the concept of ideal human unity as developed by the Indian philosopher provides the parameter to scrutinize the current working of inter-state relations and also the ways how the nation-states can play a dynamic role towards a world order based on peace and harmony. The cardinal argument on which the whole theory of ideal human unity is based is that at the current working the nation-state system has not been mature enough to evolve an egalitarian system in which the realistic paradigm of nation-state relations can be transcended, rather it has perpetuated the state-centric international system mostly governed by national egos and prejudices. Sri Aurobindo argues unless a universal ethic based on supreme social trinity- liberty, equality and fraternity is evolved, the domination of one nation-state or nation-states over others will continue in one way or other. For this evolution of ideal human unity Sri Aurobindo envisages a greater role for India.

Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950), the Indian philosopher and thinker, who contributed to a range of disciplines including philosophy, psychology and literature played a major role in the Indian freedom struggle in the 20th century and shaped the Indian thinking during and aftermath of the freedom struggle. This paper draws heavily from his reflections on nation-state system and the world order, which have immense significance for the post-cold war world. Sri Aurobindo strongly argues that international peace and stability can not be achieved by mere mechanical coming together of the states but by psychological understanding and feeling the urge from within of the necessity of a world union. He argues that this feeling is inherent in the consciousness of every nation but to identify with this consciousness; nations must transcend the confinements of narrow national 'ego' which leads to either aggressive nationalism or expansive imperialism found in varied forms in the conduct of nations. The religion of humanity which in its centre cherishes the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, which nations in their policies at home implement or endeavour to implement, need to be widened to the international sphere and only then complicated issues can be resolved in a non-zero sum framework. While elaborating the main arguments, the paper will follow this course. First, it will focus on Sri Aurobindo's categorization of the concepts of state and nation and their inherent dynamics. The second section of the paper will focus on his concept of ideal human unity. The third section highlights the weakness of international bodies both in their conception and working. The fourth section brings India into picture and prospects of its contribution towards the realization of ideal human unity.

State and Nation and the World Order

Sri Aurobindo makes a distinction between the concepts of state and nation – the state represents the transition of society from the infrarational organic stage to the rational stage and it attempts to bring about an organic unity of the aggregate people's political, social and economic life through centralized administration. The need for compactness, single-mindedness and uniformity to promote security and strengthen national defence is sought to be fulfilled by the state-idea. According to him, "The state has been most successful and efficient means of unification and has been best able to meet the various needs which the progressive aggregate life of societies has created for itself and is still creating." (Sri Aurobindo 1962, p. 618) The state is only an outward form, a convenient machinery to enforce unity and uniformity, while the nation idea implies the living unity of the aspirations and powers of its peoples. A common race-origin, a common language, a common culture and geographical unity may be its elements but it is basically a psychological unit with a distinct personality or 'soul' of its own. The evolution of the state follow this order: man by nature seeks the association of his fellow beings, and this seeking of association of individuals begins within the family followed by the tribe, then the clan, the community and subsequently the nation. But the progression does not end at the nation idea because there is a drive in Nature towards larger agglomerations and this drive can lead to the final establishment of the largest of all and the ultimate union of the world's people. (Sri Aurobindo 1962, p. 797)

Though the concept of nationalism emerged in the 18th century Europe, it emerged not as a concept embodying evolutionary consciousness but proceeded from some kind of expediency, mainly geographical and historical. In the beginning, it surfaced as a secondary or even tertiary necessity which resulted not from anything inherent in the vital nature of human society but from circumstances. (Sri Aurobindo 1962, p. 743) It lacked the idea of larger human unity in its core. Though Sri Aurobindo did not reject the role of external factors, i.e. geography, language, and common objectives, or the internal factors like common sentiment and culture in the emergence of the nation-state idea, he applied a more nuanced approach. He argues, "nationalism is not a mere political programme; nationalism is a religion ... If you are going to be a nationalist, if you are giving assent to this religion of nationalism, you must do it in the religion spirit." On the surface this approach may give a sense for the advocacy of crude revivalism, but a deeper analysis does not hold this viewpoint true. Karan Singh argues, "Sri Aurobindo's nationalism never descended into chauvinism or obscurantist revivalism. He always placed it in a broader, international context." (Singh 1972, p. 55) In his *Open Letter to Countrymen*, written in 1909 – Sri Aurobindo emphasized, "our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nations and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is a unity of brothers, equals and freemen that we seek..." But, the evolutionary principle which Sri Aurobindo emphasized in his analysis of nationalism does not find place in the works of other scholars on nationalism. E. J. Hobsbawm (quoting Stalin) writes, "a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." (Hobsbawm 1993, p. 5) Benedict Anderson emphasizes on the psychological aspect and writes, "it (nation) is an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." (Anderson 1991, p. 6) Among other differences, Anderson's nationalism does not take into account the evolutionary and ideal nature that forms an integral part of Sri Aurobindo's nationalism.

The psychological feeling of being in nation brings unity among people of different shades of opinion as it makes the principle of unity in diversity possible. It has the following utilities: first, it brings the sense of unison among people; second, it helps in developing a collective consciousness leading to collective goals in national affairs; and third, it transcending national divides bears the seed of a larger formation, towards a greater unity of human beings. Nationalism is evolutionary in nature and its evolution towards a higher form of synthesis of mankind is mandated in its very nature. There is always an urge in nation idea even in a way to 'destroy it' in the larger synthesis of mankind. In the growth of human civilization nationalism is an intermediary stage towards higher forms of union, transcending narrow national boundaries because the nation idea finds its consummation in the development of ideal human unity. But, the nation idea must be developed to its full before any possibility of formation of world union arises. In *The ideal of Human Unity* Sri Aurobindo explicates the possibility of emergence of world union. For him, the exact name does not matter, whether it is called world union or federation of states, what matters is the highest possible achievement of human civilization in which different nations and different cultures live in peace and harmony, as in one family. The characteristic feature of Sri Aurobindo's concept of nationalism is the development of a crucial tool to explicate the instability in the world order and the crises that afflict it by making a distinction between 'national ego' and 'nation-soul'. While national ego, i.e. a vague sense of group subjectivity is reflected in national idiosyncrasies, habits, prejudices and marked mental tendencies, nation-soul embodies a deeper awareness of group subjectivity. (Mohanty 1993, p. 142) While national ego is a barrier towards larger unity of mankind, nation-soul has in itself a tendency towards larger agglomerations of mankind. Wherever there is domination of national ego, there is a tendency on part of national leaders to profess supremacy of their nation and to proclaim their right to expand into other territories, thus leading to imperialism. Whether it is British or French or German imperialism, an inherent urge was prominent on part of those nations to assert supremacy and domination over other nations and cultures. This tendency of national ego and domination persists even now as the recent developments in the international politics indicate. These developments are dealt in detail in the later chapters.

For Sri Aurobindo nation-state system is not the culmination of the formations of human civilization, rather it is an intermediary phase for the ultimate ideal human unity. Nationalism is neither aggressive nor imperialistic rather it is a significant phase towards the evolution of ideal human unity. While Sri Aurobindo argued for moderation of aggressive nationalism towards evolution of larger human unity in the wake of the First World War, almost same line of argument was followed by two worth mentioning scholars on the eve of the Second World War. Clarence Streit's *Union Now* and W. B. Curry's *The Case for Federal Union* were full of insightful arguments with roadmaps for moderation of the concept of aggressive nationalism, especially practiced in Germany under the leadership of Hitler. Curry appealed nations to come out of their narrow grooves to make the idea of federal union possible. For the survival of the civilization, Curry argued, "the groups which we call nations should become like other groups, less fierce, less exclusive, less aggressive, less dominating, admitting allegiance to, and submitting to some measure of control by the community consisting of mankind as a whole." (Curry 1939, p. 65)

Ideal Human Unity

Nationalism in its true spirit leads to internationalism as it cannot provide the anchor for the final solution to the problems emerging out of the nation-state mechanism. When nation-states do not mature and transform themselves to a larger possible human unity, they become subject to evils of aggressive and imperialist impulses. Only when the spirit of nationalism is developed to its full, it graduates to the higher goal of human unity. The nature which embodies the world is basically a 'pluriverse' not a universe, which contains in its core an inherent urge towards multiple poles of interaction which negotiates and reconciles diverse forms of expression as is the case with the nation-idea embodying plurality and diversity.

Attempts were made in the past to establish some kind of world order, howsoever limited in scale, but these failed mainly because these were not based on intrinsic values of the ideal human unity but purely on mechanical and superficial means. Empires like the Roman and the Persian adopted absolutist and monarchical means to bring some kind of unity and order among divergent units but those attempts failed because they were not addressed to the basic values of humanity in its genuine form. Sri Aurobindo developed the idea of religion of humanity to make his scheme of ideal human unity a feasible initiative. The underlying basis of this religion is not any kind of dogma or exclusivist tenets or ideas, rather three supreme values- liberty, equality and fraternity. This supreme social trinity or 'three godheads of soul,' as he names it, can provide a stable basis for a new world order based on peace and harmony. But, these three supreme values cannot develop and transform the world until the nation states rise to the occasion and cultivate them in habit, thinking and ways of life. In fact none of these values has really been realized in true spirit in spite of all the progress that has been achieved by the human society. Sri Aurobindo writes: "The liberty that has been so loudly proclaimed as an essential of modern progress is an outward and mechanical and unreal liberty. The equality that has been so much sought after and battled for is equally an outward and mechanical and will turn out to be an unreal equality. Fraternity is not even claimed to be a practicable principle of the ordering of life and what is put forward as its substitute is the outward and mechanical principle of equal association or at best a comradeship of labour." (Sri Aurobindo 1962, pp. 762-763) Liberty, equality and fraternity are largely in conflict with each other, unless transformed and reconciled in a balanced framework. Liberty on its own emphasizes on human freedom, some kind of laissez faire, thus neglecting the principle of equality. Similarly, the principle of equality on its own contradicts the principle of liberty as it emphasizes on parity - at the cost of individual freedom, hence the never-ending debate in political theory concerning the principles of liberty and equality. Sri Aurobindo argues these two apparently contradictory principles can be reconciled with the higher principle of fraternity. But this reconciliation appears unworkable in the present scheme of things which put emphasis on mere perfunctory order because fraternity as it is implied in its present working means mere formal coming of nations together or just some kind of formal unity without change in character and motives.

The religion of humanity is the true embodiment of the three supreme values in proper harmony. Liberty in its true sense is not exclusive. Freedom not only implies 'freedom to' but also 'freedom from'. Similarly, equality in its true sense not only implies equitable rights but also equitable duties. This harmonious working of the principles of liberty and equality is possible only when the spirit of brotherhood encompasses all the human minds including the minds that govern the nation states. Only

then the ideal for human unity will emerge not as a distant possibility but as an imperative for the mankind because, as Sri Aurobindo argues, with the passing of time nations have come closer to each other. The major contributions made by 'science, commerce and rapid communication' (Sri Aurobindo 1962, p. 617) in this regard cannot be ignored. His allusion in the early decades of the 20th Century to these three important vehicles of globalization brings forth the seminar character of this approach of ideal human unity and its relevance in the 21st century. As the achievements of commerce, science and technology transcend national boundaries, similarly the religion of humanity transcends all narrow national mentalities and all those forces that confine national mentality to rigidities.

The basic underlying motive behind the ideal of human unity is not the establishment of any particular kind of formation like world state or world federation or confederation. The objective is the achievement of the highest possible world unity among nations and their peoples. It may take the shape of a world state or federation or confederation, that is not more important but what is more important is that the nations must come out of the confinements of the collective ego to participate in the widest possible human unity. Hence, the world union will neither be rigid nor dogmatic nor subject to dictates of a particular nation or group of nations. It will not succumb to hegemonic ambitions of any particular nation because a true world union will be based on the 'principle of equality in which considerations of size and strength will not enter.' It will give equal respect to diverse cultures and patterns of life. It will, in the language of *Crossing the Divide: Dialogue Among Civilizations*, (Giandomenico and et al 2001) recognize the principles of equality and distinction, not domination and disintegration. It will not allow big, powerful nations to usurp the rights of other nations in violation of the basic principles of the world body. This world order will be akin to a rich tapestry in which different shades of colour are beautifully placed in their own places or like an ornament in which different precious stones are placed in their requisite order. *Crossing the Divide* written under the auspices of the UN and forwarded by then UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan challenges the theories of 'Clash of Civilizations' and 'End of History' and posits hope on the UN for the resolution of the global problems. It envisages the emergence of the UN as a kind of 'global social contract,' which recognizes the principle of equality and distinction among the nations and rejects the old paradigm of international relations and advocates for a new paradigm governing the relations between nations on the following bases: equal footing, reassessment of 'enemy', dispersion of power, stake holding, individual responsibility, and Issue-driven alignments. (Giandomenico and et al 2001, pp. 109-152)

International Bodies

Did the League of Nations and the UN live up to the expectations with which they were established? Did they make in any sense the world better for the progress of nations and for the humanity at large? Both these mechanisms were not free from defects in their origin and conception. Sri Aurobindo writes, "the League (the League of Nations, established after the end of the First World War) was eventually formed with America outside it as an instrument of European diplomacy, which was a bad omen for its future." (Sri Aurobindo 1962, p. 710) He warned about the danger of assigning 'preponderant place to the five great powers in the Security Council' of the UN, thus ensuring a 'strong surviving element of oligarchy' in the international body. (Sri Aurobindo 1962, p. 782) He further warned that its defects might lead to pessimism and doubt regarding its final success. The League of Nations failed because it was not

truly representative of the nations and the member nations frequently violated its principles. Many members of the League gave the impression that they joined the League not for universal peace and harmony but the fulfillment of their narrow interests. This was reflected in frequent violation of the League principles and in agreements like Kellogg-Briand Pact and Nine- Power treaty and many others. The key player in the formation of the League, the US did not join it because of opposition from its Senate. The humiliation of Germany at the Versailles treaty in 1919 opened up the possibilities of the rise of aggressive nationalism. Instead of resolving the problem it gave vent to the suppressed anger and frustration on part of Germany to come out in open two decades later. These developments finally led to the Second World War, shattering the hopes for the building of a new world order.

In the emerging post-cold war scenario the UN could have provided avenues for divergent nations to display their diversities in a harmonious way under one roof, where the differences among them could be resolved under the framework of international law applicable equally to all nations. But the sanctioning of veto power to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council marred the prospects of the rise of an egalitarian world structure. As the past records show, this veto power has been exercised arbitrarily by the big powers for the fulfillment of their interests. Ostrom J. Moller, an advocate of world governance, argued "The five victorious nations decided that they should govern the world. Is that the best solution? Whether the world should be governed by the Security Council is itself an interesting question, but if so should it then be these five nations who should do it?" (Moller 2000, p. 173) Moller also pointed that a new international system cannot be built upon sovereign nation-states as participant but has to be built on the transfer of sovereignty from the nation-state to international institutions. He does not reject nation-states as participants in international mechanism but they have to partially transfer their sovereignty. (Moller 2000, p. 146) For this to happen some kind of 'creative destruction' on part of the nation-states need to take place.

The UN, which emerged as a 'global social contract', appeared to be more representative in comparison to its predecessor the League of Nations. The General Assembly, comprise almost all nations of the world (at present the number of the members is 192; in 1945, the year it was established, the number was 51). The Assembly has been working on the principle of one nation, one vote, thus giving equal voice to all nations, big or small, powerful or marginal. Through its various bodies like UNESCO, UNICEF and WHO the UN has done a commendable work in adopting and organizing welfare activities throughout the world. This supreme international body was expected to provide the ground for the emergence of the ideal human unity but as its functions later showed the powerful nations in the Security Council used their special powers arbitrarily. The defects in the working of the UN and in its structure can be summarized in the following points. First, the system built up more than fifty years ago has not developed suitable mechanisms to adapt itself to the changing circumstances. The menace of terrorism, the challenges emerging out of market economy and globalization, the accentuating north-south divide, the problems related to human rights and democracy have not been tackled by the world body appropriately. Though the theories of Clash of Civilization and End of History have been challenged by the proponents of the UN system, no grand alternative or any kind of mechanism to address these emerging problems have been devised. Second, the decision-making power has been concentrated in few powerful centres. The Permanent-5 countries by the means of veto power have weakened the real motive behind the establishment of the UN. Third, the UN lacks the effective means to enforce its rules and

regulations. It lacks adequate financial means to implement its plans and programmes. (Novosseloff 2000, pp. 945-963) What Curry said about seventy years ago seemed to be true now: "There still remains the idea that nationalism somehow is defensible in terms of freedom and must there be resisted. This obsession is very deeply rooted". (Curry 1939, p. 77) Fourth, in many cases the effectiveness of the UN has been challenged or dominated by other international bodies like International Monetary Fund and World Bank, controlled by the developed nations.

The weakness of the UN machinery as mentioned above does not nullify its validity. Further improvements can be made on this system by gradual reforms. In this context two simultaneous developments need to be undertaken. First, nations must shun narrow considerations and participate in the international process towards peace and development in an egalitarian framework. The organizations like European Union, Association of South-East Asian Nations, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, G-8 and G-20 have already shown the ways to success, when working in unison. This collective spirit should be imparted in the working of the UN. Various non-governmental organizations such as World Constitution and Parliament Association, World Citizens' Assembly, World Association of World Federalists, International Registry of World Citizens and many others have launched movements to bring a just and harmonious union among the nations. (Basu 1999) Second, the structure of the UN and its decision-making process needs reforms. Measures like the enlargement of the membership of the Security Council, providing financial autonomy, and giving wider recognition to the leadership of the Secretary General can be undertaken to this effect.

There have been attempts to impart greater visibility and dynamism to multilateral organizations like the G-20 towards bringing regional centres of economic power in playing an important role in global economic management. The rising clout of the G-20 and coming together of developed and developing countries shows a clear inclination on part of crucial players in international politics to promote the path of multilateralism to manage global economic crisis. Since 1999 the grouping has played an effective role to set common principles for sound economic management, broaden the Washington consensus on economic development, devise strong measures to curb terror finance. It has also adopted the Accord for Sustained Growth outlining policies to promote monetary and financial stability, enhance domestic and international competition, and empower people to participate successfully in markets. The G-20 may appear small but the grouping represents about 90 per cent of the world's economic output with 67 per cent of world population and its success in meeting global crisis show that this body with diverse countries with diverse levels of growth and societal make up have struck a right balance between legitimacy and effectiveness and met the challenge better than any similar effort. (Martin 2005, pp. 2-6) The Canadian leader Paul Martin, who chaired the first G-20 meeting, argued that the G-20 model which is primarily a multilateral economic instrument in international politics can be replicated in the form L-20 (Leaders-20) to meet the global challenges. The lessons drawn from working of the G-20, i.e. crucial decisions are taken at political level, commonality despite differences and focus on larger issues of stability and predictability can be further extended in creating another organization L-20 which can focus on political issues confronting nations of the world. The globalized world where borders seldom work as barriers in the spread of ideas, commerce or devious forces terrorism or diseases or weapons of mass destruction or environmental concerns justify the creation of an L-20.

The complex international relations of the 21st century appear to be fraught with same old problems as in past towards creating a multilateral body to solve the global crises. For instance, in case of the proposed L-20 who will be the members? Who will set the agenda for the body to deliberate upon? Whether the body will meet the issues of common concern such as terrorism (which is much contested), or environmental degradation (too much divergence as the Copenhagen summit of 2009 shows), or pandemics (politics about vaccines, etc.) with effective mechanism to enforce its decisions, or it will just impart guidelines leaving to nation-states to follow at their will? The post-cold war (still it is cold war with the prefix post) so far lacks the needed momentum to evolve a global egalitarian architecture. Attempts or ideas such as L-20 will be fraught with the similar problems as that of the UN. The structural and conceptual reform of the UN including inclusion of new permanent members such as the rising nations of India, Brazil and South Africa in the Security Council has been marred by disagreements. The reluctance on part of some of the big powers to come out of their national egos and accommodate the rising aspirations in the council has delayed the reform process. The same kind of 'confinement' and 'exclusion' mentality will likely continue for the near future, thus obstructing any attempt towards ideal human unity.

Unless the UN is transformed into a genuine representative of divergent nations, it will not be to cater the divergent aspirations of nation states in a global framework in a harmonious blending. The concern expressed by Sri Aurobindo regarding the future of the UN has also been echoed by the noted scientist Albert Einstein, "The United Nations is an extremely important and useful institution provided the peoples and governments of the world realize that it is merely a transitional system towards the final goal, which is the establishment of supranational authority vested with sufficient legislative and executive powers to keep the peace." (Basu 1999, p. 1) Similarly, Emery Reves in his *The Anatomy of Peace* writes, "World government is not an 'ultimate goal' but an immediate necessity. It has been overdue since 1914". (Basu 1999, p. 4) Likewise, the Parliament of World Religions in 1993 advocated for the adoption of the Golden Rule (Giandomenico and et al 2001, p. 74) by the nations for the evolution of a world union. Golden Rule has both positive and negative dimensions: in its positive dimension it embodies the principle: do unto others what you would want others to do unto you; and in its negative dimension it embodies the principle: do not do unto others what you would not want others to do unto you. If nations could adopt this rule shared by all great religious traditions the authors of the *Crossing the Divide* argue, it will help in the evolution of a global ethic to be equally observed and respected by different nations towards emergence of a multipolar world without compromising national interests rather elevating them to a higher pedestal in which peace, harmony and development will be core principles.

India's Emergence

The element of force as effective means for the establishment of an ideal world union is ruled out in the scheme of ideal human unity. History makes it evidently clear that force may bring some kind of formal world unity but it will not last long unless the mechanism of force gives way to the means of harmony and order. Curry stipulated the following conditions for the emergence of a genuine world federation: independent control of foreign policy, common armed force, common economic policy, common control of communications, international control of currency, and effective world public opinion. Streit emphasized on the following points: union citizenship, union defence force, union customs-free economy,

union money, and union postal and communications system. (Curry 1939, pp. 107-114 and 147) Though Sri Aurobindo analyzed the possibility of administrative unity, common economic policy, common military force, he did not give any specific guidelines regarding the future structure of the world body. What he emphasized most was the cultivation of the religion of humanity among the nations. The emergence of world unity for Sri Aurobindo is the manifestation of a higher consciousness in the world. The march from the state to the higher, world state can be explained as a movement of nature from infrarational to rational and then to suprarational forms of consciousness. Sri Aurobindo's ideal of human unity provides the rationale for the nation states to come out of the hegemonic ambitions and related foreign policy postures pursued by them as clearly reflected in turmoil of the past decade. Sidney Kartus observes: "The Western world knows far more of Marx's call to the working men to unite than it does of Sri Aurobindo's message to the humanity to unite. Yet it is a message such as that of Sri Aurobindo with which humanity must become familiar and which it must need in order attain human unity." (Kartus 1960, p. 314)

An integral part of Sri Aurobindo's concept of nationalism was spiritualism. He advocated spiritual nationalism during the Indian freedom struggle. In his editorials in *Bande Mataram*, he demanded for complete independence from the British domination against the moderate demand for dominion status as, he argued, *swaraj* (self-rule) of India was not a factor sole to India herself but was an imperative for the larger cause of humanity. He, thus, demanded complete independence for India and for the achievement of that purpose advocated for spiritual nationalism, having four-fold dimensions: *swadeshi* (self-reliance), *swaraj*, boycott and national education. Such an approach, he argued, will arouse national consciousness for India's freedom so that India with her non-antagonistic posture can play an important role towards ideal human unity. In his message on the eve of first Independence Day on 15 August 1947, he outlined five dreams about India and humanity. While the third dream was about the formation of a world union, the fourth one emphasized India's spiritual role in promoting the ideal of human unity. India with its rich cultural heritage and pluralistic character could play a vital role towards bringing nations together for the larger objective of ideal human unity.

Once the principle of ideal human unity is embedded in the approaches of nations in their mutual conducts, though a difficult proposition in the current state of affairs keeping in view the post-cold war developments, then the world order free from aggressive tendencies will be stable and the question of force as a foreign policy tool will become largely obsolete. Whether it is 'peaceful rise of China' or 'rise of Asian powers' or 'decline of the West' these developments will not be viewed in the ambit of zero sum game in international politics as they will emerge as facts to contend with in evolving international politics. The power alignments meant to contain one power or the other will be viewed differently from the evolutionary perspective towards ideal human unity. India's relations vis-à-vis other powers particularly China with which India enjoys an asymmetric relationship can be analyzed in this context. India-China relations can be described by the biological aphorism as malnutrition of political relations and surfeit of economic relations. China is India's second largest trade partner though they display disagreements on various issues including border, terrorism, principles governing bilateral and multilateral relationship. Lee Kuan Yew in an article analyzed how in March 2005 the US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in New Delhi lured Indian leadership to cooperate with the US to contain China and in return "America will help India become a world power," and posed the question with a sense of

disagreement "Will India line up with the U.S. against its powerful neighbor, China, as Japan has? India has a deep sense of its separate destiny." (Yew 2005) India's foreign policy in its core has the principle of accommodation and appreciation, clearly reflected in the statement by Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, "The world is large enough to accommodate the growth and ambitions of both our countries (India and China). I do not look upon our relations with the US as meant to rival China. I look forward to enhanced cooperation with China." (Yew 2005)

In the coming decades the world's economic centre of gravity will move from the Atlantic to the Pacific and Indian oceans with the rise of India and China, but it does not predicate that the world will then be free from disorder, instability and violence unless a framework is evolved to contain the aggressive nationalist spirit that still looms large in the policies of nation-states. This further reinforces the ideal of human unity which is predicated on the premise that nation-states must come out of their aggressive mindset to make the unity feasible. India in the post-cold war situation has aspired to multi-task its foreign policy by simultaneously engaging diverse powers both perceived friends and enemies. India since independence has made rapid strides in development. The Nuclear Suppliers' Group's waiver on the recent Indo-US nuclear deal reflects India's acceptability as a responsible rising power. The philosophical as well historical background of India's foreign policy, with having roots as early as 6th Century BC, has in core promotion of peace and condemnation of violence. This is well reflected in the teachings and philosophy of spiritual and political leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo. This tradition was espoused and practised by the father of the Indian nation Mahatma Gandhi, whose influence on the making of India's foreign policy is indisputable as the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was his ardent follower. In fact the principles of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence have in their core the Gandhian approach, which held in a very literal sense that human beings were the nation and that the behaviour of every individual ultimately moulded the fate of his country. The rapid strides in the Indian development and increasing circle of its foreign policy have maintained synchrony with this traditional core of India's foreign policy. India has broken out of the 'claustrophobic confines of South Asia' (Gupta 1997, p. 309) and looked forward to extend its neighbourhood across the Pacific and the Atlantic. The principle of accommodation and non-antagonistic postures embedded in foreign policy approach of India provide it a higher pitch to play a crucial role in crafting a framework in which nation-states can collaborate towards a world of harmony and order without a single centre of domination but with multiple centres of interaction and cooperation.

Conclusion

Any evolving world order, as Sri Aurobindo rightly argues, must in its core have an eclectic approach governing interstate relations and confronting challenges emerging out of the complex web of these relations, while according nations big or small, developed or developing equal voice in the global decision making process. The global problems such as climate change or terrorism or epidemics like swine flu preclude prospects of getting resolved with wherewithal of a particular state or a particular group of states. Hence, the emphasis that states must discard narrow confinements of rigid thinking and think global assumes increasing significance in the post-cold war world. The world has become truly global with new means of communication and myriad interactions among the people of the globe guiding towards a framework of ideal human unity transcending national peculiarities and in its place evolving a

global ethic. The two factors, i.e. global imperative towards unity among nations and national assertion at the cost of international norms can not run parallel or work simultaneously as they embody contrary forces. They need to be reconciled or transcended in a wider framework of ideal human unity. In this direction, India with its peaceful rise and not-antagonistic postures can play an effective role towards building new architecture of inter-state relations shun of national proclivities but grounded on the principle of ideal human unity.

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LITERATURE & ARTS

EKUKLU, Bülent

Zeki Demirkubuz ve “Kader”

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Yeni dönem Türk sinemasının Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Derviş Zaim, Reha Erdem ile birlikte önemli yönetmenlerinden birisi Zeki Demirkubuz. Bu yorum, bu dönemle ilgili akademik çalışmalar yapan insanların da katıldığı bir görüş. Kuşağının ve takip eden sinemacıların arasında da, ‘kişisel sinema’ diye adlandırabileceğimiz bir tarzda öne çıkan, “auteur” diyebileceğimiz bir yönetmen aynı zamanda.

Son filmi “Kıskanmak” dışında bütün filmlerinin öyküsünü ve senaryosunu yazan, hatta bir kısmının görüntü yönetmenliğini ve kurgusunu da bizzat üstlenen bir yönetmen ve çok kendine ait bir tarzı olan bir sinemacı Zeki Demirkubuz. (“Kıskanmak” filmini Nahid Sırrı Örik’in romanundan kendisi uyarlamıştır.) Hem anlattığı öyküler, hem tüm filmlerinde takip ettiği ortak izlek açısından, hem karakterlerinin filmlerden öne çıkacak referanslarla takip edebileceğimiz ortak yanları açısından üzerinde düşünmeye ve incelemeye değer bir yönetmendir Zeki Demirkubuz. Demirkubuz’un sinemasındaki bütünlük hakkında, iddialı olmakla birlikte şöyle söylenebilir: Zeki Demirkubuz’un bütün filmlerini belki tek bir filmin(in) farklı ‘episode’ları gibi seyretmek mümkündür. Nitekim yazının devamında “Kader” hakkında konuşurken de zaten öteki filmlerine sık sık referans veriyor olacağız. O yüzden Zeki Demirkubuz’un bir filmi hakkında derinlikli bir tahlil yapabilmek için mümkünse bütün filmlerini seyretmek gerektiğini düşünüyorum.

Benim kişisel favorilerim “Masumiyet” ve bu yazının konusunu oluşturan “Kader” filmleri. Zaten iki filmin çok yakın bir ilişkisi var. “Kader” aslında daha sonra çekilen bir film olmasına rağmen, “Masumiyet”teki Bekir karakterinin bir monologundan yola çıkarak, orada anlatılan hikayenin uzun haliyle filmleştirilmiş bir versiyonudur. Ama “Kader”in ve “Masumiyet”in yanında öteki filmleriyle de değerlendirildiğinde Zeki Demirkubuz, hem temaları açısından, hem genel olarak kafa yordığı meseleler açısından, hem “insanı anlamak” diye özetleyebileceğimiz bir “üst başlıkta” toplayabileceğimiz hikayeleri açısından ortak bir izleği takip eden bir sinemacıdır. Biz bu yazıda 2006 tarihinde çektiği ve senaryosunu da yazdığı “Kader” filmiyle birlikte Demirkubuz sinemasının bazı yönlerini inceleyeceğiz.

“Kader”in ana karakterleri 3 kişidir. Bütün öykü, birbirlerini hapsedecek bir sevginin esiri olmuş, birbirlerini tutkuyla, saplantıyla seven 3 kişinin Türkiye’nin farklı şehirlerindeki hikyesidir. Ve bu öykü, bu 3 karakterin, birbirleriyle neredeyse bir tür zorunlulukla ilerleyen ilişkisi üzerinden anlatılır.

Öykünün merkezinde Bekir isminde bir karakter vardır. Onun büyük bir aşkla, hatta saplantılı bir tutkuyla sevdiği “Uğur” isminde bir kadın ve Uğur’un da Bekir’in kendisine duyduğu aşka benzer bir saplantıyla sevdiği “Zagor” isimli 3. karakter öykünün ana eksenini oluşturan karakterlerdir. Bekir’le Uğur’un filmin hemen başında tanışmasından sonra Zagor bir cinayete karışır ve ortadan kaybolur.

Uğur'da Zagor'la birlikte ortadan kaybolduktan bir süre sonra, Zagor 2 polisi öldürdüğü başka bir cinayetin ardından tutuklanır ve sonra "Masumiyet"e de kaynaklık eden asıl hikaye başlar. Bütün film boyunca Zagor gittiği her cezaevinde suça karıştığı için Türkiye'nin farklı şehirlerindeki cezaevlerine gönderilir. Uğur'da onun peşinden, Zagor'un gönderildiği her şehire uğruna pek çok sıkıntılar çekerek gider. Bekir'de Uğur'a duyduğu saplantılı aşk dolayısıyla Uğur'u takip eder.

Oscar Wilde'ın Reading Zindanı Baladı'nda "**Herkes sevdiğini öldürür**" biçiminde bir ifade vardır. Bu filmde de hem karakterlerin akli olanın dışında bir tutkuyla, neredeyse kendilerini kontrol edemeyecek bir saplantıyla takip ettikleri birisi vardır. Hem de aslında onlar için belki ailelerinin, belki toplumun belirlediği, aslında başka bir hapislik duygusu oluşturan bir hayat hikayesi vardır. Ve sevdiğini takip eden, onu sevgisiyle hapseden, bir anlamda kendisini de yokoluşa götüren bu sevgiyle sevdiğini öldüren kahramanlar vardır.

Bunun sıklıkla işlenen bir tema olduğunu söylemek çok iddialı bir ifade olabilir ama Türk sineması açısından şu söylenebilir: Başka türlü bakışlar ya da anlatımlarla zaman zaman işlenen bir temadır 'sevgisiyle hapsedmek' kavramı. Mesela Zeki Demirkubuz'un filmlerinde anlattığı hikayenin çok kabaca benzerlerini başka pek çok filmde görebiliriz. Bunların büyük bir kısmı 'melodram' diye adlandırabileceğimiz türe ait filmlerdir ama oradaki işleniş ve yorum Zeki Demirkubuz'un bakış açısından çok farklıdır. Öte yandan bu zaman zaman sanat sinemasının da işlediği temalardan birisi olur. Sanat sinemasının bazen insanın kendisini yokoluşa götüren birşeye, herhangi birşeye, ki bu bir aşk olabilir, bir nesneye duyulan arzu olabilir, işlediği temalardan birisidir. Mesela Luis **Bunuel** de bununla ilgili bir film yapmıştır. 80'lerde video furyasının çok yoğun olduğu dönemlerde arabesk diye adlandırabileceğimiz filmlerde de sıklıkla işlenen bir temadır. Ama sinemadan öte, "**birini sevgi(si)yle tutsak etmek**" bizim hayatta karşılaştığımız birşeydir.

"Kader", Bekir'in babasının onun için açtığı mobilya dükkanında uyuduğu bir sahneyle açılır. Uğur halı bakmak için dükkana gelir, Bekir'i uykusundan uyandırır. Bu tanışıklık gerçekleşikten birkaç gün sonra da Uğur Bekir'i tekrar ziyaret eder ve Bekir ona aşkını itiraf eder.

Bekir o ana kadar, yani Uğur'a ona duyduğu aşkı bir tür mahcubiyetle söylediği ana kadar aslında bir tür 'cennet' içinde yaşamaktadır. Çünkü yaşadığı mahalledeki arkadaşları, akranları ya da daha genel bir ifadeyle söylemek gerekirse Türkiye'de onun konumundaki pek çok insandan avantajlı olarak bir işe sahiptir. İyi bir ailesi vardır, ona gözkulak olan bir babası vardır. Nitekim filmin ilerleyen bölümlerinde babası Bekir'in bütün serseriliklerine rağmen onu derleyip toparlamaya, ailesine sahip çıkmaya devam eder. O yüzden Uğur'un geldiği ana kadar bir tür 'cennet' içerisinde yaşamaktadır Bekir ve o ana kadar gayet masumdur. Bu masumiyet dolayısıyla da Uğur'a onu çok sevdiğini söylediği sahnede bir boynu büküklükle, adeta yaptığından utanır bir ifadeyle 'ilan-ı aşk' eder. Fakat bu aşkın ilanı an'ı, onun hayatında bir dönüm noktasıdır, daha doğrusu dönüm noktası haline gelecektir.

O ana kadar kendi cenneti içinde yaşayan masum bir karakterdir Bekir. Aslında filmin öyküsüne daha bütünlüklü biçimde baktığımızda Adem-Havva öyküsüyle bir benzerlik kurmak mümkün olabilir. Orada da, bilindiği gibi cennette yaşarken yasak elma meselesi dolayısıyla ikisi birden, 'şeytanın baştan çıkartması' dolayısıyla cennetten kovulurlar. Ana izleğiyle 'Kader'i belki bu bağlamda pek çok dinsel ve mitolojik metinde de gördüğümüz arketiplerle ilişkilendirmek mümkün. Bekir'de o ana kadar yani kadının hayatına girdiği ana kadar ailesinin, babasının onun için yarattığı cennette yaşayan bir insandır.

Zeki Demirkubuz'un, filmi Bekir'in uyuduğu bir sahneyle açması da bu dünyanın dertlerinden uzak olma açısından bu bağlamda yorumlanabilir. Dolayısıyla aslında Bekir'in hayatının kalanını bu güven ve rahatlık içinde sürdürmesi için herşey hazırdır. Ta ki Uğur'un hayatına girdiği ana kadar. O andan sonra Uğur, onu bilerek ya da bilmeyerek baştan çıkaracak ve Bekir'i 'Masumiyet' filminde intihar etmesiyle noktalanmış maceranın içine çekecektir.

Zeki Demirkubuz "Kader" dahil bütün filmlerinde karakterlerinin mahremiyetiyle arasına bir mesafe koyar.

Zeki Demirkubuz'un bunu özellikle yaptığını söyleyebiliriz. Çünkü, Bekir'in kaderini yani onu yokoluşa götürecektir kaderini 'femme fatal' diye adlandırabileceğimiz ve edebiyatta, sinemada çok sık örneğini gördüğümüz bir karaktere yüklemek istememiş olabilir. Çünkü Uğur'un peşinden gitmek öncelikle Bekir'in kişisel seçimi ve bilinçli tercihidir. Dolayısıyla Uğur Onu ayartmak, baştan çıkartmak için herhangi birşey yapmamıştır. Öte yandan insanın 'yoldan çıkması' diye tabir edebileceğimiz bir tercihe yönelmesinin ya da onun sonunu yokoluşa, ölüme götürecektir her türlü kötü yolu takip etmesinin sebebi illaki bir kadın ya da başka birşey olmak zorunda değildir diye düşünüyorum. İnsan bazı şeyleri tamamen sebepsiz de yapabilir. Ki biz bunu pek çok Zeki Demirkubuz filminde de görürüz. Nitekim "Kader" filminde bu görüşü destekleyen sahneler vardır. Finalde Bekir ve Uğur'un birlikte esrar içtikleri sahne örneğin. O sahnede her ikisinin de hayatıyla ilgili bu yazıda değindiğimiz 'teslimiyet' meselesiyle ilgili olarak 'içlerini döktükleri' bir bölüm vardır. O sahnede bütün bu yaşananların kökeninde esrar, seks ya da aşktan öte bir şey olduğu ya da aslında tam tersi, açıklanabilir hiçbir şey olmadığı anlaşılır. Zaten film boyunca Bekir'le Uğur arasında bir cinsellik yoktur. Bekir'in buna yeltendiği ama Uğur'un şiddetli tepkisi üzerine hemen vazgeçtiği bir tek an vardır. Nitekim "Kader"de anlatılan hikayenin devamı olan "Masumiyet"te bu noktayla ilgili çok önemli ve sinema tarihine geçtiğini söyleyebileceğimiz bir kavga sahnesi vardır. Bekir'le Uğur'un birlikte olma meselesinden dolayı otelde yaşadıkları kavga sahnesinden sonra zaten Bekir belki de aralarındaki aşk ilişkisinin masumiyetini yitirdiğini düşündüğü için intihar eder. Çünkü Uğur'la birlikte olmak ister ve bunu çok kaba bir biçimde dile getirir.

Filmin "karakterlerin davranışlarındaki sebepsizlik" açısından önemli sahnelerinden bir başkası Bekir'in, Uğur'la İzmir'de konuştuğu sahnedir. Bu sahne Bekir açısından önemlidir çünkü Uğur'a davranışlarının nedenini sorduğu sahnedir. Nitekim 'bu yaptığın kötülük, hayatın boyunca böyle devam mı edeceksin? Gel İstanbul'a dönelim, evleniriz istersen, normal insanlar gibi yaşarız' dediği sahnedir bu. Dolayısıyla bir taraftan kendisine çok benzer bir macera yaşayan Uğur'u yargıladığı ve neden böyle yaptığını anlayamadığı, bir taraftan da ikisi içinde kötü olacak sonu gördüğü için oradan kurtulmaya çalıştığı bir an diyebiliriz. Bu sahnenin kırılma noktası olması açısından şunu söyleyebiliriz: Bu nokta Uğur'un Bekir'i şiddetle reddettiği ve 'sen dön, ben seninle böyle bir hayatı kabul etmem' dediği yerdir. Dolayısıyla filmin sonu için artık neredeyse hem Bekir açısından hem Uğur açısından kaderlerinin bundan sonra nasıl devam edeceklerinin ipuçlarını gördüğümüz yerdir bu sahne. Bekir açısından bir dönüşüm sözkonusudur. Çünkü Bekir'in belki de önceki hayatına dönmek için, yani Uğur'u da alıp kendisinin tabiriyle 'normal insanlar gibi yaşamak için' son çabalarını gösterdiği yerdir burası. Dolayısıyla bunu da kabul ettiremeyince bütün film için kullanabileceğimiz o 'teslimiyet' duygusunun başgösterdiği nokta haline gelir bu sahne.

Kendilerini bir felakete götürecektir hayatın içinde olan, dahası kurtulmak bir yana bunu isteyen karakterlerin, yukarıda anlattığımız bu 'sebepsizlik' dışında nasıl bir motivasyonları olabilir öyleyse?

Uğur'la Bekir arasında bir sevgi ilişkisi olduğu aşikar. Bunu 'aşk' olarak adlandırmak daha doğru. Ama bir tür 'saplantı' olarak adlandırmak da mümkün. Nitekim pek çok aşk kolaylıkla bir saplantıya dönüşebilir. Bu kadar kesin çizgilerle tarif etmek belki fazla iddialı olur. Ama bir bakıma Bekir açısından bile bu duygunun net bir tanımı yoktur. (Hem film için hem genel olarak hayattaki karşılıkları açısından ne kadar açıklanabilir bir duygu olduğu da tartışılır.) Çünkü bu sahnedeki konuşmada 'ama bu kötülük' ifadesini kullanır Bekir. Uğur'un yaşadığı ve kendisine de yaşattığı şey için Uğur'un cevabı bir açıdan çok basittir: 'O zaman kötülük istiyorum' der ve biz filmin seyircisi olarak tanık olduğumuz bütün bu öykü için 'Bu çocuk bunu neden yapıyor? Aşk için mi, başka bir sebebi mi var?' diye sorguladığımızda da bulacağımız cevap aslında çok belirgin olmayacaktır. Bunu da Zeki Demirkubuz'un pek çok filminde kullandığı 'nedensizlikle' açıklamak mümkün.

Hayatta da bunun karşılığını sıklıkla bulmak mümkün aslında. Yani adına aşk dediğimiz, sevgi dediğimiz ya da istek dediğimiz başka birçok şeyi biz kendi rasyonel aklımızla yine kendi deneyimlerimizden, kendi hayatımızdaki karşılıklarından yola çıkarak tarif edebiliriz. Ama bizim tariflerimizin başka birisi için hiçbir anlamı olmayabilir. Buradaki nedensizlik duygusunun da böyle bir açıklaması var. Yani "bunu neden yapıyor?" sorusunun açık, net ve bizim rasyonel aklımıza uymayan bir cevabı olmasının da kökeninde bu var denilebilir. Nietzsche'nin bir sözü vardır; **'insanın akli bir varlık olduğu kadar, akıl dışı bir varlık olduğunu kabul etmemiz gerekir.'** Nitekim bunun örneklerini edebiyatta da görmek mümkündür. Dostoyevski'nin "Yeraltından Notlar" romanı buna başarılı bir örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Romanın kahramanı tanıdıklarının ve eski arkadaşlarının çeşitli vesilelerle onu aşağılamasına müsaade eder, hatta kendisini özellikle aşağılatacağı durumlar içine sokar. Romanı okuduğumuz süre boyunca bunu neden yaptığını anlayamayız. Bizim değer yargılarımız, bizim aklımız açısından kabul edilebilir birşey değildir bu. Ama O neredeyse bir aşkla, büyük bir tutkuyla defalarca aynı şeyi yapar.

Peki bir insan ya da bir film karakteri neden akıyla açıklayamadığı bir saplantının esiri olur? Kuşkusuz, bu derin psikolojik tahliller ve teknik bilgiyle açıklanması gereken bir soru. Ama konunun sinemadaki işlenişine bakarak ana hatlarıyla şunları söylemek mümkün: Öncelikle karakterin saplantısının bir nesneyle, o saplantının, arzusunun objesi olacak bir nesneyle ilişkilendirilmesi gerekir. Bu bazen bir insan, çoğunlukla bir kadın olur. Para ya da mücevher, altın, hazine vb değerli bir meta olabilir. Ama sonuçta bütün o arzuyu besleyecek ve karakterin değer yargılarını hatta bazen akli kontrolünü dışarda bırakacak birşey olmalıdır. O yüzden "saplantılı bir karakter" için öncelikle o arzusunun objesi diye adlandırabileceğimiz bir nesne olması gerekir.

(Devam edecek.)

EKUKLU, Bülent : Zeki Demirkubuz

-I-

Zeki Demirkubuz is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the new era of the Turkish cinema, next to Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Semih Kaplanoğlu, Derviş Zaim and Reha Erdem.

Demirkubuz is unequalled in his demand for independence. He is a director who also merits the title of 'auteur'. Except for his last film ('Jealous'), he wrote the stories and screenplays, directed and edited all his movies himself. Therefore, his film making approach can be called a 'personal cinema'.

In his films and in the individual characters portrayed in them, there are some common elements which together allow us to draw a trajectory. This trajectory, truly worth of deep analysis, unfolds gradually as we watch each of his movies. Demirkubuz himself summarized it as "trying to understand human being".

In present paper we focus on the main message of the film 'Destiny' (2006) and discuss some aspects of Demirkubuz's oeuvre.

'Destiny' is a story of three people who love each other passionately and desperately. The only way to escape from the prison of this obsessive love is death; they in fact kill each other. There is a phrase in '*The Ballad of Reading Gaol*' from Oscar Wilde which describes a similar situation: "*For each man kills the thing he loves*".

At the one hand, the 'love trap' concept is quite often employed in the Turkish cinema. It was one of the favorite themes of the video films of the 80s (see the movie genre 'arabesque'). On the other hand, it is an eternal theme that pops up in art cinema from time to time. Naturally, it is not restricted to the cinema, as obsessive desires might imprison people in reality, too.



MURAKEÖZY, Éva Patrícia

A propos d'une exposition:

Hans Bellmer – Louise Bourgeois Double Sexus¹

If one enters the exhibition "*Hans Bellmer – Louise Bourgeois Double Sexus*" from the back (as I did, by accident, when I got lost in the labyrinths of corridors after having a rewarming cup in the cafeteria) one might in an instant find oneself in a different world. Far and near, familiar and strange is the world of our own body. This – often ignored – part of our existence appears as a fantastical object in this exhibition. Between hanging phalli and standing breasts, twisted bodies and impossible postures, may we experience the body as a battlefield of sexual desire, lust and violence.

As I walked into the spacious hall, my eye was caught by a huge metal cage.



L. Bourgeois: Cell XXVI (2003)

¹ The exhibition embracing over 70 sculptural, graphic and photographic works from the two artists is to be seen between September 11, 2010 and January 16, 2011, in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague.

Enclosed there hung a humanoid figure in front of a distorting mirror. His upper body was twisted in a spindle-like form. Next to him there were two transparent, delicate clothes: underwear pieces. Locked away or protected from the exterior, in his self-constructed cell, lives man watching at the outside world only through the distorting mirror. His connection to and his intimacy with other existences is hampered by a barrier.

There is another story that this figure is telling me. This story is about man being irrevocably and unalterably bound to his earthliness. The twisted spindle form evokes an image of the gut. Tightly fastened in his material body, man is lost and sad. He travels through time as if passively floating in seawater, accompanied by transparent jellyfishes. He is gripping in his vulnerability; he looks as someone that ought to be helped.

This sculptural installation entitled *Cell XXVI* (2003)² is one of several similar works by Louise Bourgeois.

The work of Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010) is rooted in the French Surrealist Movement, an extremely influential cultural movement in Paris between the two world wars, which fed upon Sigmund Freud's studies on sexuality and the subconscious. Members of the surrealist movement aimed to move beyond empirical reality and into the realm of the wondrous, in the hope of attaining a more appropriate vision about man and his world(s).

However, those who know surrealism from the whimsical worlds of Magritte or Dali might get surprised by the violent character of the artworks exhibited in the Gemeentemuseum. Sexual violence was in fact an ongoing theme for artists of the surrealist movement. They wanted to harness the libido for the benefit of their work. (Marquis de Sade was regarded by them as a revolutionary moralist and poet.) Women were often portrayed as fragmented and violated, and at the same time, women's sexuality was often regarded as threatening to men.

Surrealist artists were not interested in the *Mysterium coniunctionis*³, the harmonious unification of the opposites. The time had not yet come for it. A new idea of the woman was just about to emerge. Unknown, dark and strong appeared the woman, who — contrarily to her subjected position — was felt dangerous and threatening to devour man and his (!) intelligence. In Surrealist artworks what appears in place of a hermaphrodite is in fact an “androgynous doubling”.

² Cell XXVI was recently acquired by the Gemeentemuseum of The Hague.

³ The term “*mysterium coniunctionis*” is suggested by C.G. Jung as a designation for the unification of opposing polarities: conscious and unconscious, reason and instinct, spiritual and material, masculine and feminine.



L. Bourgeois: Janus Fleuri (1968)

The hanging artwork *Janus Fleuri* (1968) shows a doubled phallus with a center part reminiscent of an open vulva. The broken surface in the middle contrasts with the smooth, polished surfaces of the sides. According to the author, this object expresses passivity, but also resistance and duration for which she called it one of her self-portraits. "Janus is a reference to the kind of polarity we represent...The polarity I experience is a drive towards extreme violence and revolt...and a retiring," wrote the artist.



Portrait of Louise Bourgeois by Robert Mapplethorpe (1982)



The sculpture *Fillette* (1968) in front of the artist's photograph at the exhibition "Double Sexus"

In the famous portrait of Bourgeois by Robert Mapplethorpe (1982) Bourgeois holds her sculpture named *Fillette* under her arm. *Fillette* (1968) is a latex and plaster sculpture of a huge phallus with some details of a vulva. Contrarily to its size, and the ideas we commonly associate with the might of the phallus, it looks rather comic and diminishing. (Its curious title *Fillette* is a French word literally meaning 'little girl'.) Bourgeois's mischievous smile on the photograph and the manner in which she carries the aggressively looking object under her arm, as a baguette, describe a person of playful geniality. She

interpreted the act as: “It gave me a sense of security. I’ve always felt that my sculpture was more “me” than my physical presence.”

Bourgeois’ oeuvre cannot be simply categorized as “surrealist”. It has a deeply personal character, through which it has reached timeless, eternal realities. (Contrarily to Hans Bellmer, whose work — however sharp and suggestive — remained bound to surrealist ideas.)

As I was looking at Cell XXVI, it called upon a new reality in me. It lifted me above my own earthliness. It was an artwork that talked to me, which — with the worlds of Martin Heidegger — ‘opened up a world’ in me. Heidegger sees the great work of art as something that takes us out of the ordinary. More than this, he states that the work of art connects us to that ‘world’ in such a meaningful way that it allows us to be part of the truth. Bourgeois’ artworks own this world-opening power, whatever frightful and violent they may seem at first.



TRAVELOGUE

TAPON, Francis

The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us

Introduction: Stepping into the Hidden Europe

"This would be a pretty lousy way to die," I thought.

I was locked in an outhouse with no way out. Outhouses sometimes have two latches—one on the outside and one on the inside. The outside latch keeps the door shut to prevent rodents and other creatures who like hanging out in crap from coming in. Somehow that outside latch accidentally closed, thereby locking me in this smelly toilet. I was wearing just a thin rain jacket and the temperatures were rapidly dropping.

"This stinks," I mumbled. It was midnight, I was above the Arctic Circle, and the temperatures at night would be just above freezing. There was no one around for kilometers. If I didn't get out, I could freeze to death in this tiny, smelly, fly-infested shithole.

My mom would kill me if I died so disgracefully. She would observe that when Elvis died next to a toilet, he was in Graceland. I, on the other hand, was in Finland, not far from Santa Claus. This Nordic country was my warm up before setting out to visit all 25 countries in Eastern Europe over five months.

The fool wonders. The wise man wanders. — Susan Rea

I had started my hike at 5:30 p.m. and planned to hike all night. It was June 21 and the sun doesn't set when you're above the Arctic Circle on the Summer Solstice. So it really doesn't matter when you hike. At 11:00 p.m. I ate some food in a deserted cabin and then went to use the outhouse. I tried all sorts of clever ways of getting out and they all failed. Then I thought, "Wait a sec. I am an American. Therefore, I must love violence and be a brute. Hell, Arnold Schwarzenegger is my governor. What would he do?"

I decided that the old fashioned, just-bang-the-door-down method was best. I gave the door a swift kick. BLAM!

Nothing.

"Okay..." I took a deep breath of the foul air and then let out the hardest kick my legs could deliver. BING! BAM! BOOM! The door stubbornly stared at me.

I sat on the toilet to think. Finland has one of the most sophisticated telecommunications infrastructures in the world, far better than America. I may be in the middle of some remote forest around the Arctic Circle, but I wouldn't be surprised if those crafty Finns had a cell phone tower nearby. Checking my phone, I had a solid reception. "Gotta love these Finns," I smiled to myself. So as my California friends were getting ready for lunch, I punched out a text message (SMS) to describe my predicament:

Funny, but scary: I am trapped in an outhouse. The outside lock flipped when I went in. Nobody here. Getting cold. Trying 2 bang out.

Most were busy eating a tofu burger so they didn't get back to me. One friend, though, suggested "CALL 911!"

"Good idea," I thought. But then I remembered that dialing 911 in another country usually doesn't get you the emergency services. However, it might get you a pizza delivery service, which would be nice.

On the other hand, even if I got an emergency service, I was so deep in the Arctic wilderness they wouldn't get here until morning at the earliest. By then I would be a frozen Popsicle. So I went back to kicking. Then I threw my measly body into the door a few times. I cursed, "I knew I should have eaten more cheeseburgers before I left!" I slammed my shoulder into the door so many times that I was nearly breaking a sweat in the frigid temperatures. "Damn it, Hollywood makes this look so easy!"

I screamed and lunged at the door with vigor. The door put me back in my place: on the toilet seat. I panted in the putrid air wondering what else I could do. I started to shiver as my sweat cooled my body. I couldn't tip over the outhouse. I couldn't break open the roof. Finally, I had one last idea: Matrix-like, Keanu Reeves rapid-fire kicks. I may not be The One, but I was the only one around, so I better kick some ass.

I lay down so that my back rested on the toilet seat while I looked at the ceiling. My legs were cocked close to my chest, ready to repeatedly slam the obstinate door into submission. I took a few deep breaths and then let out a fury of kung fu kicks that would make Bruce Lee proud. After 20 kicks (and nearly falling into the toilet), the tenacious door flew open.

I'm not as manly as you might think: I didn't even break the lock. The vibrations from the continuous kicks just made it unlatch. Nevertheless, I breathed a sigh of relief (and some fresh air), and hiked the rest of the night.

I had always wanted to live an adventurous life. It took a long time to realize that I was the only one who was going to make an adventurous life happen to me. — Richard Bach

It was June 2004, exactly three years after I set off on my Appalachian Trail thru-hike. I craved another adventure. Once again, I wanted to wander and learn. I visited Prague and Budapest in 1992, and Russia and Ukraine in 1999. However, the rest of Eastern Europe was still a mystery to me.

Therefore, in 2004 I set a simple goal: visit every country in Eastern Europe and see what I could learn. I wanted the Eastern Europeans to teach me about their cuisine, history, languages, sites, innovations, economy, religion, and drinking habits. Then after five years, in 2009, I would return to spend two years there to see what's changed. By 2011, I will have spent nearly three years collecting the wisdom of the Hidden Europe.

Reopening the American mind

I am a first generation American. My mom was born and raised in Santiago, Chile. Her dad was laid off from his factory job when she was 16 years old, so she quit high school to work and help support the family. When she was 25, she emptied her retirement fund so that she could have enough money to buy a one-way ticket to America. She arrived in the United States with only \$300 in her pocket—too little to buy a flight back to Chile. It was far easier to immigrate to America in 1964 than it is today. She barely spoke any English when she arrived alone in San Francisco. Within two weeks, however, she landed a job that didn't require speaking much English—being a clerk at Bank of America. My father was born and raised in France. He grew up with the Great Depression, the Nazi occupation, and World War II. Yes, my dad had issues, and not just because he's French.

By 1947, France's military was getting involved in Vietnam and Algeria. My grandfather didn't want to lose his only son after having lost his brother in World War I. Therefore, he put my 17-year-old dad on a one-way boat voyage to Buenos Aires, Argentina. He lived there for seven years under the rule of Juan and Evita Peron. He witnessed how their populist policies destroyed the economy, and so, at the age of 25, he immigrated to the land of liberty: Philadelphia. After two years there, he crisscrossed the United States in his car and parked it in San Francisco. He started working there and several years later, he met my mom. They started a successful company importing goods from Latin America. In short, they achieved the American Dream.

My parents didn't just bring their bodies and hard work ethic to America. They brought their ideas. It's that fresh input of ideas that has kept America competitive and strong since its founding. America's open mind and flexibility helped it become the most powerful nation in the world. However, the fear of terrorism and xenophobic worries has made it incredibly difficult to immigrate here. Millions of brilliant minds lie outside our borders yearning to get in. If we don't nab them, another country will. Our competitive advantage will decrease and the American Era will end.

Therefore, the purpose of this book isn't to just share the insights of the Eastern Europeans. Its purpose is also to stir curiosity in you. I hope to inspire you to wander and learn. I want America to open its borders and brains not just to the brightest minds of Eastern Europe, but to the brightest minds of the world.

When it's OK to stereotype

This book may offend you. You will read sweeping statements like "Slovenians are polyglots," or "Latvians like to dress up," or "Americans are idiots." Some people hate such stereotyping and generalizing, especially when it's negative. Nobody will complain if I say "Ukrainian women are beautiful," but they will say I'm a closed minded, superficial American if I say "Polish women are fat slob." Politically correct folks tell us that we should never stereotype. "Generalizations are always bad," they declare, not realizing the contradiction in their statement.

If our ancestors didn't stereotype, we'd be dead. Let's say cavemen with a blue dot on their cheek are responsible for killing half of your tribe. What would happen to your idealistic neighbor if she refused to stereotype those with the blue dot? Let's just say she would produce few descendants. Hence, the human

brain is wired to look for patterns and to categorize everything. We can't suppress that. It's part of being human. That's why when we're looking for potential suicide bombers, we instinctively look for young Arab men and not old ladies from Sweden.

You think you don't stereotype? Sure you do. You avoid dark alleys with disheveled humans, because you know that you're more likely to be assaulted there than in an office building. You stereotype office workers as peaceful creatures and gun totting gangsters in alleyways as high risk. Of course, these stereotypes are sometimes wrong: office workers go on shooting sprees and gangsters can help you to a hospital. However, you continue to depend on stereotypes to get you through the day.

Stereotypes simply summarize the tendencies of a group of people. I've tried to document the Eastern European tendencies, while recognizing that there are no absolutes and that there are plenty of exceptions. Therefore, when I say, "Albanians are friendly," obviously there are plenty who are assholes. Pointing out all the exceptions gets tedious after a while, especially for the intelligent reader who realizes that a generalization is not an absolute statement.

Admittedly, stereotyping gets tricky when you have few data points. Although I spent nearly three years in Eastern Europe, sometimes I only stayed two weeks in a particular country. I would have loved to spend months (or years) in each country, but with 25 Eastern European countries, I had to keep moving. Therefore, a few of my observations are based on just a brief glimpse of a country. If I was unlucky to meet the only four jerks who live in Lithuania (and met no one else), it was hard not to walk away concluding that Lithuanians are jerks.

I did my best to get around these limitations. For instance, I would ask neighboring countries, "Are all Lithuanians really jerks?"

They would usually reply, "No, but Americans are."

By asking the locals about how their life is really like, I could make up for my lack of data points. On the other hand, locals also make mistakes and spread false stereotypes. Bulgarians told me that most Romanians are thieves, which is obviously wrong, since Bulgarians are so poor that there is nothing to steal! (Relax, Bulgarians, I'm kidding.)

A great way to avoid the pitfalls of anecdotal evidence is to consider polls that systematically survey thousands of people. Thus, we'll consider what reputable international pollsters, such the Pew Research Center and Gallup, reveal about Eastern Europeans, while recognizing that surveys have their own shortcomings. By combining extensive personal travel with statistics and surveys, we should be able to paint a fair and accurate description of each country. You'll finally understand how an Albanian differs from a Kosovar.

Why not avoid stereotyping completely? "Please don't!" cry the Baltic states. Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians hate that the world thinks they are all the same. They each want their own identity. In short, they want their own unique stereotype. Slovaks, Belarusians, and Ukrainians created their countries partly because they were tired of being lumped together with some other nationality and identity. Moreover, the people in those countries often have common character traits. To claim that Germans and Italians, for example, have the same character is idiotic. It's cute and idealistic to believe that we should just avoid labels altogether and just call ourselves *Homo sapiens*, but humans demand more granularity

than that. Lastly, if you just say, "There are all types of people everywhere," we miss an interesting opportunity to understand the traditional values, beliefs, and characteristics of a people.

Hence, the solution isn't to avoid stereotypes—that's impossible. Instead, the solution is to have flexible stereotypes and to be open to exceptions. *More importantly, if you see enough exceptions, consider changing the stereotype.* For example, let's say you believe that most Arab men are suicidal, religious maniacs. However, after visiting an Arabic country, you quickly notice that most young men aren't blowing themselves up. Now you can create a new stereotype: *young Arab men are friendly, peaceful, and have fewer weapons than the average American.* In short, you still have a stereotype (because your brain demands it), but you've adjusted it to the new information you learned.

Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness.... Broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth all one's lifetime. — Mark Twain

To avoid making inaccurate stereotypes, I sought to experience the country from the ground level—where the "real people" live. Unlike most tourists, I avoided hotels, fancy restaurants, taxis, and rented cars. I rode crowded buses, ate sketchy food from street vendors, shopped at farmers markets, and stayed with locals whenever possible. In short, I did my best to detect the subtle differences among Eastern European countries, while trying not to impose stereotypes or invent differences that don't exist. Of course, everything is extremely nuanced, especially a country's history.

Learning history from the locals

Even before this book went to press, it was already pissing off some people. Whenever I shared early versions of it with Eastern Europeans they would typically say, "I loved it! You're so accurate at depicting the people and places in Eastern Europe. However, what you said about *my* country is completely inaccurate and unfair. You're just like every other American: arrogant and stupid."

For example, Albanians thought I depicted every country in the Balkans well except for Albania. Macedonians thought I depicted every country in the Balkans well except for Macedonia. In addition, some Eastern Europeans disagreed with how I summarized their country's history. As one Serbian put it in an e-mail to me, "U R so full of incompetence and not up to this story. But that's only my opinion and don't let me discourage U. Keep up the good work."

Pay no attention to what the critics say; there has never been set up a statue in honor of a critic. — Jean Sibelius, a Finnish composer

Although I wanted to learn everything about each country from its locals, that methodology has its flaws. First, their knowledge of their country's demographics and economic activity might be based on their town, not their country. Second, their impression of their neighbors frequently had no empirical evidence, just hearsay. Third, their recollection of history is highly selective. People remember and forget different events. They emphasize certain events while overlooking others. Every country does this.

Throughout my travels in Eastern Europe, people would vividly recount both how their country came to be and the root cause to their country's problems. I would travel 100 kilometers to another region and listen to others describe, with equal passion and zeal, the same events in a completely different way.

One of the things important about history is to remember the true history.
—George W. Bush

Not exactly, George. History is a funny thing. I always believed that there was only one true, objective version of history. In theory, that might be true, but in practice it isn't. First, even if all history books in the world said the same thing, what really matters is what the people believe, because that is what they will teach the next generation. It is said, "victors write history." That's true, but the losers don't necessarily read or believe it. Instead, they tell their children "what really happened."

Although I've thoroughly researched Eastern Europe's history, retelling history is a thankless task because it's impossible to please everyone. Moreover, I'm not a scholarly historian, so some snooty PhD might tell me that my facts are slightly off. However, there's often no consensus even among professional historians, who love to gather in conferences and deliver astonishingly dull speeches meant to cure anyone of insomnia.

History is a set of lies agreed upon. — Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

If you dig deep enough, perhaps you can uncover the truth, but it is often a murky and tricky affair. However, in some ways the truth doesn't really matter to me. *I'm not a historian. I'm an explorer.* For me, perception is reality; the people's version of history is, for this book, the history that matters. I wanted to hear the history parents tell their children.

Even when I knew the locals were wrong, I had little hope (and even less interest) in changing their minds. My goal was to understand them, their reasoning, their beliefs, and their world view. This book compares their view of history with "what really happened," while recognizing that my sources (as objective as I hope they are) have their own biases. If this all ends up making you more confused than ever, wonderful. Welcome to Eastern Europe.

A not-so-stupid question: where is Eastern Europe?

Asking, "Where is Eastern Europe?" seems as stupid as asking, "Who is buried in Grant's tomb?" Obviously, Eastern Europe is in the eastern part of Europe. However, where to draw that line is extremely controversial. Indeed, it's hard to find two people who agree on what countries are in Eastern Europe.

Back in good old Cold War days, defining Eastern Europe was easy: it was made up of all those losers who were on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain. Eastern Europe had those backward, communist countries who were frozen in the Stone Age.

Because the world had such a low opinion of Eastern Europe, nowadays nobody wants to admit that they live there. For example, let's just look at the Baltic countries. I've met Estonians who assert that they

are in Northern Europe, Latvians who proclaim that they are in Central Europe, and Lithuanians who argue that they are in *Western* Europe!

If you were to believe everyone you talked to, you would conclude that Eastern Europe just doesn't exist! When pressed, Eastern Europeans admit that Eastern Europe exists, but they all believe the region starts just east of whatever country they happen to live in. I like this definition. My father was French, so Eastern Europe, for me, starts in Germany. Sorry, Germans.

If you're European, it's time to review Geography 101. Any territory can be divided a number of ways. For instance, you can divide it east-west and/or north-south. If you like, you can create a *central* region. To have even more granularity, you can create a northeast region, a southeast region, and so on. However, sometimes people don't want all those options. *They just want a simple binary division* (thereby eliminating the concept of a central region). For example, if you want to divide the US with a *north-south* split, we usually use the old Civil War dividing lines. If you want a simple east-west split, we usually use the Mississippi River, even though it's an imperfect split. Chicago boys may dislike being called an Eastern American just as a Hungarian might dislike being called an Eastern European. They both would yell, "We're Central, not Eastern!" Similarly, someone from Montana might say, "I'm not in the Western US, I'm in the *Northern* US!" They would all have a good point. However, if *central* and *northern* are not options (and they are not, when you divide a territory with a simple east-west split), then you must choose a side. You may not like east-west splits, but there's nothing evil about dividing any region that way. So get over it.

However, we still have the challenge of deciding where that east-west line should be. Let's be scientific about it. Geologists agree that Eastern Europe ends at the Ural Mountains, which lie hundreds of kilometers east of Moscow, Russia. Let's assume that Western Europe begins in Portugal. If you made a perfect 50/50 split of Europe, then the east-west line would be roughly near the cities of Helsinki, Riga, Warsaw, Budapest, and Belgrade. However, geologists would point out that the westernmost point of Europe is *not* Portugal, but rather *Iceland*. Therefore, with Iceland at one end of Europe and the Urals at the other, the perfect east-west line shifts eerily near to where the Iron Curtain used to be. Although most Eastern Europeans like to deny they are in Eastern Europe, it's hard to argue against geology and a simple 50/50 split.

Of course, Eastern Europeans won't like that answer. They would cry, "Iceland isn't in Europe! It's on another freakin' planet!"

So let's do another geological split. As the crow flies, it's 5,200 kilometers (3,250 miles) from Lisbon, Portugal to Perm, Russia (a city next to the Urals). The halfway point for the crow would be Wrocław, a Polish city near the German border. If you extend a north-south line through Wrocław, it would cross the Czech Republic, Austria, and western Croatia. Only Slovenia would find itself on the west side of that dividing line (I can hear the Slovenians cheering). In short, this alternative way of finding the middle point of Europe also results in an east-west border that is quite close to the Cold War dividing line.

One more way to solve this tedious problem is to learn where experts say is Europe's geographic center. Wherever that point is, we could project a north-south line across it, thereby clearly marking Europe's east-west division. Unfortunately, geographers can't agree on the edges of Europe, so they can't

agree on its exact center. Geographers have placed Europe's center as far west as Dresden (Germany), as far east as Rakhiv (Ukraine), and as far north as Estonia's island of Saaremaa.

War is God's way of teaching Americans geography. – Ambrose Bierce

Before we invest too much time finding the perfect 50/50 split, let's remember that many east-west (or north-south) divisions are asymmetrical. For example, about two-thirds of America lies on one side of the Mississippi River. Russia's east-west line is the Ural Mountains, even though that results in an 80/20 split. Cities often have artificial and arbitrary east-west divisions that are hardly symmetrical. They might be based on a historic railway line or a river. Therefore, even if you play with a world map to "prove" that Europe's perfect 50/50 east-west split lies east of Romania, it doesn't mean that's where the division should be.

Although a dispassionate view of a map favors having an east-west split near the old Iron Curtain, there's another good reason to use the old Cold War dividing line. History shapes who we are. Whether Eastern Europeans like it or not, the communist experience is still in their collective memory. Those who are under 30 years old today might yell, "But I don't remember those days! I grew up with Western values!" However, their parents and teachers drilled their local history and values into their children's brains. It's part of who they are. The legacy of slavery can still be felt in the southern regions of the US, even though slavery ended 150 years ago. Communism, in contrast, ended less than 25 years ago. Communism may have left Eastern Europe, but its long shadow is still there.

Finally, there's one more thing that Eastern European countries have in common: they're still relatively hidden. Of course, businesses and tourists have poured into the region ever since the Wall came down in 1989. However, the world is still far more familiar with Western Europe than Eastern Europe. Most people can explain the difference between Italy and Ireland; however, they'll give you a blank look if you ask them to compare Slovenia and Slovakia.

In conclusion, for geological, historical, and even touristy reasons, I have defined Eastern Europe quite broadly. This book puts 25 countries in Eastern Europe. This includes Western Russia, Germany's eastern half, and the ex-Yugoslavian countries. It also includes three countries that few consider part of traditional Eastern Europe: Finland, Greece, and Turkey. Finland is east of Poland (and north of the Baltic), so geographically it is certainly in Eastern Europe. Greece is also geographically in Eastern Europe (it's south of the Balkans). However, we will only examine the part of Greece that is most tied to the rest of Eastern Europe: Greece's northern portion. Like Russia, most of Turkey is in Asia, so we will look just at its western side. In sum, I spent three years in 25 countries nearly 25 years after the Wall came down.

Americans may wonder why I'm taking so much time to define Eastern Europe. "What's the big deal, anyway?" you may ask. "So you're in Eastern Europe. So what? Who cares?" Trust me. It's a *really big deal* in this region. It's a highly charged and emotional topic that sparks endless and explosive debates. If you want to make Eastern Europeans twitch and squirm, just tell them that they are from Eastern Europe. The only people who don't seem to care are the Moldovans. They're just happy that anyone knows that Moldova exists.

About the lessons

Each chapter in this book focuses on one Eastern European country. Every chapter ends with a brief summary of what that country can teach you. Although it's tempting to just read the summaries and skip the rest, that might make you jump to erroneous conclusions. I can already hear the proud Russian who skips right to the summary of the Russian chapter and then yells at me, "All you learned from the biggest country in the world is how great it is to drink vodka?!"

Therefore, before you read the summaries, remember that:

These aren't the *only* things you can learn. Just because there are only two ideas in a summary, doesn't mean that those are the only two things you can learn from a country. First, you can learn many more things within the chapter itself, which is packed with information about each country's culture. Second, the summaries only focus on practical ideas that you can implement in your everyday life. Third, there are plenty of things to learn about each country that I missed.

Other countries may be able to teach you the same lesson. Just because one good idea is in the summary, doesn't mean that you couldn't have learned that same concept elsewhere. For instance, if five countries can all teach you the same concept, only one country will get credit so that you don't have to read about the concept five times.

Other countries may have been the pioneers. Just because I give credit to one country for doing something clever, doesn't mean it invented the idea.

Other countries may do it better. Just because I give credit to one country for something useful, doesn't mean they are the best at practicing it.

Therefore, to answer the patriotic Russian, "Yes, there's much more to Russia than drinking vodka; Belarus is also great at drinking vodka; Ukraine invented vodka; and nobody drinks more vodka per capita than Moldova. Now are you all happy?"

"No," says the Russian, "because those last two points are not true. Poland invented vodka and we're the best in the world at drinking it, not Moldova!"

"Yeah, you're right. See, I told you that Russia has a lot to teach you about drinking vodka."

Lastly, the main purpose of this book is positive—to learn the best things about Eastern Europeans; however, we'll also learn about the stupid and idiotic things in Eastern Europe. Indeed, sometimes the most effective Eastern European lessons are the ones where they show us what *not* to do. I fell in love with Eastern Europe, warts and all. Perhaps you will too.

Before the development of tourism, travel was conceived to be like study, and its fruits were considered to be the adornment of the mind and the formation of the judgment.

— Paul Fussel

I began my voyage in Finland. During the Soviet Era, Finland was a quasi-Eastern European country. It was neither in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), nor in the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, it

would be a good place to start the adventure. So we'll start there too, using it as a useful stepping-stone into the Hidden Europe.

* * *

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 *A Parisian from Kansas* and *The Mistress*, published by Dutton.

Francis was born and raised in San Francisco, California where he attended a French school for 12 years. He is fluent in English, French, and Spanish. Proficient in Portuguese, Italian, and Russian. Horrible in Slovenian and Japanese. He earned a Religion Degree with honors from Amherst College, and wrote his thesis on the Bahá'í Faith and the Worldwide Church of God.

After working for Hitachi in Latin America, he earned an MBA from Harvard Business School.

After Harvard he co-founded SIGHTech Vision Systems, a robotic vision company. Four years later he sold his stake to hike the Appalachian Trail. He consulted at Microsoft before hiking the Pacific Crest Trail in 2006. In 2007, he became the first person to yo-yo the Continental Divide Trail. This seven-month journey spanned nearly 6,000 miles (9,000 km). He backpacked from Mexico to Canada through New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana. Once he reached Canada, he turned around and walked back to Mexico through the Rocky Mountains.

Today Francis is an author, speaker, and life coach. He delivers fun and informative speeches on getting your life and your



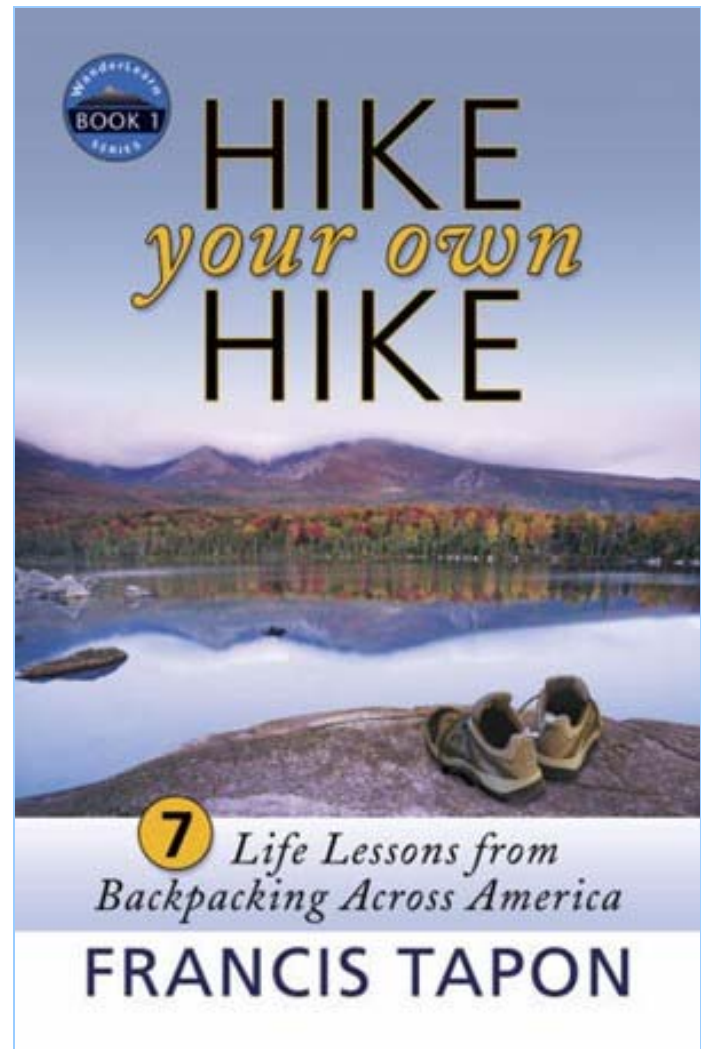
organization out of a rut and onto the ridge. He also runs workshops and offers individual coaching too.

He is the author of *Hike Your Own Hike: 7 Life Lessons from Backpacking Across America*. He is donating half of his book royalty to the Triple Crown of thru-hiking—Appalachian Trail, Pacific Crest Trail, and Continental Divide Trail.

His next book, *The Hidden Europe: What Eastern Europeans Can Teach Us*, will be about his travels in Eastern Europe. It will be out in August 2011.

In 2012, he plans to spend two years visiting every country in Africa and plans to write a book about that too.

His website is <http://FrancisTapon.com>



BOOK (P)REVIEW

BÉRCZI, Szaniszló

Etruscan, Roman and Toscan Art

Example issue from the Coloring Booklet Series of Eurasian Arts*

Introduction

There are lands in Western-Eurasia which are well-endowed and layered with arts. Among them the ancient Etruria is prominently beloved for its known and admired artistic heritage which had been formed during the 1st millenium B.C. on the Italian land of the old Etruscan people. The migrating sailors with rich eastern cultural background arrived to Italy at the beginning of the millenium.

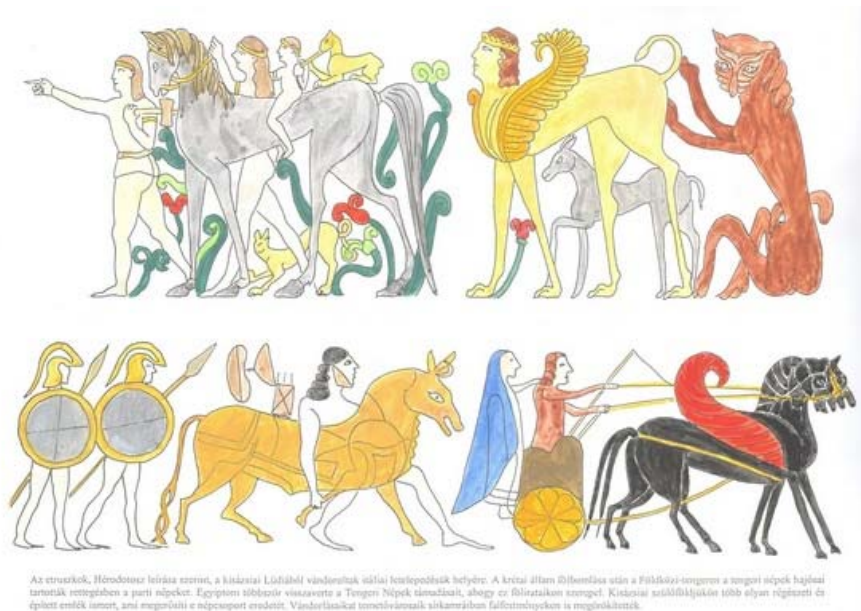


Fig. 1. The migrating ancestors of Etruscans with rich eastern cultural heritage from Asia Minor.

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

Origin of the Etruscan people

Etruscans, according to Herodotus migrated to Italy from Ludia, Asia Minor. After the collapse of the Cretean State the sailors of the Mediterranean threatened the peace all around the sea. Egypt repulsed their attack several times, as can be read on old pillars. There is archaeological evidence in Asia Minor that also proves their origin. Their complex heritage preserved several Mesopotamian and Scythian elements like the animal fight scenes, and the princeps jewel: the pectoral. The well-known face-covering plate belongs to this heritage, too. The famous, developed smithworkmanship also reveals Asia Minor origin. Etruscans had well-known blacksmith (ironsmith) centers and mines on the Elba Island. They also melted Greek art elements into their ceramics.



Fig. 2. Etruscan ceramics picturing Greek character figures wrestling with ladies dancing around them.

Town building architecture, iron industry ceramic art

The arriving Etruscans found wild territories. They dried out marshes and built stone towns. They had developed rich industrial technologies and famous blacksmith culture in their new homeland. They formed a confederacy of towns and competed with the neighboring Italian tribes in forming the landscape.

The Etruscan state organisation was the confederacy of the townstates. Rules governed the building of a town. They fixed the position of the city by a ceremonial procedure and furrowed the line of the city walls. At the place of the gates they took out the plough from the ground and moved it in the air to the

next wall position. They selected two main streets of the town: the north and south and the east and west axes. They erected a holy well at the crossing point. They guarded the walls, nobody was allowed even to approach them. The Middle-Italian pastoral tribes gradually occupied the Etruscan towns. On the place of the present-day Rome there were several ancient Etruscan towns like Veii. The well-known Apollo of Veii is a famous sculpture from the facade of the temple from the town. The Etruscan temple was different from the Greek one, because of different traditions as sources. Open porticus was standing before the closed inner sanctuary. Triple God sculptures were standing in the sanctuary; later the Romans accepted them by the names of: Iuno, Jupiter and Minerva.

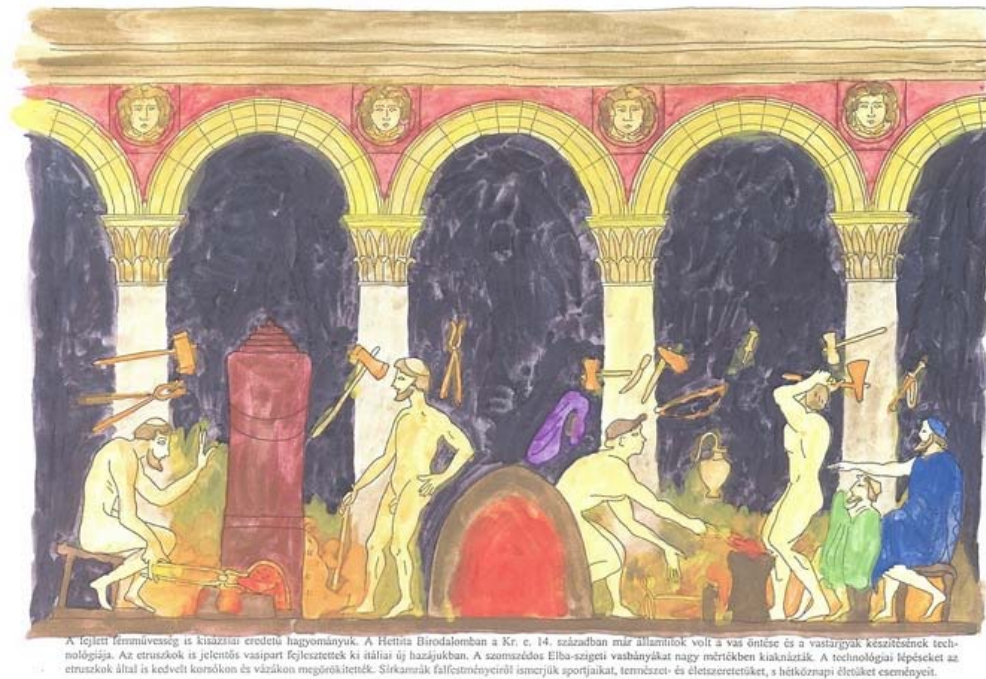


Fig. 3. Iron production in a great Etruscans blacksmith workshop.



Fig. 4. Etruscan ceramics with human figures, witnessing of great phantasy.

Arts: sculptures, paintings, cemeteries

There are several preserved, well-known products of the Etruscan art: the Lion of Arezzo, and the Wolf of Capitolium. The latter had been complemented by the figures of Romulus and Remus by Pollaiuolo, the renaissance master. But the city walls, the gates on them, the houses and the tombs are also masterworks. The dome like tombs were constructed in a half sphere ceiling with outer ground coverage. The Etruscan paintings can be studied in the graves. Their style and richness is somewhat similar to those of the Creteans, and Southern Italians, like as those of Pompei and Herculaneum.

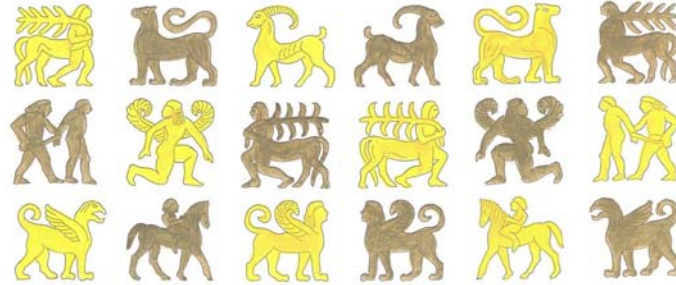


Fig. 5. Etruscan carved figures on a sarcophagus.

Fights against Latin tribes and against the forming Rome

Etruscans had given three kings to the early Roman Kingdom. Later, however, they had got the worst of the fights against the Latin tribes. Nevertheless, their work had been incorporated into the culture of the Roman Empire.



Fig. 6. The fights of Etruscans against the conquering Romans.

Octavian, the first emperor of Rome, under the name of Augustus, originated from an Etruscan ancient family. Maecenas, the famous patron of artists, especially poets, also had Etruscan origin.

When the Roman Empire became weaker and finally collapsed, Italy was dissected to town states. In a region with the name Toscana the new era brought the resurrection of the ancient Etruscan traditions and with the central town state Firenze gave the renaissance to Europe.

Toscana, Michelangelo

Almost unquestionable Michelangelo is the immortal master of arts who represents the living Etruscan artistic traditions in the form of the renaissance, not only in sculpture, but in painting and architecture and even in poetry. In several of his masterpieces he continues the 2500 years old Etruscan traditions. The best example is the group of sculptures that adorns the tomb of the Medici Princeps.



Fig. 7. The front cover of the coloring booklet: The family sarcophagus from Cervitery cemetery and the figure of Down by Michelangelo's Medici tomb sculptures are compared for body arrangement.

We can see the modernised variants of this group even in present-day Budapest on buildings built during the Hungarian Millennium festivities, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. They are used as tympanons above the windows of the neorenaissance building facades. On the Medici tombs the figures were taken from the ancient Etruscan sarcophagi, where single persons or pairs of a man and woman are leaning on their elbows: the allegoric sculptures of Dusk and Dawn, the Day and Night. They can be seen all over Europe till today, too. Hence, the Etruscan art, and its continuation, the Roman and Toscan art is a rich store of the stratifications of cultures. It is a branch of Eurasian arts, which preserved its beauty and expressivity during thousands of years.

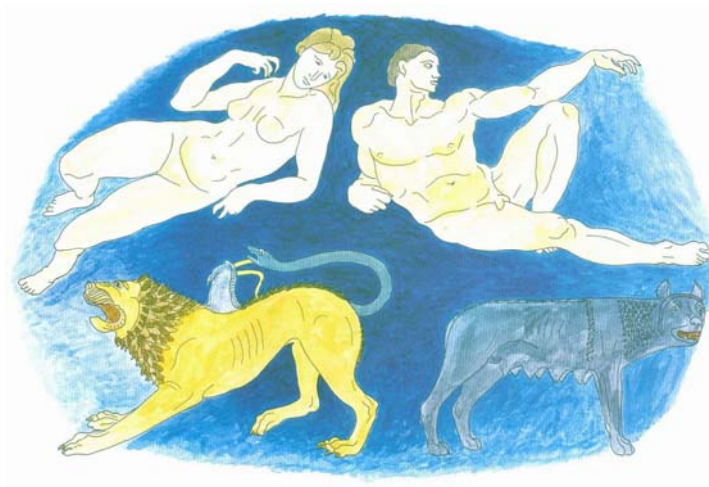


Fig. 8. The back cover of the coloring booklet: Sculpture and fresco art of Michelangelo together with ancient Etruscan sculptures of the Lion of Arezzo and Wolf of Capitulum

There is another branch of the Etruscan culture which achieved new and new bloomings through the Roman and Toscan ages till today. That is the technological production, the engineering works and inventions. The engineering creativity brought the arc from the east to western Eurasia, as it appears in the architecture of the Etruscan towns. There are aquaducts which also use this invention. This engineering art is further developed in the imperial Rome and distributed all over the known world at that time.

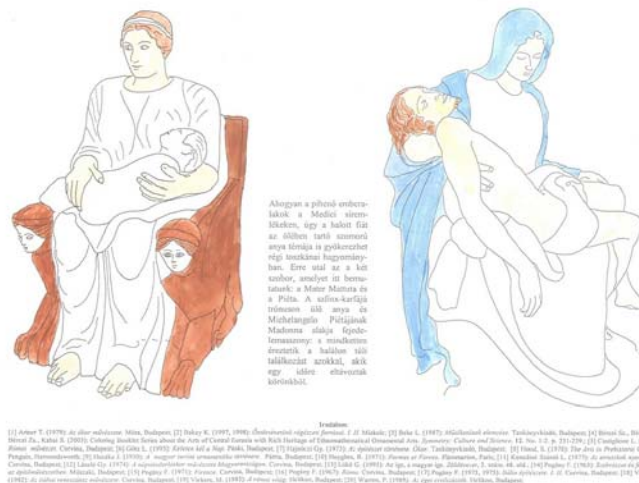


Fig. 9. Etruscan pietà from the ancient sculptural art and Pietà of Michelangelo.

The Romanesque arc became an important architectural element in the communal buildings: aquaducts, triumphal gates, and finally in baths and in amphitheatres. The best well-known of them is the Colosseum in Rome, but all around the Mediterranean Sea we can find remnant ruins of them. This

proves that inventive people can enrich the larger community by distribution of their heritage via a larger empire, Rome. This engineering branch of the Etruscan culture reached a peak in the person of Leonardo da Vinci. His machines, studies of motion, plans and realized constructions also prove the vitality of the ancient Etruscan culture later, in medieval Europe.

Summary

The Etruscan, Roman and Toscan culture became part of the Hungarian life in several branches. The Christianity connected us to Rome; later King Matthias had rich renaissance relations with Italy. We hope that the study of the Etruscan arts will also help us to develop our love for Eurasian arts by painting in this booklet, we hope it gives joy and amusement, good work and good thinking to our fellows who prefer art and engineering history, or art alone, remembering the destiny of old peoples, old nations, old traditions.

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*CLASSICAL WRITINGS ON
EURASIA*

HIRTH, Friedrich

**Die chinesischen annalen als Quelle zur Geschichte
asiatischer Völker**

* * *

This writing, providing an analysis of the value the classical Chinese annals bear as a source if Asian history, is a chapter from 'Chinesische Studien I.' ['Chinese Studies I.'], München und Leipzig 1890.

* * *

Die Chinesen dürfen sich bekanntlich einer historischen Litteratur rühmen, wie sie an Umfang und Einheit der Methode ihrer Behandlung kaum ein anderes Kulturvolk besitzt. Mit dem Vater der chinesischen Geschichte Ssû-ma-ch'ien anfangend, hat seit der älteren Han-Dynastie jedes Herrscherhaus seine eigene Geschichte gehabt. Das Material zu diesen dynastischen Geschichtswerken wurde den während der jeweiligen Regierungszeit verfassten Hofchroniken (Jih-li, täglichen Chroniken) entlehnt, und diese wurden den Blicken des Regenten wie der Minister vorenthalten. So verlangte es das Gesetz, das auf uralter Ueberlieferung beruhend, nur ausnahmsweise durch die Willkür der Machthaber verletzt worden ist. Die Zusammenstellung des Materials geschah erst nach dem Sturze eines jeden Regentenhauses, und zwar durch die offiziellen Geschichtsschreiber der folgenden Dynastie.

Die bis jetzt existierenden vierundzwanzig dynastischen Geschichtswerke oder Shih bilden eine stattliche Bibliothek, im Ganzen 3000 Ch'üan oder Bücher. Am Ende eines jeden Werkes finden sich ethnographische Mitteilungen über die fremden Völker, mit denen der chinesische Hof während der verflossenen dynastischen Periode in Berührung gekommen ist. Diese von jeder Parteifärbung unberührten Skizzen wurden aus den gleichzeitigen Aufzeichnungen der Hofchronisten meist nicht allzulange (ein bis drei Jahrhunderte) nach der bezüglichlichen Periode zusammengestellt. Sie bilden die wichtigste Quelle der gesamten ethnographischen Kenntnis der Chinesen während des Altertums und im Mittelalter bis zur Zeit der Ming-Dynastie, die im Jahre 1644 von der gegenwärtigen Dynastie der Ts'ing gestürzt wurde.

In dem »Buche über die Völker des fernen Westens« (Hsi-yü-chuan), womit die Geschichte der späteren Han-Dynastie (Hou-han-shu) abschliesst, findet sich zum ersten Male die Beschreibung eines Landes namens Ta-ts'in. Wir finden in diesem im knappen historischen Stil der Zeit verfassten Abriss eine Anzahl von Thatsachen betreffend die Grenzen, die Lage, das Volk, die Produkte und sonstige Eigentümlichkeiten des Landes, die allein im Stande sind, uns die nötigen Fingerzeige zur Identifizierung zu geben. Leider hat sich, sobald der Inhalt dieser in ihrer ersten Gestalt den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus entstammenden Mitteilungen bekannt wurde, das Vorurteil eingeschlichen, dass mit dem

Lande Ta-ts'ih, als dem mächtigsten des Westens, das römische Reich mit der Hauptstadt Rom gemeint sei. Diese Theorie ist unter anderen von Visdelou und de Guignes, und neuerdings wieder von Bretschneider, Edkins und von Richthofen verteidigt worden. Ich muss gestehen, dass ich anfangs dieses Vorurteil geteilt habe, und dass ich mich mit dem besten Willen, in den chinesischen Annalen die Stadt des Romulus mit ihrem grossen Volke wiederzuerkennen, in die Urquellen vertieft habe. Ich kann sagen, dass ich dies sine studio et ira gethan habe; denn die europäische Litteratur über diesen Gegenstand war mir so gut wie unbekannt, als ich anfang, die chinesischen Historiker zu lesen. Diese Unkenntnis, möchte ich behaupten, ist mir sehr zu statten gekommen, indem ich so gezwungen war, lediglich aus dem chinesischen Material heraus mir von der Identität des Landes ein Bild zu machen. Dabei stellte sich heraus, dass eine ziemliche Anzahl von Thatsachen auf Rom gar nicht passen wollte, so dass ich, einmal zweifelnd, anfang, das mir vorschwebende Bild mit den übrigen Ländern des antiken Westens zu vergleichen. Zunächst waren es gewisse Produkte, die mich in die Levante führten. Die Bewohner von Ta-ts'in »sammelten das Harz gewisser Bäume und kochten Storax«. Dies konnte weder in Rom, noch in Griechenland der Fall gewesen sein; denn der beste Storax kam aus Syrien. Syrien war ferner der Sitz des Handels mit Gold, Edelsteinen, Perlen, der Glas- und Tuchindustrie; in syrischen oder phönizischen Städten wurde chinesische Seide gefärbt, zu Stickereien verwendet und, wenn eine Parallelstelle im Plinius und in einem der chinesischen Berichte nicht trügt, auseinandergezupft, um anderweitig verwoben zu werden. Dazu kamen die Gründe, die bereits vor zwanzig Jahren von Wylie zu Gunsten der nestorianischen Inschrift von Hsi-an-fu geltend gemacht wurden, und die nach ihm in's Feld geführten Argumente Pauthier's, der trotz seiner mangelhaften Kenntnis der chinesischen Sprache gegenüber seinen sonst überlegenen Gegnern Julien, Neumann und Renan in der Hauptsache Recht behalten hat, wenn auch seine Idee, das spätere Fu-lin mit dem ost-römischen Reiche zu identifizieren, eine unglückliche genannt werden muss. Der Bericht des Hou-han-shu würde genügt haben, die Identität mit Syrien herzustellen. Doch bringen andere, zum Teil bisher unbekannte Texte wichtiges Material bei, Material, das nicht allein die damalige Kenntnis der Chinesen charakterisieren hilft, sondern, wenn einmal richtig interpretiert, manches Licht auf antike Verkehrsverhältnisse zu werfen und so die bezüglichen klassischen Autoren des Westens zu ergänzen geeignet ist.

Um auf die Annalen der zweiten Han-Dynastie zurückzukommen, so müssen wir annehmen, dass die vom Verfasser Fan-yeh (420 bis 477 n. Chr.) benutzten Dokumente während der bezüglichen Dynastie niedergeschrieben wurden, d. i, in den Jahren 25 bis 220 n. Chr. Wir dürfen annehmen, dass Fan-yeh's Text ein halbes Jahrtausend hindurch nur als Manuskript existierte. Ich habe die editio princeps dieses Werkes nicht gesehen, doch hat mir eine der ältesten Ausgaben, die vom Jahre 1168 (mit Ergänzung verlorener Blätter aus einer Ausgabe des Jahres 1242) vorgelegen. Ich habe mich davon überzeugt, dass der das Land Ta-ts'in betreffende Text mit einer unbedeutenden, den Sinn nicht berührenden Ausnahme sich vom Text der jetzt kursierenden Standard editions in nichts, ausser im äusseren Anblick, unterscheidet, dass sich mithin der Text sieben Jahrhunderte hindurch erhalten hat, ohne von der Kritik irgendwie berührt zu werden.

Dies ist ein für die Entwicklung der chinesischen Litteratur charakteristisches Zeichen; die Verehrung des Alten ist so gross, dass niemand es wagt, einen als klassisch anerkannten Text anzutasten. Was somit für die letzten sieben Jahrhunderte erwiesen ist, lässt sich für die vorhergehenden fünf Jahrhunderte behaupten. Ich glaube aus den übereinstimmenden Zeugnissen fast gleichzeitiger Texte, sowie besonders

aus der Zuverlässigkeit der darin gemachten Angaben (die mit der tabula rasa und gänzlichen UnZuverlässigkeit dessen, was wir in griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern über das Land der Thinaï und Seres, über die Stadt Cattigara und die terrae incognitae des Ostens entnehmen, in grellem Kontrast stehen) schliessen zu dürfen, dass es sich mit der Manuskript-Ueberlieferung ähnlich verhalten hat. Den bedeutenderen Werken der chinesischen Litteratur, namentlich solchen, denen sich die offizielle Aufmerksamkeit der Archiv-Verwaltung zuwendete, wie dies bei den dynastischen Geschichtswerken der Fall war, ist es bei der Erhaltung ihres Textes ungleich besser ergangen als unseren besterhaltenen antiken Klassikern. Text-Kritik existiert für diese Werke so gut wie gar nicht, insofern es nie nötig gewesen ist, sie zu üben. Die Gründe dafür liegen auf der Hand. Die gelehrten Archivbeamten, denen zu allen Zeiten die Staatsbibliotheken mit den in hohen Ehren gehaltenen Manuskript-Annalen früherer Regentenhäuser anvertraut waren, Hessen sich mit den Mönchen unseres Mittelalters, die durch ihre oft hirnlosen Schreibfehler in griechischen und lateinischen Texten die Philologie zu einer so nützlichen Wissenschaft gemacht haben, in Bezug auf Nachlässigkeit nicht vergleichen. Auf der anderen Seite hatten sie auch nicht mit gleichen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen; denn während das Studium klassischer Sprachen Jahrhunderte lang darniedergelegen hatte, als ihre Schätze von neuem an's Licht gezogen wurden, arbeitete der chinesische Gelehrte zu allen Zeiten in einer ihm von Jugend auf vertrauten, seiner Muttersprache. Die Manuskripte, die er zu kopieren hatte, bestanden nicht in verstümmelten Pergamenten, und der Begriff des Palimpsestes ist hier schwerlich je bekannt gewesen; die Gestalt der Schrift, die sich bei uns für die klassischen Texte beider Sprachen immerhin genügend verändert hat, um dem Ungeübten Schwierigkeiten zu bereiten, ist in China während der letzten fünfzehnhundert Jahre dieselbe geblieben. Als der Text der Annalen der späteren Han-Dynastie redigiert wurde, war bereits mehr als ein Jahrhundert seit dem Tode des berühmten Schönschreibers Wang Yu-chün (st. 379 n. Chr.) verflöhen, dessen Handschrift noch heute als Muster der Eleganz nachgeahmt wird.

Als Urquelle dieser, sowie der übrigen dynastischen Geschichtswerke müssen wir, wie gesagt, die gleichzeitigen »täglichen Aufzeichnungen« (Jih-li), die ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι der chinesischen Höfe, betrachten. Diese gehörten nach Ma Tuan-lin (Ch. 51, S. 15) zu den Obliegenheiten der Hofgeschichtsschreiber (Shih-kuan), die eine ähnliche, wenn auch bequemere Rolle spielten als die öffentlichen Zensoren (Tu-ch'a-yüan) der gegenwärtigen Dynastie, insofern ihnen das Recht zustand, die Handlungen ihrer Regierung einer nach ihrer Ansicht gerechten Kritik zu unterziehen, ohne dass der Monarch und seine Räte den Inhalt der Aufzeichnungen kannten. Ob dieser im Prinzip von allen Dynastien anerkannte Brauch häufig oder selten verletzt wurde, hat auf die Zuverlässigkeit unserer ethnographischen Texte kaum irgend welchen Einfluss, da weder der Monarch, noch die Räte, noch die Chronisten an der Fälschung von Thatsachen bei der Beschreibung so fern gelegener Länder ein persönliches Interesse hatten. Die Art und Weise, wie jene ethnographischen Aufzeichnungen durch Vermittlung der Tageschroniken zu Stande kamen, lässt sich aus dem, was über die Arbeit der Hofgeschichtsschreiber bekannt ist, sowie aus der Natur der vorgefundenen Mitteilungen wenn nicht beweisen, so doch vermuten. Die in den Hsi-yü-chuan oder ethnographischen Kapiteln sich vorfindenden Mitteilungen entstammen entweder den Protokollen über die Vernehmung fremder Gesandten und sonstiger Reisenden, die, wie es scheint, nach bestimmten Formeln über ihr Heimatland ausgefragt wurden; oder den Akten chinesischer Gesandtschaften nach dem Auslande, die wiederum bald das Selbstgesehene, bald das durch Hörensagen in Erfahrung Gebrachte niederschrieben; oder endlich den bereits vorliegenden chinesischen Litteraturprodukten.

Bei der Vernehmung der fremden Gesandten wurde es vermutlich mit den Beglaubigungsschreiben fremder Monarchen nicht allzu genau genommen. Was hätte auch ein noch so gelehrter Würdenträger des Hofes der Han mit einer Papyrusrolle voll griechischer, lateinischer oder syrischer Schriftzeichen anfangen sollen? Das wichtigste Dokument, das von den Gesandtschaften eingereicht wurde, war ohne Zweifel die Liste der Tributartikel, die vermutlich nicht in der fremden Sprache verfasst war. Die chinesischen Höfe aller Zeiten waren augenscheinlich etwas zu sehr dazu geneigt, die als Tribut (kung) dargebrachten Geschenke als den hauptsächlichsten Bestandteil einer Gesandtschaft anzusehen, so dass irgend ein fremder Abenteurer sich als Gesandter seines Monarchen einführen und die damit ohne Zweifel verbundenen Reise-, Handels- und sonstigen Vorteile gemessen konnte, wenn er nur durch die nötigen Tributgeschenke die Gunst des Hofes für sich zu gewinnen vermochte; und dies konnte bei der volkstümlichen Eitelkeit der Regierungen der früheren Dynastien, die ihr Ansehen im Auslande nicht nach wirklichem Einfluss, sondern nach der Häufigkeit, der mit Geschenken belasteten Huldigungskommissionen bemessen, für den bemittelten Unterthan eines fernen Staates nicht allzu grosse Schwierigkeiten bieten.

Die zahllosen Berichte, die uns über die Länder des mittleren und westlichen Asiens in den chinesischen Annalen des Altertums erhalten sind und die vermutlich zum Teil den Protokollen über die Vernehmung der betreffenden Tributbringer entstammen, zeugen trotz der Verschiedenheit des behandelten Materials von einer gewissen Uniformität in der Behandlung, insofern gewisse Gruppen von ethnographischen Thatsachen mit fast schematischer Regelmässigkeit behandelt sind. Wie bei den Aufzeichnungen Marco Polo's suchen wir vergeblich nach Mitteilungen über manche uns jetzt interessierende Gegenstände, wogegen uns das Berühren stereotyper Thatsachen, die unserem Interesse mehr oder weniger fern liegen, als monoton und überflüssig erscheint. Es will scheinen, als ob diese Art der Behandlung mit irgend einem Reglement zusammenhing, wonach die fremden Tributbringer bei ihrem Erscheinen am chinesischen Hofe ein nach festgesetztem Schema vorgenommenes Kreuzverhör zu bestehen hatten, dass mit Hilfe der zu Gebote stehenden doppelten oder dreifachen Dolmetscher bestimmte Fragen an die aufzunehmenden »Gesandten« gerichtet wurden. Der vermeintliche Abgesandte des Kaisers An-tun zum Beispiel hätte von Ceylon, wo das Griechische als Handelssprache gesprochen wurde, in Begleitung eines griechisch sprechenden Ceylonesen, sowie eines mit Ceylon verkehrenden und die in Ceylon gesprochene Landessprache verstehenden annamitischen Kaufmannes seine Reise nach Annant fortsetzen und von hier aus mit diesen beiden, sowie einem Chinesisch verstehenden annamitischen Dolmetscher nach Chang-an (Si-ngan-fu), der damaligen Hauptstadt China's, reisen können; wenn nicht die Fähigkeiten der drei Dolmetscher sich in einem einzigen Individuum vereinigt fanden, was bei der Natur des antiken ceylonesischen Handels keineswegs ausgeschlossen ist. Die am chinesischen Hofe vorgelegten stereotypen Fragen mochten etwa folgendermassen lauten: Wie heisst dein Vaterland? Wo liegt es? Wie viel Li umfasst es? Wie viel Städte enthält es? Wie viel abhängige Staaten? Aus welchem Material ist eure Hauptstadt erbaut? Wie viel Einwohner enthält sie? Wie heissen die Produkte des Landes, u. s. w.; und schliesslich: was kannst du uns sonst noch über deine Heimat mitteilen?

Dies mag der Ursprung der ethnographischen Aufzeichnungen in den »täglichen Chroniken« sowie in den Annalen gewesen sein, insofern sie nicht den Akten der eigenen Gesandtschaften im Ausland (z. B.

Chang Ch'ien im zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr., Pan Ch'ao am Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.) oder den Berichten eingeborener Reisender (Hsüan-chuang im siebenten Jahrhundert u. A.) entstammen.

Dass die Verfasser der dynastischen Geschichtswerke ihre Eintragungen nicht auf die Aufzeichnungen der Hofchronisten beschränkten, geht aus der jetzigen Gestalt ihrer Texte deutlich genug hervor. Als Männer von hervorragendem litterarischen Ansehen, und von ihren Zeitgenossen als Meister des historischen Stils chinesischer Prosa geschätzt, mussten sie es als ihre erste Aufgabe betrachten, das vorgefundene Aktenmaterial in einen zusammenhängenden Bericht zu verarbeiten. Sie entledigten sich dieser Aufgabe in echt chinesischer Weise, indem sie vor allen Dingen nicht allein die Akten der beschriebenen Dynastie sondern auch die über den betreffenden Gegenstand bereits vorhandene ältere und gleichzeitige Litteratur verwerteten. Sehr kritisch sind sie dabei nicht zu Werke gegangen; es ist daher besonders bei späteren Historikern oft ebenso schwer, wie es wichtig ist, zu unterscheiden, was aus den Aufzeichnungen früherer Perioden herübergenommen und was sich auf die beschriebene Periode selbst bezieht. Zu den Ausnahmen dürfte es gehören, dass ein Autor in der Zeit noch über die Quellen der beschriebenen Periode hinausgeht, indem er Nachrichten, die erst seit dem Erlöschen der Dynastie bis zu seiner eigenen Blütezeit nach China gedrungen, mit seinen Berichten vermengt. Trotz dieser Schwächen, die uns ja in vielen deshalb nicht minder wertvollen Aufzeichnungen des Altertums in anderen, ja selbst den klassischen Litteraturen entgegentreten, haben wir allen Grund, den Chinesen für ihre Berichte dankbar zu sein.

